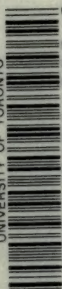


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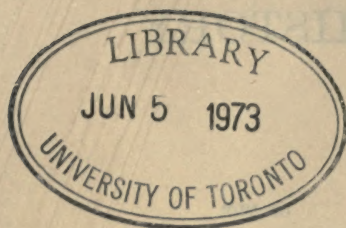


HISTORY  
OF THE  
CITY OF NEW YORK

BY  
MARY L. BOOTH  
TRANSLATOR OF "MARTIN'S HISTORY OF FRANCE," ETC.

*ILLUSTRATED*

NEW YORK  
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TO  
THE MERCHANTS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK,  
WHO, CHEERFULLY SACRIFICING THEIR INTEREST TO THAT OF  
THEIR COUNTRY  
IN THE REVOLUTION,  
WERE THE FIRST TO PROPOSE A NON-INTERCOURSE ACT—THE LAST  
TO RENOUNCE IT, AND THE ONLY ONES TO MAINTAIN  
IT INVIOULATE;  
AND WHO, BY THEIR ENERGY AND ENTERPRISE, HAVE MADE THEIR CITY  
AT THE PRESENT TIME  
THE COMMERCIAL METROPOLIS OF THE WESTERN WORLD,  
*This Work is Inscribed.*





## PREFACE.

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FREQUENT demands for this popular History of the City of New York, which has for some time been out of print, have led to the publication of a fresh edition, revised and brought down to date. This may indeed be regarded as substantially a new book, being for the first time made accessible to the general public through the regular trade channels, and moreover comprising the history of the last twelve eventful years which, though seemingly within the memory of all the world, will be found a convenient reference for most who may endeavor to recall with precision even the most prominent facts and dates.

At the time of its first appearance, this work was, as it virtually remains to this day, the only complete History of New York City extant. It had been the fashion to tell the story of the metropolis in a series of fragmentary memoirs, full of personal reminiscences and entertaining gossip concerning leading families and familiar landmarks, but these, while affording most valuable material to the historian, were not history. To write a narrative on this plan of the three centuries during which the great city has grown from a hamlet of a few wretched huts to its existing magnitude, would require ponderous and costly tomes, and would be of interest, moreover, chiefly to a favored few.

It has been the aim of the present work to eschew this kind of personalities as far as possible, and to confine itself to a record of the important events in the

History of New York City which are interesting to the public at large. In the beginning, when the histories of the province and city are inseparable, this necessarily includes the early settlements on the Long Island, New Jersey and adjacent shores. Later, it is devoted more especially to the city, retaining so much of the history of the State as is necessary to preserve the outline of events. Especial care has been used to collect the incidents of the Revolution, in which the city bore so prominent a part, and of the late Civil War. Great pains have been taken to consult all accessible authorities, and to verify facts and dates. In conformity with the popular style of the book, references in the form of foot-notes have been avoided. The author begs leave to acknowledge the assistance received from the writings of Brodhead, Valentine, Hildreth, Bancroft, O'Callaghan, Dawson, Irving, Smith, Dunlap, Moulton, Leake, Hardie, Watson, Horsmanden, Heckewelder, and many others; as well as the courtesies shown by the various city librarians, and municipal and state officials. In the preparation of the new edition, especial thanks are due the eminent historian, Benson J. Lossing, for his excellent suggestions and careful revision of the whole work. Cordial acknowledgments are also tendered to Berthold Fernow, keeper of the State Records, for valuable data from the colonial archives; to the various chroniclers of the Civil War; to Charles F. Wingate's "Episode in Municipal Government," in the North American Review, and Samuel J. Tilden's "New York City Ring"; and to many who cannot be enumerated, for much prized information. It is believed that the



record will be found veracious, and that New Yorkers will welcome this compact history of their city as a useful addition to their libraries.

In point of fact, New York belongs to the whole country, as London does to England or Paris to France. It is the metropolis of the United States, in which not the citizens alone, but the whole people, from Maine to California, are entitled to take interest. New York is the American Mecca, toward which all eyes are turned. There are few who have not a share in it, either through themselves, their friends, or their kindred. The gay, fascinating town has a strange attraction. Those who have once tasted its delights leave it reluctantly, and long to return to it again. One might fancy that like Rome, it has its Fountain of Trevi, whose waters once drank are thirsted for ever after. And if there is a grain of truth in the adage that no one but Washington Irving was ever born in New York—all the rest came very young and stayed—then its citizens being chiefly such by adoption, it possesses that cosmopolitan element which is the essential feature of a true metropolis.

However this may be, it is certain that New York is rich in memories which are worthy of the most reverent respect, and which belong alike to all its inhabitants, but which are too often unheeded. Throngs of busy citizens pass and repass the grave of Stuyvesant and the tomb of Montgomery, ignorant of their locality; and look with indifference on the Battery and Bowling Green, teeming with reminiscences of the old Dutch Colony days; and that cradle of liberty, the Park,

where still may be seen one of the old prison houses of the Revolution. In these things we are far more remiss than our neighbors. Boston never forgets to celebrate her tea party; few New Yorkers even know that a similar one was once held in their own harbor. Boston proudly commemorates her "Massacre;" how many New Yorkers are aware that two months previous to this brief affray, the earliest battle of the Revolution, lasting two days, was fought in the streets of New York, on Golden Hill, where the first blood was shed in the cause of freedom?

It is possible, however, that this indifference to local memories is an exaggerated outgrowth of the metropolitan spirit, which tolerates nothing provincial, and in its haste to press forward, never stops to look back to the past. This is a pity, for an heroic history is a stimulus to an equally worthy future. The philosophic observer will note with pleasure that the influence of the genial, kindly and tolerant spirit of the Knickerbockers, mingled with the refinement and culture of their English successors, still lingers in their adopted city, and that the hearty welcome which New York accords to strangers from all lands, making them feel instantly at home, is the result of that happy mingling of races which gave birth to the great American metropolis.

If this record of the glorious past of New York contributes in any way to inspire its people with a deeper love for their city, it will serve the purpose for which it was designed.



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# HISTORY

OF THE

## CITY OF NEW YORK.

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### CHAPTER I.

1609—1633.

*Primitive New York—Aborigines of Manhattan—Causes which led to the Discovery of the Island—Early Navigators—Discovery of Manhattan by Henry Hudson—Landing of the first White Men.*

Two hundred and eighty years ago, the island on which now stands the city of New York was uninhabited by white men. The lower part of it consisted of wood-crowned hills and beautiful grassy valleys, including a chain of swamps and marshes, and a deep pond. Northward, it rose into a rocky high ground. The sole inhabitants were a tribe of dusky Indians,—an offshoot from the great family of the Algonquins, that inhabited the vast territory bounded by the Penobscot and Potomac, the Atlantic and Mississippi,—dwelling in the clusters of rude wigwams that dotted here and there the surface of the country. The rivers that gird the

island were as yet unstirred by the keels of ships, and the bark canoes of the native Manhattans held sole possession of the peaceful waters.

The face of the country, more particularly described, was gently undulating, presenting every variety of hill and dale, of brook and rivulet. The upper part of the island was rocky, and covered by a dense forest; the lower part grassy, and rich in wild fruit and flowers. Grapes and strawberries grew in abundance in the fields, and nuts of various kinds were plentiful in the forests, which were also filled with abundance of game. The brooks and ponds were swarming with fish, and the soil was of luxuriant fertility. In the vicinity of the present "Tombs" was a deep, clear and beautiful pond of fresh water, (with a picturesque little island in the middle)—so deep, indeed, that it could have floated the largest ship in our navy,—which was for a long time deemed bottomless by its possessors. This was fed by large springs at the bottom, which kept its waters fresh and flowing, and had its outlet in a little stream which flowed into the East River, near the foot of James street. Smaller ponds dotted the island in various places, two of which, lying near each other, in the vicinity of the present corner of the Bowery and Grand street, collected the waters of the high grounds which surrounded them. To the northwest of the Fresh Water Pond, or Kolck, as it afterwards came to be called, beginning in the vicinity of the present St. John's Park, and extending to the northward over an area of some seventy acres, lay an immense marsh, filled with reeds and brambles, and tenanted by frogs and water-snakes. A little





Lispemard's Meadows as seen from the site of the St. Nicholas Hotel.





rivulet connected this marsh with the Fresh Water Pond, which was also connected, by the stream which formed its outlet, with another strip of marshy land, covering the region now occupied by James, Cherry, and the adjacent streets. An unbroken chain of waters was thus stretched across the island from James street at the southeast to Canal street at the northwest. An inlet occupied the place of Broad street, a marsh covered the vicinity of Ferry street, Rutgers street formed the centre of another marsh, and a long line of meadows and swampy ground stretched to the northward along the eastern shore.

The highest line of lands lay along Broadway from the Battery to the northernmost part of the island, forming its back-bone, and sloping gradually to the east and west. On the corner of Grand street and Broadway was a high hill, commanding a view of the whole island, and falling off gradually to the Fresh Water Pond. To the south and west, the country, in the intervals of the marshes, was of great beauty—rolling, grassy, fertile, and well watered. A high range of sand hills traversed a part of the island, from Varick and Charlton to Eighth and Greene streets. To the north of these lay a valley, through which ran a brook, which formed the outlet of the springy marshes at Washington Square, and emptied into the North River at the foot of Hammersly street.

The native Manhattans belonged to that well-known race of North American Indians, the manners and customs of which have been made too familiar by repeated descriptions to require a detailed notice at our hands.

These were the same in outline among all the tribes; the chief difference lay in the individual character, and in this there was a marked distinction. One tribe was peaceful and gentle; another, fierce and warlike; a third, treacherous and cunning. The natives of the island of Manhattan were distinguished for their ferocity, in contrast with their peaceful brethren of the neighboring shores. They lived in plenty on their beautiful island, the women cultivating maize, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco, and gathering the roots and berries which Nature so abundantly yielded; the men scouring the forests in quest of game, and drawing stores of fish from the ponds and rivers. Their villages were scattered here and there in pleasant localities over the island—villages consisting of clusters of huts, made by twisting the tops of young saplings together, and covering them with strips of bark. Windowless and floorless were they, with boughs for doors, and a hole in the roof to let out the smoke. Yet each of these structures usually accommodated from six to thirty families, who lived in peaceful harmony together.

Like most savages, they were fond of dress, and shaved their crowns, painted their faces, and adorned their deer-skin mantles and moccasins with feathers, shells, and wampum, in the most approved style. This wampum, which served as a circulating medium among them, and afterwards became a recognized currency among the whites, consisted of small cylindrical beads, made from the white lining of the conch and the purple coating inside the muscle-shells—the purple beads being worth twice as much as the white ones.

In common with their race, they were eloquent orators, trusty friends, crafty enemies, brave warriors, and cruel victors. Though at first disposed to receive their white visitors with favor and to treat them kindly, it was not long before their own jealous nature, together with the ever-present spirit of European encroachment, brought on the usual warfare, in which Indian sagacity and cunning was forced to succumb to the superior skill of the white man.

Let us glance briefly at the causes which led to the discovery of this vast and hitherto unknown region. At the period of which we speak, more than a century had elapsed since Columbus had first unlocked the door of the new continent, yet little was known of it in the old world beyond the bare fact of its existence. Its geography was wholly unknown to its new possessors. Its possible resources were totally disregarded; in itself it was regarded as a thing of little value, and the chief utility of the new discovery was supposed to lie in the easy communication which it might afford to the rich countries of the East. Now and then an adventurous navigator sailed along the coasts, landing here and there and erecting a flagstaff, and thus taking possession of the country in the name of his sovereign; yet but few attempts at exploration had been made, and these few had proved, for the most part, unsuccessful. Some of the explorers had penetrated a little way into the interior, and some had planted colonies which had soon been broken up by hardships and discouragement, but few had been able to gain much topographical knowledge of the countries which they claimed to own. The English had



succeeded in establishing a small colony at Jamestown, and the French had founded a colony at Quebec, and made a settlement at Port Royal, but the rest of the country remained in the hands of the natives.

In the year 1524, Francis I. had dispatched Jean Verrazani, a skillful Florentine navigator, with a squadron of four ships, to explore the coast of North America. Soon after their departure, three of these became disabled in a violent tempest, and Verrazani reached the island of Madeira with but a single vessel. Stopping here a few days to refit, he proceeded on his voyage, and reached the American coast, as it is supposed, in the vicinity of Wilmington, whence he coasted northward, and was the first to enter the bay of New York, which he thus describes :

“After proceeding one hundred leagues, we found a  
“very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through  
“which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its  
“way to the sea. From the sea, to the estuary of the  
“river, any ship heavily laden might pass with the help  
“of the tide, which rises eight feet. But as we were  
“riding at anchor in a good berth, we would not  
“venture up in our vessel without a knowledge of  
“the mouth; therefore we took the boat, and entering  
“the river, we found the country on its banks well  
“peopled, the inhabitants not differing much from the  
“others, being dressed out with the feathers of birds of  
“various colors. They came towards us with evident  
“delight, raising loud shouts of admiration, and showing  
“us where we could most securely land our boat. We  
“passed up this river about half a league, when we

“found it formed *a most beautiful lake*, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats from one shore to the other, filled with multitudes who came to see us. All of a sudden, as is wont to happen to navigators, a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful, and which we supposed must also contain great riches, as the hills showed many indications of minerals.”

This graphic description is the more worthy of notice, inasmuch as it is the earliest now extant of the island and natives of Manhattan. From here Verrazani proceeded to the haven of Newport, where he anchored for fifteen days, after which he coasted northward as far as the fiftieth degree of north latitude, then returned to France, where he published a brief narrative of his journey. To the newly discovered country, he gave the name of New France, a name by which Canada continued to be known as long as it remained in the possession of the French. This discovery laid the foundation for a claim by France on all the territory north of the Carolinas—a claim which she long continued to maintain. Previously to this, however, Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian by birth, in the service of Henry VII., had explored the country from Labrador to Florida, thus giving to England a prior claim upon the same territory. As has before been said, both nations had profited by these discoveries to make settlements in the country thus claimed by each, the one in Virginia and the other in Canada; but at the period in which our history opens,

the whole of the vast territory lying between these distant points remained in the possession of its first owners, the natives. It was not long before a third nation disputed the rich prize with them by virtue of the right of actual possession.

At this time, the Dutch were the richest commercial nation on the globe. Having conquered their independence from Spain and their country from the sea, they turned their attention to commerce, and with such success that it was not long before their sails whitened the waters of every clime. A thousand vessels were built annually in Holland, and an extensive trade was carried on with all the European nations. But their richest commerce was with the East Indies; and the better to secure themselves in this against all competition, the merchants engaged in this traffic had, in 1602, obtained a charter of incorporation for twenty-one years from the States General under the name of the East India Company, granting them the exclusive monopoly of the trade in the Eastern Seas beyond the Cape of Good Hope on one side and the Straits of Magellan on the other, with other valuable privileges. This obtained, it next became desirable to shorten the passage thither, and thus to render the commerce more lucrative. The voyage to China by the only known route—that by the way of the Cape of Good Hope—consumed two years, and the time seemed long to the impatient merchants. It was thought that a more expeditious passage might be discovered by the way of the Polar Seas, and three expeditions, under the command of Barentsen, Cornelissen, and Heemskerck, were dis-





HENRY HUDSON.



patched, one after the other, in search of it. But they found nothing but ice and snow where they had hoped to find a clear sea, and returned after having endured unheard-of hardships, and earned a lasting fame as the earliest Polar navigators.

The English, in the meantime, had not been idle. Jealous of the growing commercial prosperity of their neighbors, they determined on trying the experiment in which the Dutch had failed. In 1607, a company of merchants fitted out a ship, and intrusted it to the command of Henry Hudson, an Englishman and an experienced and skillful navigator, with instructions to carve a passage through the Polar Seas to China and Japan for the benefit of England. But he met with no better success than his predecessors, and after two voyages, the merchants became discouraged, and refused to permit him to make a third trial.

Hudson, however, was more than ever sanguine of the ultimate success of the enterprise, and after an unsuccessful negotiation with Henri IV. of France, he induced the Dutch East India Co. to fit out a small yacht called the *Halve Maen*, or *Half Moon*, of sixty tons burden, manned with a mixed crew of Dutch and English, twenty in number, to attempt the discovery of the Northwest Passage.\*

Hudson sailed from the Texel on his third expedition, on the 6th of April, 1609, hoping to reach the Indies by the way of the Polar Seas. After a stormy voyage, he reached the banks of Newfoundland early in July. Here he lay becalmed for some time, after which he steered to Penobscot Bay, where he remained a week to

\* He was instructed to attempt no other route than that above Nova Zembla.



replace his foremast, which had been lost during the voyage, and to mend his rigging. Coasting southward as far as Chesapeake Bay, landing on his way at Cape Cod, which he mistook for an island and named New Holland, he retraced his course, and proceeded northward to Delaware Bay, which he attempted to explore; but finding the navigation difficult, he again put to sea, and, on the evening of the 2d of Sept., came in sight of the Highlands of Navesinck, which he describes "as a good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." Here he remained all night, and setting sail the next morning came to what he describes as "three great rivers," the northernmost of which he attempted to enter, but was prevented by the shoal bar before it. This was probably Rockaway Inlet; the others, the Raritan and the Narrows. Foiled in this attempt, he rounded Sandy Hook, sending a boat before him to sound the way, and anchored his vessel in the lower bay. Seeing that the waters were swarming with fish, he sent a boat's crew to obtain some. They landed, it is said, at Coney Island, and were the first white men that ever set foot on the soil of the Empire State.

We can easily excuse Hudson if he forgot the Northern Passage and the Polar Seas—the prime objects of his expedition—in the beautiful scene before him, and determined to explore this strange, new country, which was worth more than all the wealth of the Indies. The shores were covered with gigantic oaks from sixty to seventy feet high, the hills beyond were crowned with grass and fragrant flowers, strange wild birds were flitting through the air, and fish were darting through the

sparkling waters. Friendly Indians, dressed in mantles of feathers and fine furs, and decorated with copper ornaments, flocked on board the vessel, bringing corn, tobacco, and vegetables for the mysterious strangers. Hudson received them kindly, and gave them axes, knives, shoes, and stockings in return. But these articles were all new to them, and they put them to a new use ; they hung the axes and shoes about their necks for ornaments, and used the stockings for tobacco pouches.

Hudson remained in the bay for a week, sending a boat's crew, in the meantime, to sound the river. They passed through the Narrows, entered the bay, and came in sight of the grassy hills of Manhattan. Passing through the Kills, between Staten Island and Bergen Neck, they proceeded six miles up the river, and discovered Newark Bay. On their return, the boat was attacked by the natives. An English sailor named John Colman was struck in the throat by an arrow and killed ; two others were slightly wounded, and the rest escaped to the ship with the dead body of their companion, to carry the tidings of the mournful catastrophe. This was the first white man's blood ever shed in the territory, and it is probable, though not certain, that the sailors themselves were the first aggressors. Colman was an old comrade of Hudson ; he had been the companion of his earlier voyages, and his death inspired him with distrust and hatred of the natives, whom before he had regarded with favor. On the following day—the 9th of September—the first white man's grave in these regions was dug on Sandy Hook, and the spot was christened Colman's Point in memory of the departed

On the 11th of September, 1609, the Half Moon passed through the Narrows, and anchored in New York Bay. Distrusting the fierce Manhattans, the captain remained there but a single day. Canoes filled with men, women and children, flocked around the ship, bringing oysters and vegetables ; but though these were purchased, not a native was suffered to come on board.



The Half Moon ascending the river.

The next day Hudson made his way up the river which now bears his name, and through which he hoped to find the long-sought passage to the Indies. He called it the Groot Rivier. It was called by the respective tribes which inhabited its shores, the Shatemuc, Mohi-



can, and Cahohatatea. The Dutch afterwards gave it the name of the Mauritius, in honor of Prince Maurice of Nassau, by which it continued to be known until the name of its discoverer was properly bestowed on it by its English owners. Sailing slowly up the river, and anchoring at night in the friendly harbors so plentifully scattered along his way, Hudson pursued his course towards the head of ship navigation, admiring the ever changing panorama of the beautiful river with its lofty palisades, its broad bays, its picturesque bends, its romantic highlands, and its rocky shores, covered with luxuriant forests. Everywhere he was greeted with a friendly reception. The river Indians, more gentle than those of the island of Manhattan, welcomed the strangers with offerings of the best that their land afforded, and urged them to remain with them. Fancying that the white men were afraid of their arrows, they broke them in pieces and threw them into the fire. Game was killed for their use, hospitalities were urged upon them, and every attention which a rude but generous nature could prompt was offered to the strangers. Indeed, this seems in the beginning to have been the usual conduct of the natives, and it is probable that in their future hostilities, in nearly every instance, the whites were the aggressors.

On the 21st of September, Hudson reached the site of the present city of Albany, which, greatly to his disappointment, he found to be the head of ship navigation. To be sure of the fact, he dispatched the mate with a boat's crew to sound the river higher up, but, after proceeding eight or nine leagues, finding but seven feet

water, they were forced to return with the unwelcome intelligence. After remaining at anchor for several days, during which time he still continued to hold friendly intercourse with the natives, Hudson prepared to descend the river. His stay here was marked by a revel, the tradition of which is still preserved among the Indian legends, and the scene of which is laid by some historians upon the island of Manhattan. Various legends of a similar import concerning the introduction of the fatal "fire-water" are in existence among the different tribes of Indians; everywhere the same causes produced the same results, and the multiplicity of these traditions may easily be accounted for.

On the 23d of September, Hudson commenced to descend the river. He had ascended it in eleven days; he descended it in the same time, constantly receiving demonstrations of friendship from the natives of the neighboring shores. But unfortunately this harmony was soon destined to be broken. While anchored at Stony Point, an Indian was detected pilfering some goods through the cabin windows. The offender was instantly shot by the mate, and the frightened natives fled in consternation.

Nor was this the only rupture of peaceful relations with the hitherto friendly natives. Following the example of other discoverers, who were accustomed to carry to their own homes specimens of the natives of the new countries which they had visited, Hudson had seized and detained two Indians on board his ship at Sandy Hook; both of whom had escaped during his passage up the river, and were lying in wait for his return, to avenge

their captivity. Their narrative had enlisted the sympathies of their countrymen, and a large body gathered in their canoes at the head of Manhattan Island, and attempted to board the vessel. Repulsed in the attempt, they discharged a harmless flight of arrows at the yacht, which was returned by a musket shot, which killed two of their number. They scattered in dismay, only to gather again, reinforced by several hundreds, at Fort Washington; where they again attacked the vessel as she was floating down the stream. A few musket-shots soon put them again to flight, with the loss of nine of their warriors. This strange new weapon of the white men, speaking in tones of thunder, and belching forth fire and smoke, was more terrible to them than an army of invaders. They did not return to the attack, and Hudson pursued his way unmolested to the bay near Hoboken, where he anchored for the last time, and, lying windbound there for one day, set sail for Europe on the 4th of October, just one month after his arrival, to carry to his patrons the news of the discovery of a new country, and the opening of a new commerce. Though Verrazani was the first to behold the island of destiny, to Hudson belongs the credit of being its practical discoverer, and of opening the way to its future settlers.\*

The directors of the East India Company were dissatisfied with the success of the enterprise. They had expected to find a short road to the land of silks and spices, and cared little for the rich lands and broad forests described by Hudson. Hudson proposed again to undertake the enterprise, and would probably

\* The result, as we have shown, of disobedience to his instructions.



have done so, but, having landed at Dartmouth on his return homeward, he was forbidden to leave the country by the English authorities, who were jealous of the advantages which the Dutch had gained by his means. Untiring in his efforts to find the northwest passage, that *ignis fatuus* which has lured on so many intrepid navigators to their destruction, he sailed on another voyage of discovery in the service of his early English patrons in the spring of 1610, and, after passing a winter of suffering among the Arctic regions, perished, abandoned by his mutinous crew, amid the ice and snows of the bay which bears his name. The Half Moon, on her return to Holland, was dispatched on a trading voyage to the East Indies, during which she was wrecked and lost on the island of Mauritius.\*

The voyage of the Half Moon to America, if it did not gain the exact thing desired, was at least suggestive of a new idea to the busy Dutch speculators. Though their most lucrative traffic was with the East Indies, they did not neglect the smaller mines from which money might be extracted, but maintained a flourishing commerce with the other European nations, especially with Russia. They dispatched nearly a hundred ships to Archangel every year, whence they carried on a lucrative traffic in furs with the interior of the country, subject to a duty of five per cent. on all goods exceeding an equal amount of importations. But Hudson's glowing accounts of the rich peltries which he had seen among the natives of the newly-discovered territory, suggested to the traders that it would be much cheaper to purchase them with knives and trinkets in a country where

\* The account of Hudson's voyage was first published by Van Meteren, in 1611

custom-houses and duties were unknown, than to buy them, as hitherto, at a high rate in Russia. Acting under the impulse of this idea, in 1610, a few merchants fitted out another vessel, and dispatched her under the command of the former mate of the Half Moon, to trade in furs with the Indians. The speculation proved eminently successful. Stimulated by their example, other merchants joined in the enterprise, and in 1612 dispatched the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, under the command of Hendrick Christiaensen and Adriaen Block, on a trading voyage to the Mauritius River, as it was now called. The following year, three more vessels, under the command of Captains De Witt, Volckertsen, and Mey, were sent from Amsterdam and Hoorn to the same coast on the same errand.

The fur traffic might now be considered to have fairly commenced, and a new mine of wealth to be opened to Holland. It was determined to open a regular commerce with the new province, to make the island of Manhattan the chief depot of the fur trade in America, and to establish agents there to collect furs while the ships were going to and returning from Holland. Hendrick Christiaensen was appointed the first agent. He built a redoubt with four small houses on the site of the present 39 Broadway, and thus laid the foundation of the future city.

The navy was commenced about the same time. One of the vessels, the *Tiger*, commanded by Adriaen Block, was accidentally burned just as he was preparing to return to Holland. He immediately set about building another, the fine timber of the island furnishing him with ample materials, and in the spring of 1614, finished the first

vessel ever launched on the waters of Manhattan. This was a yacht of sixteen tons burden, and was called the *Restless*—a name truly prophetic of the future city. The building of the vessel occupied the whole winter, the friendly natives meanwhile supplying the strangers with food.

The little yacht completed, Block set about exploring the neighboring country. Passing through the Hellegat into the Long Island Sound, he discovered the Housatonic, and Connecticut, or Fresh River, as he named it, in contradistinction to the Hudson, the waters of which were salt, and ascended the latter to the head of navigation. Returning to the Sound, he again proceeded eastward to Montauk Point, which he christened "*Vischel's Hoeck*," and discovered Block Island, which still bears his name. Continuing his course to Narragansett, or Nassau Bay, he thoroughly explored its waters, discovered Roode or Red, since corrupted into Rhode Island, and coasted northward as far as Nahant Bay, exploring and naming the intervening bays and islands, which, however, had before been discovered and named by earlier English adventurers. On his return to Cape Cod, he encountered the *Fortune*, which had quitted Manhattan to return to Europe. The temptation was too strong to be resisted, the picture of home rose before his eyes, and leaving his little yacht, too frail to encounter the perils of the ocean voyage, in the charge of Cornelis Hendricksen, he embarked in the returning vessel to bear the news of his discoveries to Holland. He never returned to the scene of his early discoveries, but his name is one of the few relics of the early pioneers that



still remain to us. His comrades had not been idle in the meantime. Cornelissen Mey had explored the southern coast of Long Island, thus proving for the first time that it was an island, and had visited Delaware Bay and bestowed his name on its northern cape, while Hendrick Christiaensen had ascended the Mauritius, and built a little structure, half fort, half warehouse, armed with two large guns and a few swivels, and garrisoned by eleven men, on Castle Island, a little below Albany. This post he christened Fort Nassau in honor of the stadtholder.

It is affirmed by several historians that, soon after its foundation, the little settlement was visited by Captain Argall of Virginia on his return from his Acadian expedition, and that the Dutch traders were compelled by him to strike their flag and to acknowledge the supremacy of England. But this assertion seems unsupported by sufficient evidence. The earlier historians are silent in respect to it, nor do the state papers of either nation make mention of the fact. The story rests upon the authority of one or two printed English works, unsupported by documentary evidence, and cannot at least be affirmed with certainty; the probability is that it is fictitious.

A few months previous to Block's return to Holland, the States General of the Netherlands, to encourage emigration, had passed an ordinance, granting to all discoverers of new countries the exclusive right of trading thither for four voyages. Unwilling to lose any part of the profitable commerce thus opened by their enterprise, the merchants who had fitted out the first expedition made a map of all the country between the Canadas and Virginia, and, claiming to be the original dis-

coverers thereof, petitioned the government for the promised monopoly. This was granted, and on the 11th of October, 1614, they received a charter, granting them the exclusive right of trade, to the territory lying between the fortieth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, for four voyages within the period of three years; and forbidding all other persons to interfere with this monopoly, under penalty of confiscation of both vessels and cargoes, with a fine of fifty thousand Netherland ducats for the benefit of the grantees of the charter. In this instrument, the province first formally received the name of New Netherland.

The merchants now formed themselves into an association under the name of the "United New Netherland Company," and prepared to carry on their operations on a more extensive scale. Parties were sent to explore the interior, and to collect furs from the natives which were stored at the depots of Fort Nassau and Manhattan; and Jacob Eelkins, a shrewd and active trader, was appointed agent at the former, in the place of Hendrick Christiaensen, who had been murdered by one of the natives. This is the first murder on record in the province. The murderer, a young Indian, whom Christiaensen had carried to Holland on his first voyage, and who had ever since remained with him, met a speedy death from the hands of the settlers.

Yet the Dutch did not neglect to cultivate the friendship of the natives. The several tribes within the province of the New Netherland differed widely in character. The whole, indeed, claimed originally to have been one people, the Algonquins, or the "unbroken

nation ;" but few vestiges remained of the original brotherhood. The generic name of this people was Wapanachki ; the name "Indian" was an anomalous one, derived from the idea that North America formed part of the Indies. The Manhattan Indians were fierce and warlike, though they treated the traders kindly, and supplied them with food during the long, cold winters. The Mohicans on the east side of the river were peaceful and friendly, yet they were the deadly enemies of the Mincees, who dwelt on the other side ; and their war parties often crossed and recrossed the river on hostile expeditions. On the southern border of the province, along the Delaware River, were the Lenape or Delawares. To the north of these, were the Mengwes or Iroquois, the most dreaded and powerful of all the Indian tribes. These held acknowledged supremacy over all the other tribes. Their hunting-grounds stretched across the entire province, and their wigwams opened at the east on the Hudson River, and at the west on Lake Erie. But they had not gained this ascendancy without a struggle. Weak in the beginning, they had learned to comprehend that union is strength ; and the five tribes which originally occupied this vast extent of territory—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had leagued themselves together in a firm union under the name of Iroquois, or the Five Nations. Later, the Tuscaroras were admitted into the confederacy, and the Five Nations were thus increased to six. Strengthened by this alliance, and fierce and despotic by nature, they soon subjugated their gentler brethren, and forced them to lay aside their weapons and to assume



the name of "women," trusting their defence entirely to them. They sent their old men into the villages to collect tribute from the river Indians, and there was not one among them who dared refuse it. A single Iroquois would put a hundred Mohicans or Mincees to flight, so great was the terror inspired by them. But this sovereignty did not extend to the Hurons or Canada Indians, who were as formidable as they, and their constant and deadly foes. The French in the Canadas leagued with the latter, and taught them the use of firearms ; and seeing themselves threatened with extermination by this new and wonderful weapon, the Iroquois hailed the arrival of white men in their own country with delight, as the only means which could save them from being subjugated in turn, and forced to take their place with the Mohicans and Mincees. The Dutch, on their side, were quite as ready for the alliance. The country of the Iroquois abounded in rich furs which could only be obtained through the friendship of the natives. Their fort at the head of the river was on the land of the Iroquois, and, without their alliance, they could not secure its safety. In the spring of 1617, a solemn council of both nations was held in a place called Tawasentha, near the site of the present city of Albany. Each tribe of the Iroquois sent a chief to the meeting, and a delegation was also present from the river tribes. A formal treaty of peace and alliance between the Dutch and the Iroquois was concluded, and the other tribes renewed their acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Five Nations. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth ; and the Dutch declared

that they would build a church over the spot, so that none could dig it up without overthrowing the sacred structure, and thus incurring the wrath of the Great Spirit and the vengeance of the white men. Well indeed would it have been for them, could it always have thus remained buried.



The Council at Tawasentha, in 1617.

This treaty insured the prosperity of the traders. Sure of the friendship of the natives, they fearlessly sent their agents among them to obtain their costly furs in exchange for the muskets and ammunition they so much coveted. It was not long before the Indian became more skillful than his master in the use of the deadly weapon, and grew in turn to be the terror of the white man. The agents explored the interior, bringing back stores of valuable furs, and the trade became so profitable that when, in 1618, the charter of the United New Netherland Company expired by its own limitation, they petitioned the government to grant them a renewal. This they failed to obtain, though they were permitted to continue their trade under a special license two or three years longer.

Hitherto the Dutch had looked on Manhattan only as a trading-post. They did not think of making themselves homes in this new, wild country, but dwelt in temporary huts of the rudest construction, which scarcely protected them from the cold. But the English were exploring the coast, and laying claim to all the country between Canada and Virginia, and the Dutch began to realize the importance of planting colonies in the new province, and thus securing their American possessions.

About this time, too, the little settlement received a visit of threatening import. In 1620, Captain Thomas Dermer, an Englishman in the service of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, touched at Manhattan on his way to New England, and warned the traders not to continue on English territory ; to which they replied that it belonged to them



of right, as the first discoverers and occupiers. Upon this, Dermer, Gorges, Argall and others, petitioned James I. for a grant of the province of New Netherland, protesting that it was wrongfully occupied by the Dutch, and claiming for Dermer the discovery of Long Island Sound and the adjacent country. That he was the first Englishman who had ever sailed through the Sound is probable: yet Block, Christiaensen and others had preceded him. He is one of the few who makes mention of the prior visit of Argall to Manhattan—an interested witness, since this pretext served to strengthen his claim to the possession of the territory. The king, however, listened to their prayer; a royal charter conferring the exclusive jurisdiction of all territories in America between the parallels of forty and forty-eight degrees was granted to Gorges and his associates, and the English ambassador at the Hague was directed to remonstrate with the States General against the occupation by the Dutch of English territory. But little attention was paid to this remonstrance, and the Dutch went on in their work of colonizing New Netherland.

There was little freedom of thought at this time in England. The people were divided into two great religious sects, the Episcopalians, and the Puritans. The latter, by their stern denunciation of the rites and ceremonies of the Episcopalian Church, the established Church of England, their refusal to conform to the statutes of the realm, and their almost fanatical opposition to everything that savored of prayer-book or ritual, had drawn upon themselves the displeasure of the government. Disapprobation soon grew into persecu-

tion. The Puritans sternly refused to yield a single point of their obnoxious doctrines, while the government daily increased in rigor. Weary of the contest, a number of the persecuted nonconformists fled, with their minister, John Robinson, to Holland, where they found the fullest toleration. Settling at Leyden, they organized a congregation, and enjoyed the religious freedom which they had failed to obtain in their native land. Yet here they felt like strangers. The manners and customs were foreign to them ; the language was strange and the government unlike their own, and their children were growing up in the speech and habits of the new country and forgetting their mother-tongue. They were English and they feared to become Dutch. The New World offered a tempting home to them in which they could enjoy both civil and religious liberty, and train up their offspring in their own faith and language. It was at first proposed to settle at Guiana, but this scheme was finally abandoned. Hearing of the glowing accounts of the province of New Netherland, Robinson entreated permission of the Dutch to settle there, promising to take with him four hundred families if the government would pledge itself to protect him against all other powers. The offer pleased the merchants, who would gladly have transported them thither free of cost, and have furnished them with cattle and agricultural implements to aid them in establishing the much-needed colony. But the States General had other plans in view. They wished to organize an armed military force that could assist them in the war which they were then carrying on with Spain ; and besides, they thought it better policy to peo

ple the province with their own countrymen. They, therefore, refused the prayer of the Puritans ; and on the 3d of June, 1621, granted a charter to the " West India Company," conferring on them for a period of twenty-one years, the exclusive jurisdiction over the province of New Netherland. The powers thus conferred upon this new association were as extensive as those enjoyed by the East India Company. The exclusive right of trade in the Atlantic, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope on the eastern, and from Newfoundland to the Straits of Magellan on the western continent was granted them. Their power over this immense territory was almost unlimited. They could make contracts with the native princes, build forts, administer justice, and appoint governors and public officers, the appointment of the former to be subject to the approval of the States General, to whom they were required to take oaths of allegiance. In return, the Company pledged themselves to colonize the new territories, and to keep the States General informed from time to time of their plan of operations. The government of the association was vested in five separate chambers of managers, established in five principal Dutch cities : one at Amsterdam, one at Middleburg, one at Dordrecht, one in North Holland, and one in Friesland and Groningen. The details of its management were intrusted to a board of directors, nineteen in number, one of whom was appointed by the States General, the others by the respective chambers, in proportion to their relative importance. Full executive powers, with the exception of a declaration of war, for which the consent of the States



General was necessary, was conferred on this board of directors, commonly called the Assembly of Nineteen. The States General, on their part, promised to protect the Company from all interference, to give them a million of guilders, and to supply them with ships and men in case of war. The Puritans, meanwhile, repulsed on this side, had made their way to Plymouth Rock, and planted their faith on the shores of New England.

The West India Company set about the work of colonizing the new province with vigor. In 1623, the Amsterdam Chamber, to whose especial care the province had been intrusted, fitted out the *New Netherland*, a ship of two hundred and sixty tons burden, and dispatched it, with thirty families, to the territory whose name it bore, for the purpose of founding a colony. The expedition was placed under the command of Cornelissen Jacobsen Mey, who was also appointed First Director of the province. Most of these new colonists were Walloons, or French Protestants, from the confines of France and Belgium, who had obtained from the Dutch what they had vainly sought from the English, permission to make themselves homes in the New World. These were, properly speaking, the earliest colonists of the province, the Dutch, who had previously emigrated hither, having been mere traders and temporary sojourners. The new comers scattered themselves over the country. Eight remained at Manhattan. Four couples, who had been married during the voyage, together with eight seamen, were sent to South River, where they founded a settlement on the Jersey shore, near Gloucester. The Walloons, headed by George Jansen de Rapelje, settled on Long Island,

at the Waal-bogt, or Walloon's Bay, where Sarah de Rapelje, the first child of European parentage in the province, was born, in 1625.\* A few of the colonists were dispatched by the governor to the Fresh, or Connecticut River, and the rest proceeded with him up the Mauritius River, where they built Fort Orange, on the west shore, about four miles above Fort Nassau, and vigorously commenced the work of clearing the wilderness. The New Netherland returned to Holland under the command of Adriaen Joris, the second in command of the expedition, with a cargo of furs, valued at twelve thousand dollars.

In 1625, three ships and a yacht, bringing a number of families, with their furniture, farming implements, and a hundred and three head of cattle, arrived at Manhattan. Fearing lest the cattle might stray away into the forests, the settlers landed them on Nutten's, now Governor's Island, until further provision could be made for them; but finding the island destitute of water, they were compelled at once to carry them in boats to Manhattan. Two more vessels soon arrived, and the colony now numbered some two hundred persons.

A nucleus was now formed from which to form a permanent settlement. Hitherto the form of government had been simple and the settlers transient, but affairs were now assuming a more settled aspect. In 1624, Mey returned to Holland, and was succeeded in the directorship by William Verhulst. At the end of a year, he, too, was recalled, and Peter Minuit was appointed Director.

\* Recent investigations tend to confirm the theory that Sarah de Rapelje was born at Albany, where her parents appear to have resided about the period of her birth, instead of at the Waal-bogt, as has been supposed.

General of New Netherland ; with instructions from the Company to organize a provincial government. In this government, the supreme authority, executive, legislative, and judicial, was vested in the Director and Council, with full power to administer justice, except in capital cases ; in which, the offender, on being convicted, must be sent with his sentence to Holland. Next to these came the Koopman, who performed the double duty of Secretary of the province, and book-keeper of the Company's warehouse. Subordinate to this functionary, was the Schout Fiscal, a sort of civil factotum, half sheriff and half attorney-general, the executive officer of the Director and Council, and general custom-house officer. At the same time, the first seal was granted to the province of New Netherland.\* Minit's council consisted of Peter Byvelt, Jacob Elbertsen Wisinck, Jan Janssen Brouwer, Simon Dircksen Pos, and Reynert Harmenssen. Isaac de Rasières, the first Koopman, was succeeded two years afterwards by Jan Van Remund ; Jan Lampo acted as Schout Fiscal.



Seal of New Amsterdam. 1654.  
(Described on p. 139.)

On the 4th of May, 1626, Peter Minit, the new Director, arrived at Manhattan in the ship *Sea Mew*, commanded by Adriaen Joris. To his credit be it said, the first act of his administration was to secure possession of Manhattan by lawful purchase. Soon after his arrival he bought the whole island of the Indians for the Dutch West India Company for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The island was fifteen miles in

\* For engraving of the seal, see p. 140.



length, and from about a quarter of a mile to two miles in breadth, and was estimated to contain twenty-two thousand acres.

Having thus become the lawful owners of the territory, the first care of the colonists was to provide for their personal safety. The English were constantly prowling about their coasts and threatening their destruction, and they knew that they were not secure in the neighborhood of the fierce Manhattans. A fort was at once staked out by their engineer, Kryn Frederycke, on the triangle which formed the southern part of the island, and which seemed chosen by nature herself for the purpose. This fort, which was a mere block-house, surrounded by cedar palisades, received the imposing name of Fort Amsterdam, and was completed in the course of the following year. A horse mill was also erected, with a large room on the second floor for religious services, and a stone building, thatched with reeds, was built for the Company's warehouse. Some thirty rude huts along the shores of the East River made up the balance of the settlement. Neither clergyman nor school-master was as yet known in the colony, but two visitors of the sick, Sebastian Jansen Krol and Jan Huyck by name, were appointed, whose duty it was to read the Scriptures and the creeds to the people on Sundays. Every settler had his own house, kept his cows, tilled his land, or traded with the natives—no one was idle. The settlement thrived, and the exports of furs during this year amounted to nineteen thousand dollars.

Minuit now determined to open a friendly correspondence with his eastern neighbors, and on the 9th of

March, 1727, Isaac de Rasières, the secretary of the province, addressed an amicable letter by his order to Governor Bradford at Plymouth, congratulating him on the prosperity of his colony, and expressing a hope that pleasant relations might continue to exist between them. This letter was the first communication between the Dutch and the Yankees. Bradford replied in the same friendly tone, though he took care to throw out a few hints on the questionable propriety of Dutch trade within the limits of New England. Alarmed by this claim, Minuit answered a few weeks after, vindicating the right of the States General to the territory of New Netherland. The matter rested thus until three months after, when another letter was received from Bradford, apologizing for the long delay, and requesting that the Dutch would send a commissioner to discuss the boundary question in an amicable manner. The suggestion was complied with, and Isaac de Rasières dispatched on the errand, which amounted to little more than an interchange of civilities between the two powers.

Ere long, seeds of trouble were sown, which ripened into a harvest of horror and misery.

A Weckquaesgeek Indian, who had come down with his nephew from West Chester to sell furs to the settlers, was attacked near the Fresh Water Pond by three of Minuit's farm servants, who robbed and murdered him. His nephew, a mere boy, escaped, vowing vengeance on his uncle's murderers. It is but justice to the authorities to say that they were ignorant of this deed of horror, which in after years was visited so terribly upon the whole colony. Revenge is an Indian's virtue, and the

young savage grew up to manhood, cherishing his terrible oath, and swearing to wash out his uncle's murder in the blood of the white men.

In the meantime, the colony was increasing slowly, not so much by new arrivals as by the accession of the settlers from Forts Nassau and Orange, and the settlements at the South River, who, attacked by the Indians and tiring of their lonely position, had deemed it advisable to remove to Manhattan. Six farms, called "Bouwerys," were reserved as the private property of the Company, four of which stretched along the east shore, the other two lying on the western side of the island, and extending to Greenwich. The inhabitants now numbered two hundred and seventy. But the settlement was expensive, and the Company, who were anxious to settle the country, determined to induce individual members of their body to establish settlements at their own risk. To effect this, in 1629, an act was proposed by the Assembly of Nineteen and ratified by the States General, granting to any member of the West India Company who should found a colony of fifty persons, upward of fifteen years of age, within four years after notice of his intention, the title of Patroon, with the privilege of selecting a tract of land sixteen miles on one side or eight miles on both sides of a navigable river, and extending as far inland as they chose, anywhere within the limits of the province except on the island of Manhattan. This, the Company reserved to themselves, together with the exclusive right to the fur-trade, and a duty of five per cent on all trade carried on by the patroons. The patroons were required to satisfy



the Indians for the land, and to maintain a minister and schoolmaster ; and the Company promised to strengthen the fort at Manhattan, to protect the colonists against all attacks both from the English and the natives, and to supply them with a sufficient number of negro-servants for an indefinite length of time. This was the first introduction of slavery into the province of New Netherland. Those settlers who emigrated at their own expense were to have as much ground as they could cultivate, and to be exempt from taxes for ten years ; in no case, however, either on the territory of the patroons or the Company, were they permitted a voice in the government. They were also forbidden to make any woollen, linen, or cotton cloth, or to weave any other stuffs, under penalty of punishment and exile. These and similar arbitrary restrictions sowed the seed of that discontent which agitated the people for so many years, and finally culminated in open rebellion.

These patroons were petty sovereigns in their own right—feudal lords of the soil—possessing complete jurisdiction over their tenants, who were forbidden to leave their service for a stipulated time. They also had authority to appoint local officers in all cities which they might establish, and were endowed with manorial privileges of hunting, fishing and fowling on all lands within their domain. This tempting offer at once excited the cupidity and love of power of the merchants of the West India Company, and no sooner was the act passed than a number hastened to comply with its requirements. Samuel Godyn and Samuel Blommaert, both of whom were directors of the West India Company, dispatched

agents to New Netherland, who purchased of the Indians two tracts of land ; the one extending from Cape Henlopen thirty-two miles up the west shore of Delaware Bay ; and the other, a piece of land sixteen miles square on the opposite shore, including Cape May, to which they gave the name of Swaanendael. Soon after, the agents of Killian Van Rensselaer, another director of the Company, purchased in his name the lands above and below Fort Orange, including the present counties of Albany and Rensselaer, to which they gave the name of Rensselaerswyck. Another director, Michael Pauw, appropriated a tract of land on the Jersey shore opposite to Manhattan, including Paulus Hook, Hoboken, and the adjacent country, to which he gave the name of Pavonia. To this purchase he soon after added that of Staten Island.

This wholesale appropriation of the province excited the jealousy of the other directors. Loud murmurs of discontent arose among the Company, and the grasping patroons were forced to admit their colleagues to share in their domains. Companies were formed for the proposed scheme of colonization, and David Pietersen de Vries, who had become one of the patroons of Swaanendael in the new arrangement, proceeded thither with a colony of thirty persons, which he established at Hoarkill near the present site of Lewiston. Colonies were also established about the same time at Rensselaerswyck and Pavonia.

The settlement at Fort Amsterdam, meanwhile, continued to flourish. Not only was it the chief depot of the fur trade, but also of the coast trade of the patroons, who were obliged to bring thither all their cargoes. In 1629 and 1630, the imports from Amsterdam amounted

to one hundred and thirteen thousand guilders, while the exports from Manhattan exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand. The people were turning their attention to ship-building, in humble imitation of the Fatherland, and at this early date, New Amsterdam was the commercial metropolis of America. It fairly won the title in 1631 by the construction of the New Netherland, a ship of eight hundred tons, which was built at Manhattan and dispatched to Holland. This was an important event in the ship-building annals of the times, for the New Netherland was one of the largest merchant vessels in the world. But the experiment was a costly one, and was not soon repeated. The land about the fort was fast being brought under cultivation, and, under the management of the industrious Walloons, a thriving settlement was springing up on the Brooklyn shore, and gradually extending back upon Long Island. Emigrants of all nations were beginning to flock into the province, allured by the liberal offers of the Company, who transported them thither in their own ships at the cheap rate of twelve and a half cents a day for provisions and passage, and gave them as much land as they could cultivate on their arrival. Unlike the policy of the Colony of Massachusetts, the fullest religious toleration was granted in the province, and this attracted many victims of the persecution which was raging so fiercely in Europe. Walloons, Huguenots, Calvinists, Friends and Catholics, all found a home here, and laid the foundation of that cosmopolitan character which the city has since so well sustained.

Yet the colony was chiefly of the Dutch type. The



simple and frugal settlers had imported the manners and customs of Holland along with its houses and furniture, and these for many years imparted a marked individuality to the growing city. To the north and south, the settlements were essentially English ; for a long time, New Amsterdam and its successor, New York, remained essentially Dutch. Yet these Holland manners and customs were becoming greatly modified by the exigencies of the new country. The settlers were gradually adopting something of the mode of life of their savage allies ; already had they learned to relish the Indian luxuries of succotash and hominy, and to welcome to their tables the game, shell-fish, fruits and berries which the island afforded in such profusion ; nor did the tobacco find less favor among them. The wampum had come to be a common currency in the settlement. Much of the Indian life was already clinging to them ; though in thought and feeling they still belonged to the Old World, and looked fondly back to Holland as their true fatherland.

At this juncture, a heavy calamity fell upon the infant colony which had been planted by De Vries at Swaanendael. According to custom, a tin plate, bearing the arms of Holland, had been affixed to a tree, in token of the sovereignty of the nation. Attracted by the glitter of the metal, and thinking no harm, a chief took it down to make it into tobacco pipes. This proceeding, Hossett, who had charge of the place, imprudently resented as an insult, and the natives, to appease him, slew the offender and brought him his right hand as a token of a vengeance of which the Dutch commander had never dreamed. But it was now too late. A few days after,

the friends of the murdered chieftain fell upon the settlers as they were at work in the fields, slew them without mercy, burned the fort and laid waste the whole settlement. Thirty-two colonists were massacred in cold blood—not one escaped to tell the tale. It was from the Indian chiefs themselves that De Vries heard the details of the horrible catastrophe on his arrival. The colony at Rensselaerswyck meanwhile continued to prosper.

The directors of the West India Company had hoped, by the aid of the patroons, to succeed in colonizing the country, and, at the same time, to retain the rich monopoly of the fur trade in their own hands. In this they met with serious opposition. The patroons, who had grown powerful through their extensive privileges, interfered with the traffic to such an extent that the directors resolved to limit their authority and to break their power. This procedure excited almost a civil war in the Company. By the provisions of the charter, the patroons were obliged also to be members of the association, and the Company was thus divided against itself. A warm dispute arose, and in 1632, Peter Minuit, who was suspected of favoring the pretensions of the patroons, was recalled from the directorship, although no successor was appointed for more than a year. At the same time, Jan Lampo, the schout fiscal, was superseded by Conrad Notelman, who had brought the letters of recall. Minuit at once resigned the government into the hands of the council, and embarked for Holland in the ship *Eendragt*, which had brought the news of his dismissal, accompanied by the ex-schout and several families of returning colonists. The *Eendragt* also car-

ried with her a cargo of five thousand beaver skins—a token of the growing prosperity of the colony.

On her return, the ship was forced by stress of weather into the harbor of Plymouth, where she was detained by the authorities as an illegal trafficker in English monopolies. Minuit instantly dispatched news of this proceeding to the Company, and also to the Dutch ambassadors at London, who remonstrated with the English government. The arrest of the Dutch trader led to a correspondence between the two countries, in which the claims of the rival powers were distinctly set forth. These claims, which formed the basis of continual agitations as long as the province remained in the hands of its Dutch proprietors, are too important in their connection with the history as well of the city as of the whole country, not to find a place here.

The Dutch claimed the proprietorship of the province on the grounds of its discovery by their nation in 1609 ; of the return of their people in 1610 ; of the grant of a trading charter in 1614 ; of the maintenance of a fort and garrison until the organization of the West India Company in 1621 ; of the failure of the English to occupy the territory ; and of the purchase of the land from its original owners, the natives. The English, on the other hand, laid claim to it on the ground of the prior discovery of Cabot, and declared it to be the property of the Plymouth Company, by virtue of a patent granted by James I., its lawful sovereign. As to the purchase of the land from the natives, they alleged that the wandering and communistic Indians, not being the *bonâ fide* possessors of the land, had no right to dispose of it, and



therefore, that all Indian titles must be invalid—a theory which they had certainly done their best to reduce to practice. They offered to permit the Dutch to remain in New Netherland, provided they would swear allegiance to the English government; otherwise they were threatened with instant extirpation. But civil war was now on the eve of breaking out in England, and the authorities were ill prepared to put their threat into execution. Contenting themselves with this assumption of sovereignty, they released the Eendragt, and reserved the accomplishment of their designs for a more convenient season.

## CHAPTER II.

1633—1642.

New Amsterdam in the Days of Wouter Van Twiller—English Difficulties—Willem Kieft.

DURING the interregnum which succeeded the departure of Minuit, the government was administered by the council, headed by Koopman Van Remund, the successor of Isaac de Rasières. In April, 1633, the ship *Soutberg* arrived at Manhattan, bringing Wouter Van Twiller, the new director-general, with a military force of a hundred and four soldiers, and a Spanish caraval which she had captured on the way. Among the passengers came also Everardus Bogardus and Adam Roelandsen, the first clergyman\* and schoolmaster of New Amsterdam.

\* The reader is referred to the archives of the Historical Society for a curious letter, transmitted thereto by the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, ex-United States Minister at the Hague, bearing date the 11th of August, 1628, and purporting to have been addressed by Jonas Michaëlius, first Minister of the Church of New Amsterdam, to Domine Adrianus Smoutius, Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church at Amsterdam. This letter, of the authenticity of which Mr. Murphy expresses himself strongly persuaded, was found among the papers of Jacobus Koning, clerk of the fourth judicial district of Amsterdam, and communicated to the Kerk-historisch Archief by J. J. Bodel Nijenhuis, Esq. Of its previous history, nothing whatever is known. In the records of the Classis of Amsterdam of a later date, Domine Michaëlius is mentioned as the late minister of Virginia; and the fact that the Dutch

A weaker, more vacillating or thoroughly incompetent governor could hardly have been selected than Wouter Van Twiller. He had married the niece of the wealthy patroon, Killian Van Rensselaer, and it was probably in consequence of this connection that he had succeeded in obtaining this important post. He had been employed as a clerk in the Company's warehouse, and had done them good service in this capacity; but knowing nothing at all of the science of government, and ignorant of everything except of money-making, he soon became ridiculous in his new position.

Immediately upon his arrival, Van Twiller assumed the direction of affairs, and organized his council. This council consisted of Jacob Jansen Hesse, Martin Gerritsen, Andries Hudde, and Jacques Bentyn. Cornelius Van Tienhoven was made book-keeper of the Company,

language was unknown in Virginia proper, coupled with the general custom of bestowing this appellation indiscriminately upon all portions of the western world, affords strong presumptive proof of the genuineness of the letter. If it be really authentic, it is, with the exception of Isaac de Rasières' letters to Governor Bradford and to Mr. Blommaert of Amsterdam, the only letter now extant written by the pioneers of New Amsterdam. The history of Michaëlius is full of adventure. Born in 1577 in North Holland and educated at the University of Leyden, he settled in 1614 at Nieuwbokswouden, whence he, two years afterwards, removed to Havre. On the capture of St. Salvador by the Dutch in 1624, he was dispatched thither to preside over the church of the victors. The next year, the island fell again into the hands of the Portuguese, and Michaëlius, abandoning his charge, set out on a missionary expedition to Guinea. In 1627, he returned to Holland, and soon after, if we may rely on this letter, made his way to New Amsterdam, to enact the part of the religious pioneer which historians have hitherto agreed in assigning to Bogardus. He probably did not remain long in the province. The next trace of him appears in 1637 or 38, when it was proposed by the Classis to send him again to New Amsterdam; but the request was refused by the West India Company, probably on account of his advanced age. The letter in question is quaint and curious, and gives a graphic picture of the primitive life of the early settlers



and Notelman and Van Remund retained their offices of schout and koopman. The council organized, he turned his attention at once to public improvements. The Company had authorized him to fortify the depots of the fur-trade, and he was not slow in obeying their instructions. The fort which had been commenced in 1626 and never completed, and which was now in a ruinous condition, was rebuilt, and a guard-house and barracks erected at a heavy cost for the newly arrived soldiers. Having a minister, a church now became indispensable. The loft in the horse-mill in which prayers had been read for the last seven years was abandoned, and a wooden church or rather barn was erected, on the shore of the East River, in Pearl between Whitehall and Broad streets; near to which was also constructed a parsonage and stable for "the domine." By this appellation, the ministers of the Dutch churches long continued to be known; the name is even now in vogue in some of the western settlements of Long Island. A graveyard was also laid out on the west side of Broadway, above the present Morris street. Three windmills were built in the vicinity of the fort; so near it, indeed, that the buildings within the walls often intercepted the wind and rendered them useless. Several brick and stone buildings for the use of the director and his officers were built within the walls of the fort. Van Twiller also caused a dwelling-house, barn, brewery, boat-house and other out-buildings to be built on Farm No. 1. of the Company, extending from Wall street, northward to Hudson street, where he himself took up his abode. The farm No 3, at Greenwich, he appropriated as his tobacco

plantation. Houses were built for the corporal, the smith, the cooper and the midwife, and several costly dwellings were also erected at Pavonia and at Forts Nassau and Orange, all of which were constructed at the expense of the Company.

About this time, the commercial importance of New Amsterdam was increased by the grant of "staple right;" a sort of feudal privilege, having its basis in the institutions of the Fatherland. By this grant, all vessels trading along the coast, or passing up and down the rivers, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at the port, or to pay certain duties in lieu thereof. This right was valuable, for it gave to the colony the commercial monopoly of the whole province.

In the person of Domine Bogardus, Van Twiller had brought with him an unruly subject. Scarcely had he commenced his administration, when the latter began to rebuke him for his conduct in public affairs. Van Twiller angrily resented the interference, whereupon Bogardus anathematized him from the pulpit as a child of the devil, and so incensed the governor that he refused ever to enter the church-doors again. The people naturally took sides in the quarrel, and the contest between governor and domine continued to the end of the administration. In the records of the year 1638, we read that "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus, a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell in the fort before the governor and council, and to say that she knew that he was honest and pious, and that she lied falsely." However this may be, it is certain that Bogardus was rude and imperious, and that many charges

were brought against him which were never sufficiently refuted.

A short time before the arrival of Van Twiller, De Vries returned with the mammoth ship *New Netherland* and a yacht, to visit his little colony of *Swaanendael*. Mournful, indeed, was the scene that met his eyes. Where he had left a flourishing settlement, there was naught to be seen but blackened ruins, charred trees, and the mouldering bones of the unhappy colonists. De Vries sickened at the sight ; but prudently concealing his sorrow and anger, he summoned the Indians, gleaned from them an account of the terrible disaster, then, instead of wreaking on them the vengeance they had expected, dismissed them with presents to meditate on the mercy of the white men. Such a vengeance would have been the signal for the destruction of every white man within the province. This De Vries well knew ; and after contracting this necessary but detested alliance, he sailed to Virginia, and opened a friendly intercourse with the governor, Sir John Harvey, who assured him that the Dutch had nothing to fear from that side, but warned them to beware of their Plymouth neighbors. On parting, the friendly governor sent several goats as a present to the director at Fort Amsterdam, by whom they were gladly received, there being as yet none in the colony.

Soon after the arrival of Van Twiller, the *William*, an English ship, arrived at Manhattan, with Jacob Eelkins, the former agent at Fort Orange, who had been dismissed by the Company in 1632, as supercargo. Irritated by his dismissal, Eelkins had gone over to the service of the



English, and had now come in the interests of his new employers to trade in furs with the Indians of the Mauritius River. This was contrary to the policy of the West India Company; and Van Twiller, who, though a bad governor, was a good merchant, understanding the value of the monopoly of the fur trade, refused to permit the vessel to proceed on its way, and demanded Eelkins' commission. This Eelkins refused to produce, declaring that he was on British territory, discovered by an Englishman, and that he would go up the river if it cost him his life. The governor forbade him in the name of the Dutch government, and ordered the flag to be hoisted at Fort Amsterdam, and three guns to be fired in honor of the Prince of Orange. In return for this display, Eelkins run up the English flag by way of bravado, and ordered a salute to be fired in honor of King Charles; then coolly sailed up the river in defiance of the guns of Fort Amsterdam, leaving the astonished governor to meditate on his audacity at his leisure.

Thunderstruck at such an act of daring, Van Twiller summoned all the people together in the square before the fort, now the Bowling Green, then ordering a cask of wine and another of beer to be brought, he filled a glass, and called on all good citizens who loved the Prince of Orange to do the same, and to drink confusion to the English Government. The citizens were not slow in obeying the command; and, indeed, this was all that they could do, for the ship was now far beyond the guns of the fort, and safely pursuing her journey up the river. But they were deeply mortified at the governor's pusillanimity, and De Vries openly taxed him with cowardice, and told him that if it

had been his case, he should have sent some eight-pound beans after the saucy Englishman and helped him down again, but as it was now too late for that, he should certainly send the Soutberg after him and drive him down the river. After meditating on this counsel for a few days, the vacillating Van Twiller resolved to follow it, and dispatched an armed force to Fort Orange, where



Wrath of Van Twiller.

Elkins had pitched a tent on the shore, and was busily engaged in trading with the natives. This tent the soldiers speedily demolished, and, reshipping his goods, brought his vessel back to Fort Amsterdam, where he was required to give up his peltries, and was sent to sea with a warning never more to interfere with the trade of the Dutch government.

It was not long before Van Twiller, who always acted promptly on inopportune occasions, attempted to vindicate his statesmanship at De Vries' expense. The latter wished to send his yacht through Hellegat to trade along the coasts, a privilege to which he was entitled as a patroon; but the governor refused his consent, and ordering the guns of the fort to be turned on the receding vessel, commanded her to stop and unload directly. "The land is full of fools!" exclaimed the exasperated De Vries, running to the Battery point where stood the governor with some of his council, "if you want to shoot, why didn't you shoot the Englishman when he sailed up the river?" The governor dared not give the order to fire, and the yacht passed on, and was soon winding her way through the tortuous channels of the Hellegat.

Although, in the general appropriation of patroonships, no claim had been made on the country about the Connecticut River, and the few settlers who had gone thither had soon returned with their families to Manhattan, the Dutch had constantly kept up a brisk trade with the Indians, and as constantly asserted their right to the territory. In the meantime, a grant of the same territory had been made to Lord Warwick by the English



government; and Van Twiller, taking alarm at the movements of the English, determined to forestall them by securing its possession. During the summer preceding the arrival of Van Twiller, a small tract of land at the mouth of the Connecticut River had been purchased of the Indians, and the arms of the States General affixed to a tree. Immediately after his arrival, the governor dispatched Jacob Van Corlaer with six other agents thither, who purchased a tract of land of the Pequods near the site of the present city of Hartford, and built a redoubt upon it, which they fortified with two cannon and named Fort Good Hope.

Hearing of this encroachment, the people of Plymouth applied to the Massachusetts colony to aid them in driving off the Dutch intruders. But, deeming the country almost valueless on account of the difficulty of entering the river and the hostility of the Indian tribes in the vicinity, the latter declined, although Governor Winthrop dispatched a letter to Van Twiller, remonstrating with him for encroaching upon English territory. To this Van Twiller returned a courteous reply, proposing that the matter should be referred to their respective governments, and hoping "that two great powers might not fall into contention about a little part or portion of these heathenish countries." The Plymouth colonists, however, resolved on more decisive measures, and purchasing a small tract of land of the Indians, just above Fort Good Hope, dispatched Lieutenant William Holmes thither with a picked company of men and the frame of a small house to found an English settlement. As they neared the Dutch post, they were hailed by Van Corlaer,

who threatened to fire if they proceeded. "Fire!" was the reply, "we are following the commands of the governor of Plymouth, and, living or dead, we must obey his orders." The true follower of Van Twiller, Van Corlaer dared not fire, and Holmes ascended the river a mile and a half higher, set up his house, and founded the settlement of Windsor. Van Twiller, on hearing of these proceedings, served a written protest on the intruders, and soon after sent seventy soldiers to dislodge them. But they stood on their defence, and the Dutch commander withdrew without attempting their expulsion.

In the meantime, De Vries had returned to Holland, contending to the last with Van Twiller, who vainly endeavored to detain him and to wring from him a tribute in the shape of taxes and duties. Soon after, he withdrew from his partnership in the patroonship of Swaanendael, which was bought up by the Company for the sum of fifteen thousand six hundred guilders, or six thousand two hundred and forty dollars. About the same time, Notelman, the schout fiscal, who had been convicted of dishonesty in the performance of his duties, was superseded by Lubbertus Van Dinklagen.

Trouble broke out in a new quarter. A party of Englishmen from Point Comfort, headed by George Holmes, took possession of the deserted trading-post of Fort Nassau. For once, Van Twiller seems to have acted with promptness. He at once dispatched an armed force to South River, who dislodged the intruders and brought them back as prisoners to Fort Amsterdam. Just at this juncture, De Vries arrived from Holland, on his way to Virginia. Van Twiller, at a loss how to dis-

pose of his prisoners, begged him to wait for a few days ; the unlucky Englishmen were embarked on board his vessel, and landed two days afterwards at Point Comfort, just in time to prevent a party of their countrymen from setting out to rejoin them. This timely action ended the proposed invasion, and secured to the Dutch for the time being the undisputed possession of the South River.

Not equally fortunate were they on the Connecticut. In 1634, a company of emigrants from Massachusetts founded a settlement at Wethersfield ; while another party established themselves near the mouth of the river, tearing down the arms of the States General which had been affixed there three years before, and treating them with contemptuous derision. To this latter settlement they gave the name of Saybrook. Van Twiller, finding protests unavailing, dispatched a sloop to dislodge them, which was driven off by the English without being suffered to land. At a loss how to act, the governor dispatched an account of the proceedings to his superiors, and waited for further instructions. In the meantime, the English occupied Springfield, thus gaining almost exclusive possession of the territory of the Fresh River.

About the same time, some incidents less serious and more ludicrous occurred at Fort Amsterdam, which have been caught up by the witty historian of the Knickerbocker times, and converted into a choice bit of satire on the unlucky governor. Finding that Virginia was not a good place for the Dutch to trade at, De Vries, after landing his prisoners, returned to Fort Amsterdam, which he reached about two o'clock in



the morning. The whole city was asleep. Not a sentinel appeared on the walls, no challenge was given, and no one was conscious of the arrival of the vessel. At daybreak he fired a salute of three guns. The frightened citizens sprang from their beds and seized their arms, the startled soldiers ran to their guns, and the governor fancied that the English were in possession of the city. A few minutes explained the mistake; the people laughed at their terror, and De Vries was heartily welcomed back again. His vessel leaking badly, she was hauled up into the "Smit's Vly," a morass lying outside of Pearl street between Pine and Fulton streets, where she was careened and repaired. This "vly" or valley afterwards became the site of the well-known Fly Market.

Soon after De Vries' arrival, the first fire in the vicinity occurred at Pavonia. Cornelius Van Voorst, the newly appointed agent for Patroon Pauw, had just arrived, bringing with him some choice claret, and Van Twiller, with De Vries and Domine Bogardus, hastened thither to greet his arrival and taste the luxury. The party was not altogether an harmonious one, for Van Twiller and Bogardus, who were friends for the occasion, quarrelled with Van Voorst about a murder which had recently been committed on his premises. They parted, however, on friendly terms, and on their return, the agent fired a farewell salute from a swivel that was mounted in front of his house. A spark fell upon the thatched roof, the reeds caught, and in half an hour the building was in ashes. Such an event had, as yet, been hardly anticipated, and no means were at

hand for extinguishing the fire ; nor indeed did any exist until several years after.

De Vries soon after prepared to return to Europe, and the director resolved to give a banquet in honor of his departure. Tables were spread on the Battery in one of the angles of the fort and a large company invited and Van Corlaer, the celebrated trumpeter of the fort, was called upon to furnish music for the occasion. The wine circulated freely and all were merry ; but just as the festivity had reached its height, a couple of worthy "koopmans," or supercargoes, took it into their heads to find fault with the trumpeter. The valorous Van Corlaer vindicated his cause by giving them both a beating, upon which they ran home for their swords, uttering threats of the most direful vengeance. But their anger evaporated during the night, and in the morning, says the quaint chronicler of the times, "they feared the trumpeter more than they sought him." De Vries, after selecting Staten Island as his future residence, and entering his claim to it through the director, set sail for Holland, taking with him several Englishmen, who had sold their vessel, together with two captured prizes, at Fort Amsterdam.

Van Twiller, as has already been said, was too good a merchant to neglect his own interests. In the summer of 1636, he, with Jacob Van Corlaer, Adriaen Hudde and Wolfert Gerritsen, purchased a tract of land comprising some fifteen thousand acres on Long Island, where they founded New Amersfoort, the present Flatlands. About the same time, he granted to Roelef Jansen a tract of thirty-one morgens or sixty-two acres of land,

beginning a little south of the present Warren street, and extending along Broadway as far as Duane street, and thence northwesterly a mile and a half to Christopher street, thus forming a sort of unequal triangle with its base upon the North River. This grant afterwards became a part of the famous Trinity Church property. Jansen died a few years after, leaving four children, and his widow and heiress, Aneke Jans, became the wife of Domine Bogardus. After his shipwreck and death, the grant was confirmed by Stuyvesant to Aneke Jansen, a second time a widow with eight children. Upon the subsequent capture of the province, the grant was again confirmed by the English government to her heirs, who sold it in 1671 to Colonel Lovelace, though one of the heirs failed to join in the conveyance. It was now incorporated into the King's Farm, once owned by the Dutch West India Company, and, in 1703, was presented by Cornbury unto Trinity Church, at that time the established church of the city. Van Twiller also confirmed the possession of the Waal-bogt to George Jansen de Rapelje, one of the Walloons who had emigrated with Cornelissen Mey,\* and granted to Jonas Bronck that part of Westchester lying opposite Harlem.

Nor did Van Twiller neglect to increase his own possessions. Besides his recent purchases on Long Island, he already had a flourishing plantation at Red Hook ; to this he added Nutten's Island, which lay opposite it, only separated by a narrow channel, so shoal that cattle

\* The companions of de Rapelje, whose names, slightly changed in orthography, may still be found among the residents of the Wallabout and its vicinity, were L'Escuyer, Duregee, Le Sillie, Cershaw, Conseiller, and Musserol.



forded it at low water. This undoubtedly formed originally a part of Long Island. But the abrasion of the neighboring shores by the waves, together with the filling in of the lower part of the city, have widened and deepened the chasm, and ships now pass in safety through Buttermilk Channel. So lately as the close of the last century, its passage was hardly deemed safe for boats, on account of the rocks with which it was filled; though market-boats, loaded with buttermilk and rowed by women, glided through it on their way from Long Island to the New York market, and gave it its name. Nutten's Island, which had derived its name from its abundance of nut-trees, was henceforth known as Governor's Island. Soon afterwards he purchased Great Barn and Blackwell Islands in the Hellegat River; becoming through these acquisitions the richest landholder in the colony. The growing rapacity of the director became at length so apparent that it excited public attention, and called forth open murmurs from Van Dincklagen, the upright and able schout-fiscal. Incensed at this audacity, Van Twiller removed him from his office, and, retaining his salary, which was now three years in arrear, sent him a prisoner to Holland on a charge of contumacy. Ulrich Lupold was appointed as his temporary successor. But on his arrival, Van Dincklagen, who was a man of marked ability, represented the bad management of the director so strongly to the States General, that they urged the Amsterdam Chamber to recall him, and to reinstate Van Dincklagen in his office. To this they at first demurred, but the representations of Van Dincklagen being confirmed by De Vries, they finally con-

sented, and on the 2d of September, 1637, appointed Wilhelm Kieft as his successor. Nor did the schout-fiscal stop here ; he also censured Domine Bogardus so severely, that the latter, on learning of the charges made against him, petitioned for leave to return to Holland to defend himself. This was denied him, but the consistory of his church instituted ecclesiastical proceedings against Van Dincklagen, which were brought several years afterwards before the Classis of Amsterdam. Van Dincklagen was forced to wait many years for the payment of his salary, though the States General had signified their pleasure that it should at once be paid to him. But he finally returned with honor to New Amsterdam, to fill one of the most important offices in the government.

One of the last events in the administration of Van Twiller was the purchase of Pavonia from its patroon by the West India Company. This purchase consolidated their power, by giving them possession of the Jersey shore as well as of Staten Island. Swaanendael they had before acquired, and all the patroonships with the exception of Rensselaerswyck thus reverted back to them. This, indeed, was the only one in which the system had produced the colonization so much desired by the Company. Yet the settlement at Manhattan remained the only one worthy of the name ; and, at this date, the history of the city and that of the province must necessarily be inseparable. Pavonia soon lost its euphonic appellation, Latinized from the uncouth name of Pauw, in the hands of its new proprietors ; and at the present time, the little village of Communipauw is all that is left to remind us of the wealthy patroon.

On the 28th of March, Wilhelm Kieft, the new director, arrived in the ship *Herring*, at Manhattan. His antecedents were not prepossessing. Born at Amsterdam and educated as a merchant, he had become a bankrupt at Rochelle, where his portrait had been affixed to the public gallows after the custom of the city. After this, he had been sent to ransom some Christians in Turkey, where he was accused of having left several captives in bondage, retaining the money which had been raised for the purchase of their liberty. He was a bustling, excitable man, with some show of business talent and considerable energy, yet testy, irritable and capricious, without stability or mental equilibrium, and devoid of the sound judgment and cool prudence so necessary in the governor of a province. In some respects, he was the superior of the heavy, indolent Van Twiller, yet the nervous irritability which rendered him so, involved the province in scenes of blood and horror which it would probably have escaped beneath the placable sway of the good-natured director.

Kieft immediately set to work with bustling activity, organizing his council in such a manner as to keep the direction of affairs in his own hands. Lupold was continued in the office of schout, Van Tienhoven was appointed koopman, and a Huguenot physician by the name of Johannes la Montagne, who had lately emigrated to New Amsterdam, was admitted into the council. This done, he set about reforming the abuses which had crept into the colony, and repairing the disorder of public affairs. He found no lack of business in this direction. The fort was in a ruinous condition, and all the



guns dismantled; the church and government buildings were out of repair; but one of the three mills which had been built was in working order, and almost all the vessels were leaky or disabled. The few cattle of the Company had been sold or transported to the plantations of Van Twiller, and their farms thrown into commons. There were abuses everywhere—private individuals smuggled furs and tobacco, and sold powder and guns to the Indians, regardless of the prohibitions of the Company, and law and order were almost obsolete in the colony. Kieft energetically set to work to cure these evils, and issued a code of laws and regulations, which were not much better heeded by the colonists than the wordy protests of Van Twiller had been by the English. All illegal traffic in furs was forbidden under penalty of confiscation of the goods, the selling of muskets or ammunition to the Indians was made a capital offence, tobacco was subject to excise, and no liquor but wine was permitted to be sold at retail. Sailors were forbidden to leave their ships after nightfall, hours were fixed for all to commence and leave off work, and strict laws were passed against all vice and profanity. Thursday in each week was fixed for the session of the council as a civil and criminal court. All persons were prohibited from leaving the island without a passport, and strict measures were taken to restrain the illegal traffic which had grown so dangerous to the interests of the Company.

Meanwhile, the Dutch were threatened with a new rival from an unexpected quarter. Minuit, the ex-director, indignant at his abrupt dismissal, resolved to

found a new colony under his own direction. With this design, he proceeded to Stockholm, and, gaining access to Queen Christina, described the new country to her in such glowing language that she at once became anxious to secure a portion of it for Sweden. The project, indeed, was not a new one ; it had previously been proposed to Gustavus Adolphus by William Usselinckx, the original projector of the Dutch West India Company, who had favored the undertaking ; but ere it could be carried into effect, Sweden's greatest monarch had found his death on the field of Lützen. It remained for his daughter, aided by the counsels of the able Oxenstiern, to carry out his project, and to secure a foothold for Sweden in the New World. By her command, the *Key of Calmar* man-of-war, and a tender called the *Griffin*, were fitted out with goods suitable for traffic with the Indians, a Lutheran clergyman and some fifty emigrants were embarked, and the expedition was placed under *Minuit's* direction. Steering directly for the Virginian coast, he touched at Jamestown for wood and water ; then, proceeding to Delaware Bay, he purchased all the territory on the west side of the river from Cape Henlopen to Trenton Falls, with an indefinite extent inland, of the sachem of the country, for the consideration of a kettle and a few trifles, and, taking possession of the country in the name of Sweden, erected a trading-post which he called *Fort Christina*. This was situated near the site of the present Wilmington, and was the first settlement within the State of Delaware.

On learning of this new encroachment, *Kieft* immediately served a protest on the intruders, claiming the

territory as the property of the West India Company, and declaring that he would not be answerable for the consequences which might result from their illegal occupation. Finding his remonstrances disregarded, he applied for instructions to the Amsterdam Chamber. But, at this time, Sweden was one of the most powerful of the European kingdoms; the States General, unwilling to embroil themselves with so dangerous a neighbor, deemed it expedient not to pursue the matter further, and the Swedes were permitted to continue their traffic under protest.

Soon after this occurrence, a measure was adopted by the Company which proved of vital importance to the interests of the colony. Hitherto, their efforts at colonization had proved futile, and the patroon system had resulted in a total failure. For the encouragement of individual enterprise, a new charter of privileges was granted, limiting patroonships to four miles of frontage on navigable rivers with eight miles inland; granting to every person who should transport himself and five others to the province at his own cost, two hundred acres of land; and conferring on all villages and cities which should hereafter be founded, the right of choosing their own magistrates. The monopoly of the Indian trade was relinquished in consideration of a moderate duty, the Company only retaining the exclusive right of transportation to and from the colony. They offered a free passage, however, to all respectable farmers, with as much land as they could cultivate on their arrival, subject to a quit-rent of a tenth of the produce. They also pledged themselves to provide ministers, school-



masters, and "comforters for the sick;" and renewed their promise to supply the colonists with negroes. The prohibition against making cloths was also repealed. The Reformed Dutch Religion was declared the established faith of the province, though the fullest toleration was granted to all other sects. No distinction was made between foreigners and Hollanders, the only obligation imposed on the former being an oath of fidelity to the Dutch government.

Allured by these liberal offers, numerous wealthy emigrants soon flocked into the colony. In 1639, De Vries returned to Manhattan with a party of colonists, and erected some buildings and began a colony on Staten Island. In the course of the same year, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, both men of means and influence, arrived with a number of emigrants at New Amsterdam, where they soon became prominent members of the colony. Some English indentured servants, who had served out their time in Virginia, came also to Manhattan, where they carried on the cultivation of tobacco, and introduced cherry and peach-trees which had hitherto been unknown in the settlement. Attracted by the greater religious freedom in the province, several valuable settlers came in from New England, among whom was Captain John Underhill, who had distinguished himself in the Pequod war, and had afterwards become Governor of Dover. The strangers were cordially welcomed, and at once inducted into all the privileges of citizenship, and they soon grew warmly attached to the interests of their adopted city. The island was fast losing its savage aspect, full thirty farms and planta-

tions were in thrifty cultivation, and the country outside the walls of the fort resembled a blooming garden.

The land in the vicinity of Manhattan, both on the Long Island and Jersey shores, and northward on the mainland, was fast being brought under cultivation. In the summer of 1638, Kieft had purchased for the Company a large tract of land on Long Island in the vicinity of the present Newtown, and commenced the settlement of the country adjacent to the Waal-bogt. In the following summer, Antonie Jansen de Rapelje, the brother of the founder of the Walloon settlement, obtained a grant of a hundred morgens, or nearly two hundred acres of land, opposite Coney Island, and commenced the settlement of Gravesend. Rapelje, or Jansen, as he was commonly called, was a man of prodigious strength and stature, and was reputed by many to be a Moor by birth, a circumstance probably owing to his adjunct of De Salee, under which name his patent was granted, and by which he was often known. This report, however, was without foundation; he was a native Walloon, and the suffix to his name was probably derived from the river Saale in France, and not from Salee in Morocco. For many years after the Dutch dynasty had passed away, his farm at Gravesend continued to be known as Anthony Jansen's Bouwery.\* Thomas Belcher,

\* William Jansen de Rapelje, the third brother of this family, distinguished as having been among the earliest settlers of Long Island, and the founders of the present city of Brooklyn, settled at New Amsterdam, where he died without children. By a curious caprice, the descendants of Antonie have discarded the name of Rapelje, retaining that of Jansen, or Johnson as they are more commonly called; while the family of George have dropped the Jansen, and are known by the name of Rapelje or Rapelyea.

an Englishman, soon after obtained a tract of land at Brooklyn, and George Holmes and Thomas Hall, the leaders of the unsuccessful Virginian expedition against Fort Nassau, who had now become residents of Manhattan, obtained farms near Deutel's, now Turtle Bay on the East River. In the spring of 1640, Kieft purchased of the Indians in behalf of the Company, all the territory comprised within the present limits of Kings and Queens Counties which was not already in their possession. De Vries soon after established another colony at Tappan on lands which he had previously purchased of the Indians, to which he gave the name of Vriesendael. The following year, another colony was established within an hour's walk of the former by Myndert Vander Voorst in the valley of the Hackensack River; and about the same time, Cornelis Melyn obtained a grant from the Amsterdam Chamber for all that part of Staten Island which was not already occupied by De Vries. Previously to this, Kieft had established a distillery and buckskin manufactory there on his own account, and had stationed a few soldiers in a small redoubt on one of the headlands, with orders to signal to the garrison in the fort the arrival of vessels in the lower bay.

The English, meanwhile, continued their encroachments upon the territory of the Connecticut, and had almost succeeded in forcing the Dutch from Fort Good Hope, the only foothold which they possessed in that region. Not content with this, they next attempted to gain possession of Long Island also. In 1635, Lord Stirling had obtained a grant from the Plymouth Council of a part of New England, together with Long Island ;



and dispatched James Farrett thither as his proxy, granting him sixteen thousand acres for his own use. Farrett selected Shelter and Robins' Islands in Peconic Bay, and granted Gardiner's Island to Lyon Gardiner, the first settler of the region. Shelter Island was afterwards conveyed to Captain Nathaniel Silvester and Ensign John Booth, who, March 23, 1652, strengthened their title by purchasing it of the Sachem Yokee.\* It was subsequently sold to Lyon Gardiner. Under a title from Farrett, a party from Lynn attempted to settle on the lands claimed by the Dutch near Manhasset, but were speedily arrested by an armed force from the fort and carried to Manhattan, then sent back to New England.

They returned in 1640, and settled at Southampton. In the same year, the neighboring town of Southold was settled by a company of immigrants from Norfolk-shire, England, who secured the lands in the vicinity of Yinnicoek, now Greenport. But these distant set-

\* The deed of purchase is recorded in Liber A., p. 74, of Records of Southold, L. I., and is still in possession of the family. This interesting specimen of an Indian title is worth transcribing :

"We, whose names are hereunderneath subscribed, doe freely testify and declare that Y" Kee, formerly Sachem of Munghunsick Aququatunasmack, now called Sheltered Island, did on the three and twentieth of March, 1652, give full possession unto Capt. Nathaniel Silvester and Ensign John Booth of the aforesaid Island of Aququatunasmack, with all that was belonging to the same, and he, the said Yokee, delivered unto the aforesaid Capt. Nathaniel Silvester and Ensign John Booth \* \* \* according to the usual custom of England, after which delivering and full possession given, the said Yokee \* \* \* formally leaving the said Island of Aququatunasmack, did freely and willingly depart the aforesaid Island, leaving the aforesaid Capt. Nathaniel Silvester and Ensign John Booth in full possession of the same, unto which we witness our hands, the date as above being the 23d of March, 1652.

"JOHN HERBERT, ROBERT SEELY, DANIEL LANE, GILES SILVESTER.

"Recorded the 28th of January, 1661, by me, WILLIAM WELLS, Recorder."

tlements scarcely troubled the Dutch authorities, who, content with maintaining their claim to the western part of the island, suffered the eastern colonists to remain in peace. In 1648, another party of colonists from Lynn took possession of the easternmost part of the island, and founded the town of Easthampton. With the exception of a small colony that was founded at Setauket, on the north side of the island, in 1655, these were the only English settlements that were made on Long Island during the rule of the Dutch dynasty.

The Swedes, meanwhile, had continued to carry on a flourishing trade with the Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Christina. In the beginning, they experienced hardships and privations ; at one time, indeed, rendered desperate by famine, they were on the point of breaking up their little settlement and removing to Manhattan, where Kieft had promised them a cordial reception. Fortunately, the day before the projected emigration, a ship laden with colonists and supplies appeared in the river. Others soon followed, and the colony rapidly increased. In 1641, Peter Minuit died, and was buried at Fort Christina. Peter Hollendaere, a Swede, succeeded him in the command.

But the success of these Swedish colonists on the South River was too marked not to excite the cupidity of the New Englanders. In 1640, a bark was fitted out at New Haven by a merchant (George Lamberton), and dispatched with some fifty families to the shores of the Delaware to found a settlement. On the way, they touched at Manhattan, where they were warned by Kieft to desist from all enterprises in that quarter. Disregard-

ing his injunctions, they proceeded on their way, and established themselves, a part on Salem Creek, and the rest on the Schuylkill. Enraged at this interference with the Dutch trade, Kieft fitted out two yachts with a force of fifty men to dislodge the intruders; but trouble breaking out among the Indians on Staten Island, he was forced for the time to abandon the enterprise. In the following year, he dispatched an expedition, which, seconded by the Swedes, broke up both the settlements, and brought back the English with their goods to Fort Amsterdam, whence they were sent back to New Haven. Lamberton, who persisted in trading at the South River, was soon after arrested and brought to Manhattan, where he was compelled to pay full duties on his cargo. The English demanded satisfaction for the damages done their people, which they estimated at a thousand pounds, but Kieft boldly justified his conduct, and refused to accede to their demand. The controversy continued, and the English annoyed their neighbors so greatly that Kieft proclaimed a non-intercourse with the colony of Connecticut. This state of affairs proving embarrassing, the colonists soon opened a negotiation with Kieft for the purchase of the territory about the Dutch post; and this failing, both parties appealed to their respective powers in England and Holland for a redress of their grievances. But civil war was now raging in England between the king and the parliament, and though a correspondence was opened between the two governments, the settlement of the question was deferred till a more convenient season. Meanwhile, the English persisted in their design of crowding out the Dutch

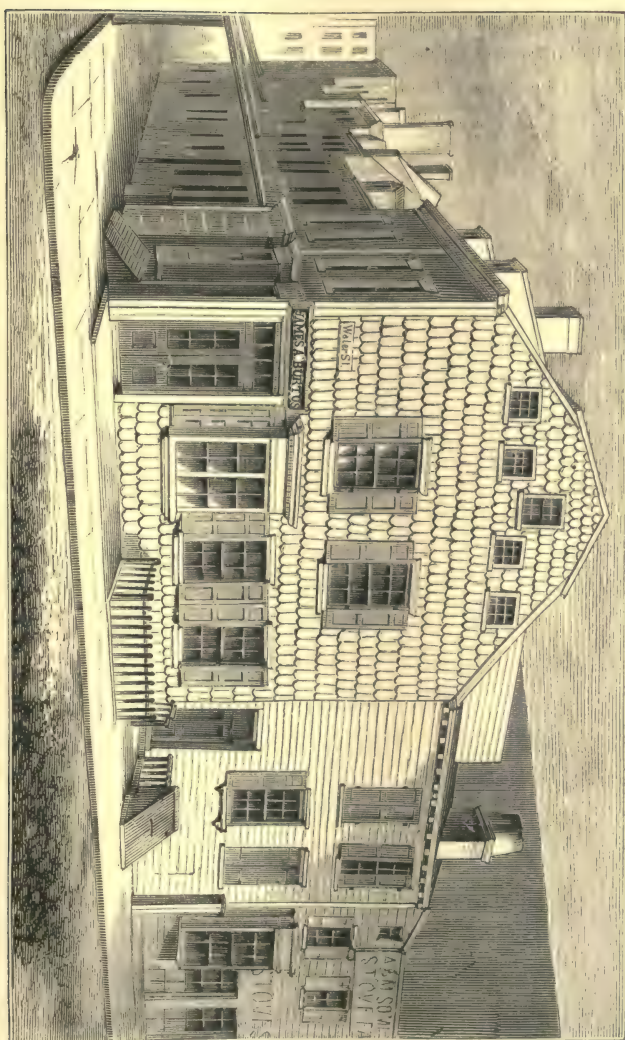


from a territory which indubitably belonged to them, both by right of discovery and that of first possession.

The settlement at Fort Amsterdam—the embryo New York—continued to increase in numbers and prosperity. Among the late accessions were many men of wealth and public spirit, who were ambitious for the advancement of the colony. The settlement was growing into respectable proportions. A few brick and stone houses had been erected for the accommodation of the governor and officials, but the greater part were unpretending little cottages, with thatched roofs and wooden chimneys, standing with the gable end to the street. Until 1642, city lots and streets were unknown; the settlers chose land wherever it was most convenient for them, and being gregarious in habits, streets were formed almost by instinct. This fact accounts reasonably enough for the crooked ways of the lower part of our metropolis. Two roads leading from the fort towards the northern part of the island had been formed by common consent; the one, afterwards known as the Boston or Old Post Road, leading from the fort up the line of Broadway to the end of the Park, then winding round through Chatham, Duane, William and Pearl streets to avoid a steep hill with a brook at the foot at Roosevelt street, and continuing its course up the line of the Bowery; the other, extending from the fort through Stone street to Hanover Square, and thence along the river shore to the ferry, where the ferryman, Cornelis Dircksen, who owned a farm hard by, came at the sound of the horn that hung against a tree, and ferried the waiting passenger across the river in his little skiff for the moderate

charge of three stivers in wampum. This ferry, in the earliest days of the city, was established between the nearest points of contact of the opposite shores, that is, from the vicinity of Peck Slip to a point a little below the Fulton ferry landing at Brooklyn.

At this time, and for many years after, Pearl street formed the edge of the river. It is at no very distant date, indeed, that Water, Front and South streets have been reclaimed from their river beds and made to do their duty as a staunch support to commerce. From the old yellow house—one of the last relics of the past—standing until 1867 on the corner of Peck Slip and Water street, one could easily throw stones into the river which flowed through Water street at the time of its erection. In the days of Wilhelm Kieft, this street was selected as the site of the up-town residences of the wealthy burghers on account of its fine river prospect. The ferryman Dircksen owned the land directly opposite the ferry; the tract above of thirty-three acres, extending up to the vicinity of Franklin Square, was owned by Henry Bressar. Above this lay Wolfert's Marsh, the property of Wolfert Van Couwenhoven, covering the Roosevelt street district. Between the lands of Dircksen, and Wall street, which formed the northern boundary of the city, the lands along the line of the street were owned by David Provoost, Philip de Truy, Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Laurens Vanderwel, and Govert Loockermans, the most of whom were agents in the Company's employ. On the west side of Broadway, above the graveyard, stood the country seats of Messrs. Vandiegrist and Van Dyck. But the most of the houses



Burtus House, corner of Peck Slip and Water Street, in 1867.





were clustered at the lower end of the town about the walls of the fort. In Whitehall street, stood the parsonage, with its garden of variegated tulips intersected by plain alleys of clipped box and cedars. In close proximity stood the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the Company. In South William near Pearl street was the old horsemill, erected by Minuit, and since superseded by the windmills of Van Twiller. One of these stood on State street, the most prominent object in the city as seen from the river. The fort itself was bounded by the Bowling Green, Bridge, Whitehall and State streets. The former was known as "the plain," and was a valuable institution, both in peace and war. It was the village green, where the people erected their May poles, and danced on holidays; it served also as the parade ground of the soldiers of the fort, and more than once, had it witnessed the departure of a warlike expedition. Pearl street was probably the street first occupied—the oldest in the annals of the city; the first houses were built on it in 1633. Bridge street came next in order, and a deed is still on record whereby Abraham Van Steenwyck sells to Anthony Van Fees a lot on this street, thirty feet front by one hundred and ten feet deep, for the sum of twenty-four guilders, or nine dollars and sixty cents—the earliest conveyance of property now on record in this city. Whitehall, Stone, Broad, Beaver and Market-field streets were built on soon after. In 1640, the first grant of a city lot east of the fort was made near Smit's Vly to Ph. de True. The following year, several grants of lots on the lower end of Broadway, or Heere Straat as it was then called, were made to different individuals.

Martin Krigier was the first grantee of a lot on this street, opposite the Bowling Green, containing about eighty-six rods. On this he built the well-known "Krigier's Tavern," which soon became a place of fashionable resort. Upon its demolition, the "King's Arms Tavern" was erected in its stead. This afterwards became the head-quarters of General Gage, the commandant of the fort and commander-in-chief of the British forces at the breaking out of the Revolution. Transformed into the Atlantic Gardens, No. 9 Broadway, it remained standing, one of the few relics of the olden time; the more remarkable for being but the second structure that has occupied the site since the foundation of the city. Other grantees soon purchased lots, and streets became fixed facts in the lower part of the city, though no systematic effort was made for their regulation until after the arrival of Stuyvesant. The price of lots averaged at about fourteen dollars; they were laid out in uneven figures to suit the course of the streets, containing from thirty to a hundred and twenty-five feet, according to the location.

In 1641, Kieft instituted two annual fairs for the encouragement of agriculture, the first for cattle, to be held on the 15th of October, and the second for hogs, to be held on the 1st of November, upon the Bowling Green. This opened the way for another improvement. As yet, no tavern had been erected within the settlement for the accommodation of strangers, and the numerous visitors from the New England colonies as well as from the interior were compelled to avail themselves of the hospitalities of the director. The fairs swelled the number, and Kieft, finding the tax



becoming a heavy one, in 1642 erected a large stone tavern at the Company's expense for their accommodation. This tavern was situated on the east shore of the river, near the present Coenties Slip, and was afterwards transformed into a city hall or Stadt huys.



“Stadt Huys,” at Coenties Slip

The church which had been built by Van Twiller, and which was but a barn at best, was becoming dilapidated, and several of the settlers, headed by De Vries, urged the erection of a new one. “It was a shame,” they said, “that the English, who had such fine churches in their settlements, should see them worshipping in a mean barn, when they had plenty of fine wood and stone and oyster-shells for lime at their very doors.” It is more probable that they feared an attack from the Indians in the old structure outside the walls of the fort,

but this they did not choose to assign as their motive. The governor consented, and proposed, doubtless for the same reason, that the church should be erected within the walls of the fort. To this arrangement, many demurred. They objected that the fort was already crowded with buildings, and that the church would intercept the southeast wind and obstruct the working of the windmill on the shore of the North River ; but the director remained firm, and the site was finally agreed upon. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, and Jan Jansen Damen, with De Vries and Kieft, were appointed "kirke-meesters," to superintend the building of the edifice, and nothing was wanting but the necessary funds.

How to obtain them was the question. Kieft, on his part, promised to advance a thousand guilders on the Company's account, and De Vries headed a private subscription-list with a hundred more, but this was not nearly sufficient, and the citizens were not in a liberal humor. A little management extricated the projectors from their difficulty. At this juncture, a daughter of Domine Bogardus was opportunely married. The principal citizens were invited to the wedding, the wine circulated freely, and all were merry. When the festivity had reached its height, the subscription paper was produced, and the excited guests vied with each other in the amount of their donations. There were some the next morning who would fain have recalled their reckless liberality ; but repentance availed them nothing, the money was subscribed, and the work went on.

A contract was made with John and Richard Ogden of Stamford for the mason-work of a church of rock-

stone, seventy-two feet long, fifty-two wide and sixteen high, at a cost of twenty-five hundred guilders, with a bonus of a hundred more, should the work prove satisfactory. The roof was covered with split oaken shingles, then called wooden slates. In the front wall was inserted a marble slab with the inscription, "Ao. Do. "MDCXLII. W. Kieft Dr. Gr. Heeft de Gemeente dese "Tempel doen Bouwen;" which, being translated, gives the somewhat equivocal sentence, "Anno Domini, 1642, "Wilhelm Kieft, Director-General, hath the Common-  
"alty caused to build this Temple." When the fort was demolished in 1787 to make room for the Government House, the stone was discovered, buried in the earth, and was removed to the belfry of the old Dutch Church in Garden street, where it remained until both were destroyed in the conflagration of 1835. The church was styled the St. Nicholas, in honor of the tutelary saint of New Amsterdam. The town bell was removed to the belfry, whence it regulated all the affairs of the city; ringing time for laborers, summoning courts of justice, ringing merry peals for weddings, tolling out funeral knells, and calling the people on Sundays to their devotions.

Better order, too, was beginning to be observed in the colony. The director had succeeded in part in enforcing his laws, and in restraining contraband trade; as well as in checking the importation of bad wampum into the colony, which had been a source of serious annoyance to the settlers, by reducing its value from four to six beads for a stuyver. This wampum, or seawant, as it was properly called, merits a more extended notice than



has hitherto been given it. It was of two kinds, the wampum or white, and the suckanhock sucki, or black seawant—the former being made from the stem of the periwinkle, and the latter from the purple coating of the hard clam. These were rounded and polished into beads, and pierced with sharp stones, then strung upon the sinews of animals, and woven into belts of different sizes. The black beads were accounted twice as valuable as the white, the latter being made the standard of valuation. A string a fathom long was worth about four guilders. Although seawant was the generic name of the currency, the wampum, strictly speaking, being only the white beads, among the Dutch and English the latter name was universally applied to it. The best was manufactured on Long Island, called by the aborigines Sewanhacky, or the Isle of Shells. The seawant of the Iroquois and New England Indians was inferior in quality, and rough and badly strung. Indeed, it seems to have been unknown among the New England tribes before 1627, when Isaac de Rasières, the koopman of New Amsterdam, when on an embassy to Plymouth, purchased corn with it from the English settlers. Finding it convenient as a circulating medium, the Indians soon learned the art of its manufacture, and it was not long before the cunning New Englanders succeeded in draining New Netherland of its finely polished seawant in payment for their goods, and introducing large quantities of their imperfect beads in turn. Nor was this all; beads of porcelain were manufactured in Europe and put into circulation among the colonists, and the evil grew so alarming that, in 1641, the council published an ordi-

nance with the sanction of Kieft, declaring that "a great deal of bad seawant, imported from other piaces, was in circulation, while the good, splendid sewant, usually called Manhattans sewant, was out of sight or exported, which must cause the ruin of the country." To remedy this evil, the ordinance provided that in future all coarse seawant, well stringed, should pass at six for one stuyver ; while the well polished should be valued at four for a stuyver. This ordinance is the first on record for the regulation of the exportation of specie in the colony. In 1657, they were again reduced from six to eight for a stuyver.

About this time, too, the increasing intercourse with the English settlements rendered it necessary that some provision should be made in respect to correspondence in the English language. Dutch was of course the language of the settlement ; Kieft knew something of English, but his officers were ignorant of it, and this was often embarrassing. It was therefore resolved that an English secretary was indispensable ; George Baxter was appointed to the office, with an annual salary of two hundred and fifty guilders ; and the English language was thus first recognized in New Amsterdam.

## CHAPTER III.

1642—1664.

*The Indian War—Petrus Stuyvesant—New Amsterdam becomes New York.*

A CLOUD had long been gathering over the colony ; it now burst with terrific fury. At the period at which our chapter opens, the colonists were involved in the horrors of an Indian war—a war which devastated the little settlement, and the bloody tragedies of which were long perpetuated in legends and traditions. To better depict its rise and progress, it will be necessary to retrace the events of a few years, and to glance briefly at the causes which had thus transformed the friendship of the natives into bitter hostility.

For some years past, an unfriendly feeling had gradually been springing up between the settlers and the Indians. The better to carry on the fur trade, the Dutch had separated from each other, and scattered over the interior of the province, where they had allured the natives to their houses by supplying them with liquor, and treating them with great familiarity ; and had bartered guns and ammunition in exchange for their furs, despite the laws to the contrary. The natives thus



became well supplied with fire-arms, and also gained a knowledge of the numbers and habits of the settlers. This was especially the case with the Mohawks in the neighborhood of the colony of Rensselaerswyck. In the vicinity of New Amsterdam, stricter regulations were observed, and the colonists were strictly prohibited from selling guns and ammunition to the Indians. This excited the jealousy of the river tribes, who accused the Dutch of partiality to their enemies. The cattle of the settlers often strayed into the unfenced corn-fields of their Indian neighbors, who revenged themselves for the mischief by shooting them down. Many of the natives were at this time employed as house and farm servants in the colony, who often committed petty thefts and ran away, to acquaint their tribes with the domestic arrangements of their masters.

In the midst of the bitter feelings which had been stirred up by these petty aggressions, Kieft rashly determined to levy a tribute of corn, furs and wampum upon the Indians, under the pretext that the government incurred heavy expenses in protecting them from their enemies. This excited the indignation and contempt of the natives, who well knew that they received no protection from the soldiers at Fort Amsterdam. They could not understand why they should be compelled to support the Dutch because they had suffered them to live peaceably in their country. "The sachem must be a mean fellow," they said; "he had come to live among them without an invitation, and now wanted them to supply him with maize for nothing."

At this juncture, a party of Dutch, on their way to the



Indians bringing Tribute.

South River, landed at Staten Island and stole some hogs belonging to De Vries ; the blame of which was laid on the Raritans, a tribe on the west shore of the Hudson, who were also accused of having attacked a yacht, and stolen a canoe from its crew.

The impetuous Kieft resolved at once to punish the offenders, and, on the 16th of July, 1640, dispatched Koopman Van Tienhoven with seventy men, to demand immediate reparation. On reaching the settlement, Van Tienhoven demanded the restitution of the property. But nothing less than the blood of the natives would

satisfy the men under his command. After vainly remonstrating, Van Tienhoven left them to their work of destruction, and returned to the fort. The soldiers fell on the innocent Raritans, burned their crops, killed ten of their warriors, and returned to New Amsterdam, having lost one of their own men in the encounter. Thus was laid the foundation of a bloody war, which threatened for a time to destroy the infant colony, and which prudent management might easily have averted.

This unprovoked outrage naturally awakened a desire for vengeance in the hearts of the Raritans. While awaiting a fitting moment, they amused the director with overtures for peace; then, suddenly falling upon the plantation of De Vries at Staten Island, they burned his dwelling and tobacco house, and killed four of his planters.

Incensed at the consequences of his own folly, the governor determined to exterminate the whole tribe, and allured the river Indians to assist him by offering a bounty of ten fathoms of wampum for the head of every Raritan, and twenty for the heads of the actual murderers. It was not long before Pacham, a chief of the Tankitekes or Haverstraw Indians, came in with the hand of the dead chief of the party as a token that he had earned the price of blood. Terrified at the power of their foes, the Raritans sued for peace, and hostilities were for a time suspended.

But it was only to change the scene of warfare. An Indian never forgets an injury, and the memory of his uncle's murder had long been rankling in the breast of the Weckquaesgeek boy who had witnessed the foul deed in the days of Minit. The boy had now grown into



a man, and, according to the Indian custom, the duty devolved upon him of offering up a victim to the manes of his murdered kinsman. Twenty years had passed since the murder ; the Dutch, if they had ever known, had forgotten it; but the memory was fresh in the mind of the young Indian, and a harmless old wheelwright, by the name of Claes Smits, who dwelt in a little house near Deutel's Bay, was chosen by him as the victim of his revenge. Stopping at the house of the old man one day, under the pretext of bartering some beaver-skins for blankets, the Indian struck him dead with an axe while he was stooping over the chest in which he kept his goods, then, rifling the house, escaped with his booty.

A judicious governor would have overlooked this offence, heinous as it seems, in view of the consequences. The stern law of Indian justice, blood for blood, had been satisfied, the murder could not be undone, and to seek to avenge it was to endanger the lives of the whole community. But Kieft, who thirsted for the extermination of the Indians, refused to be satisfied with anything less than the blood of the offender, and demanded him of his tribe, who refused to give him up, saying that he had but avenged his kinsman after the custom of the nation. Upon receiving this answer, the first impulse of Kieft was to declare an immediate war. But the people remonstrated—scattered as they were, over the island on their farms and bouweries, such a proceeding menaced them with instant destruction ; and Kieft, perceiving that he would be held responsible for the consequences of such a war, reluctantly called a council of the principal citizens to consult together in the emergency.

They assembled in the fort on the 28th of August, 1641, and formed the first public assembly that ever convened on the island of Manhattan.

To this assembly, Kieft submitted these propositions : Whether the murder of Claes Smits should not be avenged ?—Whether, in case the tribe refused to surrender the murderer, the whole village should not be destroyed ?—In what manner and when should this be executed ? and by whom could it be effected ?

The assembly at once chose “Twelve Select Men,” to act as their representatives in this matter. These first representatives of the people were Jacques Bentyn, Maryn Adriaensen, Jan Jansen Damen, Hendrick Jansen, David Pietersen de Vries, Jacob Stoffelsen, Abram Molenaar, Frederick Subbertsen, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Gerrit Dircksen, George Rapelje, and Abram Planck ; all Hollanders. Of these, De Vries was chosen president. In answer to the propositions of Kieft, they replied that, while the murder of Smits ought to be avenged, “God and the opportunity” should be taken into consideration. They advised that preparations should be made for war, that coats of mail should be provided for the soldiers, and that two parties, headed by the director in person, should march against the Weckquaesgeek village in the hunting season, if they still refused to deliver up the murderer ; but that, in the meantime, every effort should be made to bring the affair to a peaceful termination, and to avert a war with the natives. De Vries, though he had been the principal sufferer, having witnessed the destruction of his colonies both at Swaanendael and at Staten Island, was

earnestly opposed to war. The Company, too, was averse to it, and had constantly directed the colonists to keep peace with the natives, as they valued their own safety.

These peaceful counsels did not suit the temper of the vengeful director. But the Twelve Men succeeded in postponing the war for a season, then turned their attention to public affairs. The number of the council being optional with the director, Kieft's consisted only of himself and La Montagne, Kieft having two votes and Montagne one. The Twelve Men demanded that the council should be reorganized and increased at least to five, that four of these should be elected by the people, and that judicial proceedings should only be had before a full board. They also demanded that the militia should be mustered annually, and that the Company should furnish half a pound of powder to each man; that the people should be allowed to visit vessels arriving from abroad, and to trade freely with neighboring places, subject to the duties of the Company. Besides this, they required that the English should be prohibited from selling cows and goats within the province; and that a greater increase should be made in the value of the provincial currency.

These bold demands irritated the director beyond expression; but as he could only thus gain their consent to the war that he so ardently desired, he consented to make some concessions. A complete council, he said, was daily expected from Holland; he was willing, however, that the people should choose four men, two of whom were to be chosen annually, who should be



called into the council when necessary, and should assemble occasionally to consult upon public affairs. The other demands he granted without much reluctance, refusing only to permit the people to visit vessels from abroad, or to furnish powder to the militia for practice. In return, he wrung from them a reluctant consent to the war, and on the 18th of February, 1642, dissolved the body.

Having at last obtained the formal consent of the people to commence hostilities, Kieft dispatched a party of eighty men against the Weckquaesgeeks with orders to exterminate them by fire and sword. The party was intrusted to the command of Hendrick Van Dyck, and accompanied by a guide who professed to know the country. Night set in, however, before they reached the Indian village, the guide lost his way and Van Dyck his temper, and the party returned, innocent of the death of a single Indian. The Weckquaesgeeks, discovering from the trail of the white men the danger to which they had been exposed, became terrified and sued for peace, promising to deliver up the murderer of Smits—a promise, by the way, which they never performed.

While these negotiations were pending, a trader made an Indian drunk, and stole from him a dress of beaver skins. On regaining his senses, the incensed savage, meeting De Vries, told him of the theft, and vowed to shoot the first white man he should meet. De Vries tried to dissuade him from his purpose, but in vain. A few days after, he shot an Englishman on Staten Island, and afterwards, a Dutch colonist at Newark Bay.

The frightened sachems hastened to New Amsterdam and offered two hundred fathoms of wampum as an

indemnity for the murder, which Kieft refused, demanding the immediate surrender of the murderer. The sachems pleaded that he was the son of a chief, and that he had gone two days' journey off, among the Tankitekes, whence it was impossible to retake him. "Why do you sell brandy to our young men?" said they; "they are not used to it, and it makes them crazy. Even your own men, who are used to it, get drunk sometimes, and fight with knives. Sell no more fire-water to the Indians, and you will have no more murders." But this reasoning failed to satisfy the implacable director, and the sachems returned sorrowfully to Vriesendaël with their slighted offering, while Kieft sent a messenger to the Tankitekes to demand the head of the fugitive.

Before the Tankitekes had time to accede to the demand of the director, they were attacked by a new foe from an unexpected quarter. A band of Mohawks made a descent upon the river Indians, and, killing and making prisoners of many, forced them to flee from their homes to seek protection from the Dutch. Hundreds of the half naked and homeless savages fled to Manhattan in the depth of winter to implore shelter from their dreaded enemies. More than a thousand encamped at Pavonia. Some, crossing to Manhattan, settled at Corlaer's Hook, where the more compassionate of the colonists supplied them with food, and counted on the occasion to inspire them with lasting gratitude and friendship for the whites. Despite the jealousies and hostilities which had so lately prevailed, the Indians were not yet estranged from the colonists. They still had a confidence in the superior power of the white man, and

this confidence might have been strengthened by judicious policy. But a different spirit prevailed in the councils of the director. At this time, there were two parties in New Amsterdam, the peace party under De Vries, and the war party, headed by Van Tienhoven. At a Shrovetide feast at the house of Jan Jansen Damen, when all were merry with wine, the host, with Adriaensen and Planck, presented a petition drawn up by Van Tienhoven to the governor, and, feigning to speak in the name of the Twelve Men, their colleagues, urged him to avenge the murder of Smits by an instant attack on the defenceless Indians whom God had thus delivered into their hands.

The proposal chimed with the wishes of the director, who, drinking a toast to the success of the enterprise, instantly dispatched a party of men under the command of Sergeant Rodolf to Pavonia, and another headed by Maryn Adriaensen to Corlaer's Hook, to destroy the unarmed savages in the name of the commonalty. It was in vain that Domine Bogardus warned Kieft against this violence, that Councillor la Montagne begged him to wait until the arrival of the next ship from Holland, and that Captain De Vries declared that hostilities could not legally be commenced without the consent of the people; for his sole reply, Kieft took De Vries aside, and showed him his soldiers, ready to cross over to Pavonia. "The order has gone forth; it cannot be recalled," said he.

At midnight, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1643, this order was executed, and one of the most terrible tragedies enacted that ever disgraced the annals of a



civilized nation. The Indians, surprised in the midst of their slumbers, were slaughtered without resistance. Chief and warrior, mother and child, old and young, all met the same fate—all were dispatched by the muskets of their enemies, or driven into the river to perish there. Eighty Indians were slaughtered at Pavonia. So sudden was the attack that they knew not who were their murderers, and died believing themselves slain by the Mohawks. The humane De Vries sat by the kitchen fire at the director's, listening mournfully to the shrieks of the victims that were wafted across the river from Pavonia, when an Indian and squaw who had escaped in a canoe from the scene of the massacre, rushed into the house to implore his protection. "The Fort Orange Indians have fallen upon us; we come to hide ourselves in the fort," said they. "It is no time to hide yourselves in the fort; no Indians have done this deed," answered De Vries, pityingly. "It is the work of the Swannekens—the Dutch." And he led them from the gate, and watched them until they were hid in the shelter of the forest.

In the meantime, a similar massacre was being perpetrated at Corlaer's Hook. The party headed by Maryn Adriaensen, a noted freebooter, had fallen upon the sleeping savages, and murdered them all in cold blood. Daylight ended the tragedy, and the party returned to Fort Amsterdam in triumph, with thirty prisoners and the heads of several of their victims, where they were received with joy by the director; and with sorrow by the citizens, who thus saw the door opened to long and bloody war. On Wilhelm Kieft rests the sole



Massacre of Indians at Pavonia.

responsibility of this atrocious deed, which was neither suggested nor sanctioned by the people of New Amsterdam.

Stimulated by the success of their neighbors, some of the settlers at New Amersfoort soon after petitioned for leave to attack the Indians in their vicinity. Restrained by the remonstrances of Bogardus and De Vries, Kieft refused his consent, on the grounds that they had always been friendly to the Dutch, *and were hard to conquer*; but added that in case they should prove hostile,

every man was at liberty to defend himself as best he could. It was not long before some demonstrations on the part of these Indians were construed into hostilities by the covetous settlers, and made the pretext for robbing them of their corn. The natives attempted to defend their property, and in the struggle lost three of their men.

Enraged at this injustice, the Long Island Indians joined with the river tribes in avenging their wrongs. Eleven tribes banded together and proclaimed open war against the colonists. The retribution was terrible. The swamps and morasses of the island were filled with lurking Indians, watching for opportunities to shoot down the colonists while at work in the fields, drive off their cattle, set fire to their houses, and rob, kill, and plunder. The peaceful and smiling country was quickly transformed into a wilderness. Men were shot down in broad daylight, and women and children carried into captivity; fences were torn down, trees uprooted, and thrifty bouweries laid waste in the general ruin. The affrighted settlers fled within the walls of the fort, now their only place of safety. Every thicket outside concealed a foe, and no place was safe from the bullet of the subtle enemy. The settlements on Long Island, West Chester and the Jersey shores all shared the same fate. Rensselaerswyck alone escaped destruction, sheltered by the friendly Mohawks. The despairing colonists, stripped of their property and fearing for their lives, threatened to quit the fort in a body and return to Holland, and Kieft was compelled as a last resort to take them all to serve as soldiers for two months in the pay of the Company.



Amid all the horrors of this savage warfare, an incident occurred which proved that the Indians did not forget past kindness in their thirst for vengeance. De Vries had always been a firm friend of the Indians, and had enjoyed their confidence, yet his plantation at Vriesendaël did not escape the general destruction. A party of Indians made a descent upon the plantation, set fire to the barns, and destroyed the crops and cattle. The planters took refuge in the rudely fortified manor-house, and were preparing to defend their lives to the last extremity, when the Indian whose life De Vries had saved on the night of the Pavonia massacre rushed to the spot, and, telling the story, begged his countrymen to spare the life of "the good chief." The effect was magical. The grateful savages cried out to the planters that they were sorry that they had killed the cattle, but that they would let the brewery stand, though they "longed for the copper kettle to make barbs for their arrows," and at once departed.

Kieft began to repent bitterly of his rashness. He dispatched a messenger with overtures of peace to the Long Island Indians, which were rejected with scorn. A fast was proclaimed throughout the colony. At this time, Roger Williams visited Manhattan on his way to Europe. "Before we weighed anchor," he writes, "mine eyes saw the flames of their towns, the frights and hurries of men, women and children, and the present removal of all that could to Holland." Maddened by their misfortunes, the excited colonists threw all the blame on Kieft, and even talked of deposing him and sending him in chains to Holland. To shield himself from their re-

proaches, the director endeavored to throw the odium upon Adriaensen and his colleagues, as the instigators of the Pavonia massacre. Enraged at this cowardice, Adriaensen, himself almost a ruined man by the destruction of his property during the war, rushed into the presence of the governor, armed with a pistol and hanger, and attempted his life. He was quickly disarmed and sent to prison, whence, despite the open resistance of his friends, he was soon afterwards sent to Holland for trial.

Meanwhile, the spring had come, and the Indians were anxious for a cessation of hostilities that they might plant their corn for the coming season. On the 4th of March, 1643, three red men approached the fort, bearing a white flag, but none but De Vries and Jacob Olfertsen dared go forth to meet them. "Come and speak to our chief 'on the sea-coast,'" said they. De Vries and his companion fearlessly accompanied their savage guides, who led them to Rockaway, where they found nearly three hundred Indians assembled. They passed the night in the wigwam of the chief.

At daybreak, the next morning, they were roused to attend a council of the sachems. The Indians ranged themselves in a circle, placing De Vries and his companion in the middle, and their chosen orator of the tribe arose with a bundle of sticks in his hand, and slowly addressed the strangers: "When you first came to our 'coasts,'" said he, "you had no food; we gave you our 'beans and corn, and relieved you with our oysters and 'fish; and now, for recompense, you murder our people,'" and he laid down a stick as the first count of the

indictment. "In the beginning of your voyages, you  
"left your people here with your goods ; we traded with  
"them while your ships were away, and cherished them  
"as the apple of your eye ; we gave them our daughters  
"for companions, who have borne children ; and now you  
"villainously massacre your own blood," and he laid  
down another stick as the second count. Many more  
still remained in his hand, but De Vries, not knowing  
where the fearful catalogue would end, hastily inter-  
rupting him, begged the sachems to go with him to Fort  
Amsterdam, and conclude a peace with the director, to  
which they consented, despite the remonstrances of their  
tribes. "Are you all crazy," said the warriors, indig-  
nantly, "to go to the fort where that scoundrel lives who  
"has murdered your friends ?" But De Vries assuring  
them of safety, they said, "Upon your word, we will go,  
"for you have never lied to us, like the rest of the  
"Svannekens." They went, and Kieft gladly con-  
cluded a treaty with them, and sent them away, loaded  
with presents, entreating their mediation with the river  
Indians.

With some difficulty, a truce was soon after concluded  
with these ; yet it was but a hollow truce. The natives  
were still smarting beneath a sense of their wrongs ; they  
grumbled at the insufficiency of their presents, and mut-  
tered words of ominous meaning, while the whites were  
distrustful of their terrible neighbors, and lived in con-  
stant fear of midnight assault, so that the peace was even  
more fearful than the war. "Our people are con-  
"tinually crying for vengeance ; we can pacify our  
"young men no longer," said a friendly sachem sadly at



midsummer, as he warned De Vries in behalf of his countrymen against venturing alone in the woods, lest some stranger Indian might kill their favorite.

The words of the sachem were soon fulfilled. In August, the war broke out anew. Several trading-boats were attacked on the North River, nine men were killed, and a woman and two children carried away into captivity. In this emergency, Kieft again summoned the people together, and eight men were chosen by the popular voice to advise with the governor in respect to the war. This second representative body consisted of Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Damen, Barent Dircksen, Abraham Pietersen, Isaac Allerton, Thomas Hall, Gerrit Wolfertsen, and Cornelis Melyn. Their first act was to expel from the board Jan Jansen Damen, who had been one of the prime instigators of the massacre of Pavonia, and to appoint Jan Evertsen Bout in his stead, after which they resolved to preserve peace with the Long Island Indians, but to renew hostilities with the river tribes.

Preparations were immediately made to carry on the war with renewed energy. The colonists were mustered and drilled, and to prevent the English colonists from leaving the province, fifty were taken into the Company's pay, the commonalty having agreed to meet one-third of the expense. The command of this detachment was intrusted to Captain John Underhill, who had lately removed from New Amsterdam to Stamford.

The colony seemed, indeed, in a hopeless condition. One after another of the outside settlements fell a prey to the fury of the savages. The Weckquaesgeek Indians,

joining in the strife, fell on the plantation of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, at Annie's Hook, and murdered her with her whole family, with the exception of one grand-daughter, a child, whom they carried into captivity. Proceeding thence, they laid waste the other plantations in West Chester, killing, burning, and destroying all before them. At Gravesend, they attacked the settlement of Lady Deborah Moody, who, having been expelled from Salem as an Anabaptist, had established herself there by Kieft's permission, with others of her persuasion. The heroic woman, with her friends, made a brave defence, and finally repulsed the savage invaders. Not equally fortunate was the larger settlement of Doughty, at Mespath, which was destroyed, while the colonists were forced to flee for safety to Manhattan. The settlements on New Jersey fell a prey to the Indians, and little remained to the Dutch save the small colony at Manhattan. Five or six farmhouses were still standing on the upper part of the island, but these were hourly threatened with destruction. The only place of safety was the fort, around which the women and children huddled in straw huts, while their husbands and fathers defended its walls. And these defenders were but few ; all the men that could be mustered were about two hundred, besides fifty or sixty soldiers in garrison, and a handful of Englishmen; and with these, it was necessary to keep a constant guard, and to repel the attacks of seven tribes, numbering fifteen hundred well-armed men. The cattle had been gathered into the fort, where they were starving for want of food. De Vries, the only white man in whom the Indians had confidence, set sail for Holland, a ruined man, reproaching Kieft in

his last words, with the ruin that had resulted from his reckless cruelty.

In this extremity, the council of Eight Men invoked the aid of the colonists at New Haven, but their request was unheeded. The English professed to doubt the justice of the quarrel; it may be, too, that they were well satisfied that the Indians should do the work they wished done, and exterminate the Dutch from the face of the New World. Foiled in this quarter, the Eight Men addressed an earnest appeal to the government at Holland, and set about organizing a desperate defence. Expeditions were dispatched against the Indian villages; their corn was destroyed, and their wigwams levelled to the ground. But here, instead of simply acting on the defensive, they darkened the story of the war with another act of bloody cruelty.

In the beginning of the year 1644, a colony of English emigrants, headed by Robert Fordham, had settled at Heemstede on Long Island, after securing a grant of land from the Dutch government. Penhawitz, the sachem of the Canarsee tribe in the vicinity, had ever shown himself a firm friend of the whites; but in this time of general distrust, the English suspected him of treacherous designs, and conveyed information of their suspicions to the governor at Fort Amsterdam. Without waiting to ascertain the truth of the charge, Kieft at once dispatched a detachment of a hundred and twenty men under the command of La Montagne, Cook and Underhill with orders to exterminate the Canarsees. The party proceeded in three yachts to Cow Bay, where they landed, and dividing their forces, marched upon



the two Indian villages at Mespeth and Heemstede. The Indians, taken by surprise, fell an easy prey to their enemies. One hundred and twenty were killed and two taken prisoners, while of the assailants but one was killed and three wounded. The prisoners were conveyed in triumph to Fort Amsterdam, where they were put to death with the most excruciating tortures. The one fell dead in the fort while dancing the death dance beneath the knives of his more than savage victors ; the other was beheaded on a millstone in Beaver Lane, near the Battery.

Encouraged by this bloody success, the governor dispatched Underhill with a hundred and fifty men on a new expedition against the Connecticut Indians. He landed at Greenwich, and, after marching all day in the snow, arrived at midnight at the Indian village. This consisted of three rows of wigwams, nestling in a nook of the mountain which protected them from the north winds. The night was clear, and the full moon, shining on the snow, gave it all the brightness of a winter's day. This time, the Indians were not sleeping, but were merrily celebrating one of their annual festivals. In the midst of their festivity, the Dutch surrounded the village, and charged upon them, sword in hand. The Indians made a desperate resistance, but in vain ; every attempt to break the line of their foes failed, and in an hour, the snow was dyed with the blood of a hundred and eighty of their number. Having forced all the Indians into the wigwams, Underhill determined to terminate the battle by setting fire to the village. Straw and wood were quickly heaped about the houses, the pile was kindled, and in a few moments, the whole village was in flames.

Men, women and children were shot down as they rushed from the burning huts, or forced back again to perish there. Between five and six hundred perished by fire and sword, and but eight escaped to tell the fearful tale to their countrymen. Not a single man of the assailants was killed, though fifteen were wounded. The victors kindled large fires and slept on the field of battle. The next morning, they set out for Fort Amsterdam, which they entered in triumph, three days after. They were received with open arms, and a public thanksgiving was proclaimed in gratitude for the victory. This battle is supposed to have taken place on Strickland's Plain, within three miles of Greenwich.

This victory practically terminated the war—a war which began and ended in massacre, which very nearly destroyed the youthful colony, and which was carried on by the governor against the wishes of the people. In April, 1644, the chiefs of the Long Island and several of the river tribes, appeared at the fort and pledged themselves to peace. But the tribes nearest Manhattan Island continued hostile until the following year, when the Mohawks interposed in favor of the Dutch. On the 30th of August, 1645, the sachems of all the hostile tribes assembled on the Bowling Green, and, smoking the calumet of peace, pledged themselves to eternal friendship with the whites. The 6th of September was appointed as a day of general thanksgiving, and the war was at an end.

And it was time. The war had lasted but two years, yet the island was almost depopulated. Scarcely a hundred men were left in Manhattan. The cattle and farms

were all destroyed, and the neighboring settlements levelled to the ground. The fort, which had originally been nothing more than a bank of earth with corners of stone, was crumbling into ruins. The stone church which had been commenced in 1642 remained unfinished, the money that had been raised for the support of a school had been expended for the troops, and the English auxiliaries were yet unpaid. Other expenses, too, had been incurred in providing for the safety of the city. In the spring of 1644, a strong fence had been built through Wall street, for the protection of the few cattle that yet remained to the settlers; and this fence, which was afterwards extended and strengthened, continued to serve as the wall of the city for the ensuing fifty years, and gave its name to the street which stands now as the monetary wall of the metropolis. The Company, crippled by the expenses of their military operations in the Brazils, were utterly powerless to render them any assistance, and a bill which Kieft had drawn on them the preceding summer for 2,622 guilders was returned protested. To meet this emergency, Kieft again convened the assembly of the Eight Men, and proposed to levy an excise on wine, beer, brandy and beaver. This was bitterly opposed by the representatives of the people, both on account of the impoverished state of the city, and because it transcended his rights as a subordinate officer of the Company. Their remonstrances were of no avail; the tax was imposed by the unyielding director.

Just at this juncture, a hundred and three Dutch soldiers who had been expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese insurrection, arrived at Manhattan. These had



been sent by Petrus Stuyvesant, the governor of Curaçoa, to aid the colonists in the war with the Indians. On the arrival of these troops, the English auxiliaries were civilly dismissed, and the new comers were billeted on the citizens. But they were destitute of clothing, and to meet this exigency, the director ordered that the excise duties, which had been provisionally imposed, should be continued. The brewers, upon whom this tax fell most heavily, made a sturdy resistance. They were summoned before the council, a judgment was rendered against them, and their beer was given as a prize to the soldiers.

Indignant at this bold violation of their rights, on the 28th of October, the council of the Eight Men addressed a memorial to the Company, demanding the recall of Kieft, whom they charged with the whole blame of the war, and petitioning that the people might be allowed a voice in the municipal government. This document reflected severely on Kieft, who had already sent to the directors his own version of the war, together with a book and drawings, descriptive of the province. This, they quaintly assured the Company, had as many lies as lines in it. "And besides," they continued, "in respect to the animals and geography of New Netherland, it would be well to inquire how the director-general can write so aptly about those distances and habits, since his honor, during the six or seven years that he has been here, has constantly resided on the Manhattans, and has never been further from his kitchen and his bedroom than the middle of the afore-said island." This memorial was referred to the

Assembly of Nineteen, who at once determined upon Kieft's recall. Being undecided as to a successor, Lubbertus Van Dincklagen, the schout fiscal who had been so unceremoniously dismissed eight years before by Van Twiller, was appointed to take charge of the government provisionally. Before he had embarked, however, to repair to his new post, the Company made choice of Petrus Stuyvesant, the ex-governor of Curaçoa, for director-general. Van Dincklagen's appointment was therefore revoked, and that of vice-director or first councillor of the province given him instead.

This done, new regulations were made for the government of the province. Peace with the Indians was strenuously insisted on, and Kieft and his council were required to repair to Holland to defend their conduct in the late war. The annual salary of the director was fixed at three thousand, and the expense of the civil and military establishment of the province at twenty thousand guilders. The director, vice-director and schout were to constitute the council, and to have supreme authority in civil and military affairs; in criminal cases, in which the schout was compelled to act as public prosecutor, the military commandant took his place in the council, and two representatives were added from the people. Fort Amsterdam was immediately to be repaired with "good clay, and firm sods," and a permanent garrison of fifty-three men to be maintained in it; and the colonists were counselled to provide themselves with weapons and to form a provincial militia. The director was ordered to use every effort to procure the planting and settlement of the island of Manhattan, and to encourage the intro-

duction of as many negroes as the colonists would purchase at a fair price. All restrictions were removed from trade, with the sole proviso that New Amsterdam should remain the only port of entry.

But we have anticipated events in the course of our history. The first act of Kieft after the close of the Indian war was to purchase, in behalf of the Company, the tract of land on Long Island now known as New Utrecht. This purchase was made on the 10th of September, 1641. The following month, Thomas Harrington, with several other Englishmen, Anabaptist refugees from Massachusetts, obtained a patent for sixteen thousand acres of land, lying east of Mespeth, and founded the settlement of Flushing. Soon after, Kieft gave to Lady Moody, her son, and two English officers, a patent including the town of Gravesend, with the most liberal civil and religious privileges, as a tribute of admiration for her gallant defence against her savage assailants.

Not equally fortunate was Thomas Doughty, the Anabaptist minister and ex-proprietor of Mespeth, whose settlement had been destroyed during the Indian war. A dispute having arisen between him and his associates, the director and council decided the case against him and took the control of the colony out of his hands; and upon his threatening to appeal to the court of Holland, fined him twenty-five guilders, and imprisoned him twenty-four hours for contumacy. Soon after, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg, a merchant of New Amsterdam, appealed in the like manner from a decree of confiscation, and was subjected to the same penalty. This refusal of the right of appeal excited the indignation of the people, who



murmured at the despotic conduct of the director, and declared that "under a king they could not be worse treated." The rumor of his speedy recall reached the colony, and emboldened them in their rebellion. Domine Bogardus, whom Kieft had accused of drunkenness, joined in the cry, and denounced him from the pulpit in no measured terms. To this, Kieft retorted by absenting himself from church, and ordering cannon to be fired and drums to be beaten about the house during the sermon-time to annoy the domine. Nothing daunted, the intrepid clergyman continued his anathemas, and Kieft at length arraigned him to appear before the court within fourteen days to answer to a charge of sedition; but after considerable wrangling, the proceedings were finally quashed by the interference of mutual friends.

On the 11th of May, 1647, these domestic dissensions were ended by the arrival of Petrus Stuyvesant, the newly appointed director, Vice-director Van Dincklagen, Fiscal Van Dyck, and a number of officers, soldiers and colonists. The whole city turned out in arms to meet him, firing salutes, and uttering shouts of joy, mingled with deep execrations of the late director. "I shall govern you as a father does his children," answered Stuyvesant, in return to this spontaneous welcome.

Petrus Stuyvesant, a native of Friesland, had formerly been director of the Company's colony at Curaçoa, whence, having lost a leg in an attack on the Portuguese settlement at Saint Martin's, he had been obliged to return to Europe for surgical aid. Having regained his health, and replaced his leg by a wooden one with silver bands, which gave rise to the tradition that he



*P. Stuyvesant*

Petrus Stuyvesant, the last of the Dutch Governors.

wore a silver leg, he received the appointment of director-general of the province of New Netherland, still retaining his command of Curaçoa and the adjacent islands. He was brave and energetic, and the man of all others best calculated to retrieve the fallen fortunes of the colony. But he was also haughty, imperious, and impa-

tient of contradiction, and his despotic love of power soon weakened the affection with which the citizens greeted him on his first arrival. But, with all his faults, he was the man for the times, and his firm and vigorous rule contrasts well with the ill-judged and capricious conduct of his predecessor. Though sworn by the duties of his office to execute the commands of the West India Company, he was at heart attached to the interests of the people, with whom he identified himself after the forced surrender of the city, by taking up his residence among them as a private citizen, the ancestor of a long line of prominent men, which has reached down even unto the present day.



Seal of Petrus Stuyvesant.

Stuyvesant set vigorously to work to reform abuses. His first act was to organize his council, which consisted of Van Dincklagen, Van Dyck, Adriaen Keyser and Bryan Newton, with La Montagne as councillor and Van Tienhoven as secretary. Paulus Van der Grist was appointed equipage-master, and George Baxter was retained as English secretary. This done, he set about the work of regulating the streets and improving the city. Van



Dincklagen, Van der Grist and Van Tienhoven were appointed fence-viewers to regulate the erection of new buildings; proprietors of vacant lots were directed to improve them within nine months, and hog-pens and out-houses were ordered to be removed from the highways. The church still remained unfinished, and Stuyvesant, who had become a member of the Consistory, took the work of its completion into his own hands. Bogardus resigned his charge in order to proceed to Holland to answer the charges preferred against him by Van Dincklagen, and Johannes Backerus, the former clergyman of Curaçoa, was appointed in his place at a salary of fourteen hundred guilders per annum. Drunkenness and profanity were strictly forbidden, no liquors were permitted to be sold to the Indians, and strict laws were passed for the protection of the revenue. The obnoxious duties upon beer, brandy and beaver were not removed; far from this, a new excise was levied upon wines and other liquors, and the export duties upon peltries were still further increased. This proceeding excited some discontent among the people, who had looked to the coming of the new director to remove this hateful duty.

Another cause of disaffection soon arose in the colony. Kuyter and Melyn, the leading members of the council of Eight Men, petitioned that the administration of Kieft during the period of the Indian war might be made the subject of inquiry. The petition was rejected by the director, who saw in it a dangerous precedent for the assumption of power by the people; and the petitioners were ordered in turn to be examined as to the origin of the Indian war, and to state whether their demand had

been authorized by the government or the commonalty ; as, otherwise, they must return to Holland with Kieft, to substantiate their complaints before the States General. Emboldened by this decision, Kieft accused them of being the authors of a calumnious memorial to the Assembly of Nineteen, and, on this ground, demanded their banishment. The accusation was accepted, and an indictment preferred, charging Melyn and Kuyter with having fraudulently procured the signatures of the Eight Men to the calumnious memorial of the 28th of October, 1644, unauthorized by the commonalty. In addition to this, Melyn was accused of rebellious conduct, while Kuyter was charged with urging the mortgage of Manhattan to the English, and threatening Kieft with personal violence.

Both Melyn and Kuyter defended themselves vigorously against these accusations. They declared that the memorial had been written by the authority of the Eight Men, and in the name of the commonalty ; that the charges in it could be fully substantiated ; and that the destruction of fifty or sixty bouweries and the murder of numerous colonists furnished ample cause for its transmission. Melyn confessed that he had proposed that the island of Manhattan should be pledged to the English as a measure of necessity. But their defence availed them little ; Stuyvesant and his council, fearing the encroachments of the people, espoused the cause of Kieft, and Melyn was sentenced to seven years' banishment, and to pay a fine of three hundred and fifty guilders ; while Kuyter was sentenced to three years' banishment, and to pay a fine of one hundred and fifty guilders ; one-third

of the money to be given to the poor, one-third to the church, and one-third to the fiscal. The heavier punishment of Melyn was imputed by many to a private revenge on the part of Kieft, with whom the former had refused to share his grant on Staten Island.

Both Kuyter and Melyn were placed as criminals on board the ship *Princess*, then ready to return to Holland. Kieft accompanied his victims with his ill-got fortune ; and Domine Bogardus and Van der Huyghens, the late schout fiscal, were also of the company. But the ill-fated vessel struck on a rock on the coast of Wales, and went to the bottom, carrying with her Kieft, Bogardus, a son of Melyn, and eighty others. But twenty were saved ; among whom were Kuyter and Melyn. The rich cargo of furs, valued at a hundred thousand dollars, was irretrievably lost. The news of the tragical end of the director excited but little sympathy at New Amsterdam, while the New England settlers affected to regard it as a special mark of the wrath of God against their enemies. The sentence against Kuyter and Melyn was afterwards reversed by the Company, and they returned with honor to New Amsterdam.

To complete the proposed improvements, money was necessary. But the treasury was empty, the taxes came in slowly, and the colonists murmured grievously at being taxed without their consent. Embarrassed by the difficulties of his position, Stuyvesant at length consented to concede a representation, and in August, 1647, called an election at which the inhabitants of Manhattan, Breuckelen, New Amersfoordt and Pavonia chose eighteen men, from whom nine were selected by the director and



council to advise with them in matters relating to the welfare of the province. This new house of representatives consisted of Augustine Heermans, Arnoldus Van Hardenburg, Govert Loockermans, Jan Jansen Damen, Jacob Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven, Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, Michael Jansen, Jan Evertsen Bout, and Thomas Hall ; three of whom were to have seats in the council in turn on the usual weekly court day, and to act as arbitrators in civil cases. Six of the board were to be succeeded annually by six others, elected by the director and council from among twelve chosen by the people at the election on the last day of December.

The Nine Men at once commenced their deliberations in respect to the proposed repairs of the fort and city. Stuyvesant offered on the part of the Company to defray a part of the expense of a school, and to furnish one of the government houses for its temporary accommodation, but insisted that the people should repair the fort for their own security. This, the Nine Men refused, as the Company had bound itself by its charter to keep the fort in a posture of defence. They offered, however, to repair the church and to reorganize the school without delay, and after some hesitation this proposition was acceded to, and the repairs commenced forthwith.

In 1648, Adriaen Keyser, Thomas Hall, Martin Krigier and George Woolsey, were appointed fire wardens to inspect the houses in the city. The owners of all chimneys, condemned by them as foul, were to pay a fine of three guilders. If a house should be burned by the owner's carelessness, he was to pay a fine of twenty-five guilders. These fines were to be appropriated to the

purchase of ladders, hooks and buckets, to be deposited at different places throughout the city. The public wells were in the middle of the streets, and the water was passed from them in buckets through long rows of citizens to the scene of the fire. It was not until several years after, however, that these buckets were actually provided. Every Monday was fixed as a market-day, and an annual fair for ten days, commencing on the Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day, was established. Various laws for the regulation of trade and immigration were enacted, and new ordinances were passed, forbidding the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to the Indians. So earnest were the council in this latter prohibition, that Jacob Reintsen, with Jacob Schermerhorn and his brother, being convicted soon after of violating it, were sentenced to death; a sentence which was afterwards commuted, through the intercession of their friends, to the confiscation of their goods. In 1649, an order was established for the regulation of weights and measures, the Amsterdam standard being adopted. The same year, a dispute arising between Domine Backerus and the director, the domine obtained permission to return to Holland; and Domine Megapolensis, the ex-minister of Rensselaerswyck, was installed as his successor. The following year, Dirck Van Schelluyne, the first lawyer, commenced practice in the city.

In the meantime, outside difficulties had been pressing heavily upon the director. The dispute between the Dutch and English, in respect to the territory of the Fresh River, together with Long Island, was still pend-

ing, and as a last resort, Stuyvesant repaired in person to the scene of the contest. After a long negotiation, it was finally decided to submit the case to two delegates from each side, to be subject to their decision. These arbitrators assigned to New England, all the eastern portion of Long Island, comprising the present Suffolk County. On the mainland, the boundary was to begin at the west side of Greenwich Bay, to run northerly twenty miles into the country, but in no case to approach within ten miles of the Mauritius River. The Dutch were left in possession of their territory at Fort Good Hope, and no disposition was made in respect to South River.

The people were dissatisfied with an arrangement which ceded so large a portion of their territory to their enemies, and loudly accused the director of injustice. Both the arbitrators appointed by him had been Englishmen; and this displeased the colonists, who claimed that their wishes had not been represented in the treaty, and complained to the Company that the director had surrendered territory enough to form fifty colonies, and had taken Englishmen into his confidence instead of his legal counsellors. They also petitioned for a municipal government, like that of the independent cities of the Fatherland. This had been granted to Breuckelen some time before. On the 26th of November, 1646, a charter had been conferred upon the little village, then situate nearly a mile distant from the water's edge, granting to the inhabitants the right of electing two schepens, or magistrates, with full judicial powers. These were subordinate to a schout, who was



in turn, subordinate to the schout fiscal of Manhattan. These liberal privileges naturally excited the envy of their brethren across the river, who claimed similar rights for themselves. On the 4th of April, 1652, their petition was granted by the Company, and a "burgher government" established at Manhattan. This consisted of a schout, to be appointed by the Company, and two burgomasters and five schepens, to be elected by the people ; who were to form a municipal Court of Justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province. At the same time, the States General ordered Stuyvesant to repair at once to Holland, to give an account of his administration ; but, yielding to the remonstrances of the Amsterdam chamber, were at length persuaded to revoke their recall. Domine Drisius was appointed as assistant to Megapolensis, and La Montagne took charge of the school.

The city thus received its first incorporation. Cornelis Van Tienhoven was elected schout ; Arent Van Hatten and Martin Krigier, burgomasters ; and Paulus Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Wilhelm Beekman\* and Pieter Van Couwenhoven, schepens. The stone tavern at Coenties' Slip was converted into a "stadt huys" or city-hall ; and the magistrates held their court there every Monday morning, beginning at nine and closing at twelve.

In the autumn of 1652, the settlements of Middleburgh and Midwout, now Newtown and Flatbush, were founded under patents from Stuyvesant. In the same year, a war

\* Emigrated from Holland with Stuyvesant in 1647.

broke out between England and Holland, and the citizens, fearing an attack from their New England neighbors, set to work to fortify the city. The fence that had been erected along the line of Wall street during the late war for the protection of the cattle, was converted into a ditch and palisades with a breast-work, and extended from river to river. The fort was also strengthened, and the whole body of citizens were ordered to mount guard every night. Grateful for the concessions which had just been made them, the citizens promptly raised the six thousand guilders which were needed for the completion of the fortifications, and set to work themselves, pick and shovel in hand, to dig the trenches and erect the palisades. During the whole summer, the citizens remained under arms, expecting an attack ; nor were their fears unfounded. The settlers of New England took advantage of this opportunity to break the late treaty, and to endeavor to further their plans for the ultimate conquest of New Netherland. Their first step was to accuse Stuyvesant of having plotted with the Narragansett Indians for the destruction of the English. The sachems themselves denied all knowledge of such a plot, and Stuyvesant indignantly demanded an investigation of the matter. Three delegates were accordingly appointed to visit New Amsterdam, and receive depositions; but little was accomplished by this negotiation, and the delegates returned to Boston with small proof of the accusation. On Long Island, Captain Underhill, turning against his late allies, endeavored to stir up the colonists to revolt, but without effect. The commissioners of the United Colonies, who still professed to believe in the reality of the plot, urged

immediate hostilities against the Dutch, but the General Court of Massachusetts refused to take part in the war, and thus prevented the accomplishment of the design. Eager for the conquest of the Dutch province, the other colonies persisted in their purpose, and by their representations, induced Cromwell to send an expedition against New Amsterdam. Before it arrived, peace was proclaimed between England and Holland. The news was received with joy in the city ; bells were rung and cannon fired, and the 12th of July, 1654, was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving.

In the meantime, a continual contest had been going on between the people and the director, and to replenish his exhausted treasury, the latter had been compelled to surrender to the city the obnoxious excise on beer and liquors. But this failed to satisfy the burgomasters and schepens, who, on the 24th of December, 1653, addressed a letter to the Company, entreating that New Amsterdam might enjoy equal municipal privileges with her namesake in Holland. They demanded that the schout should be chosen by the people, instead of being, as heretofore, the Company's fiscal ; and that as the city was compelled to defray its own expenses, the excise should go into the city treasury, and power should be conferred upon the municipal authorities to levy taxes, and to lease the ferry between Long Island and New Amsterdam. They also demanded that the city should have a seal and a *stadt huys* of its own, and should have full authority to sell and convey lands, and to regulate its local affairs ; and that fixed salaries should be granted to the magistrates. In the spring of 1654, a portion of



their demands was reluctantly granted. The office of schout was separated from that of the Company's fiscal; but the directors still retained the power of appointment in their own hands. The municipal authorities were granted the use of the *stadt huys*, which had hitherto been wholly under the control of the provincial government; they were permitted to pay the public salaries out of the excise, and to levy taxes with the consent of the commonalty and the provincial government; and to sell and convey lands within the limits of the city. No one was permitted to ferry across the river without a license from the magistrates. The ferryman was required to keep proper servants and boats, and a house on both sides the river for the accommodation of passengers, and to pass all officials free of toll. On the other hand, he was not compelled to ferry anything without prepayment, or to cross the river in a tempest. On the 10th of October of the same year, an ordinance was passed by the city authorities, regulating the rates of ferriage at three stuyvers each for foot passengers, except Indians, who paid six each, unless there were two or more. On the 19th of March, 1658, the ferry was put up at auction, and leased to Hermanus Van Borsum for three years, at three hundred guilders a year. The annual salary of the burgo-masters was fixed at three hundred and fifty, and that of the *schepens* at two hundred and fifty guilders. A seal\*

\* This seal is thus described by E. B. O. Callaghan, Esq., to whom we are indebted for this information:—" *Argent* per pale; three crosses saltire; *Crest*, a Beaver proper, surmounted by a mantle, on which is a shield or, bearing the letters G.W.C. (*Geoectroyerde West Indische Compagnie*). Under the base of the arms are the words, *SIGILLUM AMSTELLODAMENSIS IN NOVO BELGIO*:—the Seal of Amsterdam in New Netherland. The whole is encircled with a wreath of laurel."—*See cut on p. 52.*



Seal of New Netherland, 1623-1664.—(*This seal is referred to on page 52.*)

was also granted to the city, which was received and publicly delivered on the 8th of the next December by the Director to Martin Krigier, the presiding burgomaster. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter was appointed schout by the Company, as many supposed, to make amends for the harsh usage he had formerly received from the hands of their officer. But he was murdered by the Indians before the arrival of his commission, and Fiscal

Van Tienhoven was continued in the office by Stuyvesant, despite the discontent of the burghers.

Much dissatisfaction also prevailed in the settlements on Long Island, and on the 10th of December, 1653, a Landttag or Diet, composed of delegates from New Amsterdam, Breuckelen, Midwout, Middleburgh, Heemstede, Amersfoordt, Flushing and Gravesend assembled in the city. These delegates addressed a remonstrance to the governor, complaining of the arbitrary enactment of laws and appointment of officers, and the partial distribution of lands; and demanding for the people a direct share in the government. This proceeding deeply offended the director, who regarded it as an encroachment upon his prerogative, and he angrily dissolved the assembly. Upon this, the delegates protested to the Company; and the English settlers, who were notoriously disaffected, and were even suspected of conspiring with the freebooters who infested the shores, grew so turbulent, that, to counteract their influence, Stuyvesant determined to increase the power of the Dutch villages by giving them the privileges they desired. Breuckelen had two schepens already; two more were now added, and David Provoost was appointed her first separate schout. Midwout and Amersfoordt also received a municipal government. The Company, on their part, treated the protest with scorn, and ordered Stuyvesant to crush all such insolent pretensions.

Hitherto, the minister at New Amsterdam had also officiated occasionally on Long Island. But, as the settlements increased, the colonists demanded a settled minister, and, in 1654, the first church on Long Island



was built at Midwout or Flatbush, and Domine Johannes Polhemus, who had just arrived from Brazil, was installed at a salary of six hundred guilders. In this church, he preached every Sunday morning, preaching in the afternoons alternately at Breuckelen and Amersfoort, until 1660, when Domine Henry Selyns was installed as minister of the church at the former place. At the same time of the erection of the church at Midwout, the Lutherans determined to build a church at New Amsterdam. But Stuyvesant, who was a zealous Calvinist, refused them permission, and the Company, influenced by the representations of the Classis and the clergy of the Reformed Dutch Church, supported him in the refusal, on the ground that so dangerous a precedent would soon be followed by the other dissenting sects, and thus destroy the established religion of the province. This was the first manifestation of religious bigotry in New Netherland.

At this juncture, trouble broke out in a new quarter. In 1650, Stuyvesant had built Fort Casimir near the mouth of the Brandywine River, about five miles distant from the Swedish fort Christina, for the purpose of protecting the Dutch commerce from the encroachments of the Swedes. This territory, the Swedes claimed as their own, and in 1654, Rising, their governor, took possession of the fort, disarmed the garrison, and changed its name from Casimir to Trinity—the capture having been made on Trinity Sunday. Indignant at this outrage, Stuyvesant seized the *Golden Shark*, a Swedish ship which had entered Sandy Hook Bay by mistake, took possession of her cargo, and brought the factor a prisoner to Fort Amsterdam; then invited the Swedish gover-

nor to visit him at Manhattan to adjust differences, promising him courteous treatment and a safe return. This invitation was peremptorily refused by the Swede, upon which Stuyvesant dispatched an account of the affair to his superiors, and demanded instructions as to further proceedings. The Swedish rule was now broken in Europe, and the government, having no longer any reason for temporizing, at once directed the governor not only to avenge the insult, but to drive the Swedes from every part of the river. The command accorded well with the warlike spirit of Stuyvesant. All the military force of the colony was at once mustered for the enterprise, and on the 5th of September, 1655, he sailed with seven vessels and six or seven hundred men to attack the Swedish colony at Fort Christina. The enterprise was successful; and the forts were forced to surrender. The Swedes were compelled either to evacuate the country or to swear allegiance to the Dutch government; Rising was sent to Europe, and a Dutch commandant was placed in charge of the conquered territory.

The Indians had always been friendly under the pacific rule of Stuyvesant. In the ten years that had rolled away since the Indian war, their former hostility had almost been forgotten, and when Stuyvesant sailed for New Sweden, leaving the settlement defenceless, no one thought of danger from the natives. But, a short time before, the ex-fiscal, Hendrick Van Dyck, had shot a squaw whom he had detected in stealing peaches from his orchard, just below Rector street; and the murder had not been forgotten by her tribe, who now seized the opportunity to wreak their vengeance on the unprotected

settlers. On the 15th of September, sixty-four canoes, containing about five hundred armed warriors, landed before daybreak at Fort Amsterdam, and spread themselves over the town, telling the startled burghers that they came in search of some Indians from the north, who had secreted themselves there. The pretext did not deceive the citizens, but by friendly words and promises, they succeeded in keeping their savage visitors quiet, and finally persuaded them to leave the town at sunset and cross over to Governor's Island. They returned in the evening, and shot Van Dyck, the offender, in the breast with an arrow. Van der Grist was also struck down with an axe. The people were roused to a desperate defence, and hastily rallying together, they assaulted the savages, and drove them to their canoes. It was only to change the scene of destruction. Crossing the North River, they recommenced their bloody work at Hoboken and Pavonia, slaughtering men, women and children without mercy, and burning the houses, barns and crops. Thence, they crossed over to Staten Island, which they quickly laid waste. In three days, one hundred of the settlers were killed, and one hundred and fifty taken prisoners. Twenty-eight bouweries with their cattle and crops were destroyed ; and the losses of the colonists were computed at two hundred thousand guilders.

The whole country was aroused. From all sides, the terrified farmers flocked to the fort for safety. The settlements on Long Island were threatened with destruction, and bands of Indians prowled over the island capturing or killing every colonist that chanced to fall in



their way. An express was at once dispatched to the director, who quickly returned to the terror-struck city.

But his policy differed widely from that of the headstrong Kieft. While he used every precaution to protect the colonists from the attacks of their enemies, he strove to conciliate the latter by kind words and presents, instead of incensing them still further by new provocations. In this, he was successful. The Indians, terrified by his preparations and pacified by his gifts, soon consented to release their prisoners and to treat for peace.

Peace having thus been made with both Indian and European foes, the colony began thenceforth steadily to prosper. In 1656, the first map of the city, containing seventeen streets, was drawn; and two years after, stone pavements were first laid down in Stone street. At this time, the average price of the best lots was fifty dollars. A census was taken, which enumerated a hundred and twenty houses, and one thousand inhabitants in the city of New Amsterdam. In the same year (1656) a stand for country wagons was established at the foot of Whitehall street. Provision was made to secure the shores of the East River from the washing of the tide by lining them with planks; and the wharf, which was on the line of Moore street, extending but little beyond the low water mark, was improved by an extension of fifty feet.

In the following year, an important distinction was created among the citizens by the introduction of the system of great and small burgher-rights, then in vogue in Amsterdam. This change sprung directly from the citizens themselves. For many years, peddlers had been

in the habit of bringing their goods into the province and disposing of them ; then returning to Europe with the avails of their adventure. The merchants, disliking that their trade should thus be drawn off by those who bore no part of the burdens of the colony, entreated that no persons but city burghers should be allowed to carry on business in the metropolis, and none but settled residents to trade in the interior. To meet their demands, in 1657, Stuyvesant and his council required that before selling their goods, all traders should open a store within the limits of the city, and pay to the municipal authorities the sum of twenty guilders. This entitled them to the small burgher-right ; to which, likewise, all were entitled who were natives, or who had resided a year and six weeks in the city ; who should marry the daughters of burghers ; and all salaried officers of the Company. By paying the sum of fifty guilders, they entered the class of great burghers, which included all the provincial and municipal authorities, both present and future, together with their male descendants. All city officials were required to be chosen from the latter class, who were likewise exempt for one year from watch and military service, and free from arrest from the inferior courts. From this sprung the kindred institution under the English government of the freedom of the city.

In 1658, two hundred and fifty fire-buckets with hooks and ladders, were imported from Holland for the use of the city, and a rattle watch, consisting of eight men, was organized. All thatched roofs and wooden chimneys were ordered to be removed, and the best lots were taxed until built upon. At this time, the average

rent of the best houses was about fourteen dollars a year. A market-house, the first in the city, was erected for the sale of meat at the Bowling Green. The only school in the city had always been irregularly sustained, owing to the want of funds and a suitable school-house. Jacob Van Corlaer attempted to remedy the deficiency by opening a private school, but this was quickly interdicted by Stuyvesant, on the ground that he had received no permission from the provincial authorities. But many of the burghers were anxious to give their children a classical education, and as it was impossible to obtain this nearer than Boston, they wrote to the Company to send them a Latin teacher, promising to build a school-house at their own cost. As a further inducement, they urged that the inhabitants of the neighboring towns would likewise send their children, and that "New Amsterdam might finally thus attain to an academy, the credit of which would redound to the honor of the Company." This argument proved convincing, and the next year, Doctor Alexander Carolus Curtius was sent to them at a salary of five hundred guilders and perquisites. Curtius soon established a flourishing Latin school in the city, where he also practised as a physician. He returned to Holland two years after, and was succeeded by Domine Ægidius Luyck, the private tutor of the family of the director.

At this time, but a small part of the island was under cultivation. The greater part of it lay waste and common. The lots below Wall street were large enough for garden-plots and orchards. Every settler kept his cows, and a herdsman was appointed by the city to drive them



to the public pasture—the present Park and the land in its vicinity. Every morning, this functionary passed through the streets of the city, blowing a horn to warn the inhabitants of his approach. Collecting the cows that were turned out at the gates in a common herd, he drove them through the city gates at Wall street; then, guiding them along the crooked Pearl street, he turned them into the inclosure, and drove them back at night to their owners. As the city increased, the inhabitants built along the beaten track, which came to bear the name of “the Cow Path.”

The village was now growing into a city, and the inhabitants began to feel the need of a good road for pleasure riding. The upper part of the island was still wild and rocky, and the governor resolved to found a village there, to be called New Harlaem, and to open a good road thither from New Amsterdam. To encourage a speedy settlement, he offered to give the villagers a ferry to Long Island, with a court and clergyman of their own, as soon as they numbered twenty-five families; but few were willing to live so far in the country, and two years passed before the village was large enough to profit by his offer. In 1660, an inferior court was organized, and the village thus received a partial incorporation. In the same year, a second survey was made of the city, which was found to contain three hundred and fifty houses.

From this time the colony flourished. The wise policy of the Company induced them to use every effort to encourage emigration, and thus to increase their strength and prosperity. The strife between the people and the

governor was the principal drawback to the prosperity of the colony. The West India Company wished to rule supreme over the settlement which they had founded, and which they regarded as their own peculiar property, and Stuyvesant, their representative, was not the man to bate one jot of their pretensions. The people, on the other hand, were of the freest nation in Europe, they had lost none of their native independence in this new clime, and they demanded the right to choose their own rulers ; a demand which, step by step, they obtained. In 1660, the Company yielded the last point, and permitted them to have a schout of their own, appointed to the office by the Amsterdam chamber. Pieter Tonneman filled the office. Less religious toleration prevailed now than formerly. Stuyvesant, a fanatical Calvinist, detested all dissenters, and persecuted the Quakers for a time with rigor ; but he was soon checked in this intolerance by the commands of the Company, who, while they wished to establish the Reformed Dutch religion in the province, were anxious at the same time to preserve the spirit of religious freedom which characterized the Fatherland.

In 1661, the Company bought Staten Island from Melyn and Van de Capellen, its former owners, and made grants of land thereon to various colonists; and a small settlement was founded a few miles south of the Narrows, by several families of French Huguenots. In the same year, Jacques Cortelyou founded the settlement of New Utrecht, to which, a few months afterwards, Stuyvesant granted a village charter, as also to the village of Boswyck or Bushwick, which had been settled the year before.

Boswyck, New Utrecht, Breuckelen, Amersfoort and Midwout were placed under the jurisdiction of a single schout, each having separate schepens of its own, and were known henceforth as the "Five Dutch Towns."

But danger was menacing the province from without. The English, who laid claim to the whole continent as having been discovered by Cabot, were slowly but surely extending their rule, while, surrounded on all sides by their colonies, and under the protection of a private trading company instead of a powerful government, New Netherland was ill prepared to defend her rights. The English had long looked with a covetous eye upon the rich possessions of their Dutch neighbors ; the time had now come to attempt their conquest. Despite the threats and protests of Stuyvesant, the Dutch colonies in Delaware and Westchester and on Long Island successively fell into their hands, and he saw that they would be content with nothing less than the whole of New Netherland. It was not long before affairs reached the crisis. In 1664, Charles II. granted to his brother, James, Duke of York and Albany, a patent of the territory lying between Connecticut River and Delaware Bay, including the whole of the Dutch possessions in America, together with a part of the same territory in Connecticut which had been previously granted by him to Governor Winthrop.

Upon receiving the patent, and without giving any notice to the government of Holland, the Duke of York immediately dispatched four ships with four hundred and fifty soldiers, under the command of Colonel Richard Nicolls, his deputy governor, to take possession of his



newly acquired territory. Sir Robert Carr, Colonel George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick accompanied the expedition as commissioners to visit the New England colonies. The squadron separated on the coast in a fog, the ship with the deputy governor on board put in at Boston, and the others anchored at Piscataway. Having procured supplies, they proceeded on their way, and anchored in Nyack Bay, between New Utrecht and Coney Island, in the month of August, 1664; then immediately took possession of the block-house on Staten Island, and intercepted all communication between Manhattan and the neighboring shores.

On hearing of the intended invasion, the citizens had hastily fortified the city, and increased the military force as much as they were able. But they were ill-prepared to stand a siege. Not more than four hundred men were able to bear arms, and for these there were but six hundred pounds of powder. The fort and the wall of palisades which had defended them so well against the Indians, would avail them nothing before their civilized foes. They were exposed on both rivers, and there was no hope that they could possibly resist an assault. Besides, a large proportion of the inhabitants were Englishmen, who were secretly longing for the triumph of their countrymen; while the Dutch themselves, wearied with the arbitrary exactions of the Company, fancied that good might result from a change of masters. The brave old Stuyvesant would willingly have rallied his people and stood a siege; but his efforts were in vain, the time had come for the fall of New Amsterdam.

On the morning after the arrival of the squadron,

Nicolls sent a summons to the city to surrender, promising the inhabitants protection of life, liberty and property. Hastily convening the council and city authorities, Stuyvesant informed them of the summons, but refused to let the people know of the proffered terms, lest they might force him to yield the city. This the burgo-masters sharply opposed, and after an animated debate, the director was forced to accede to their wishes.

While they were thus debating the surrender, Nicolls sent another letter to Winthrop, the aged governor of Connecticut, who had joined the squadron, begging him to assure Stuyvesant that the privileges of the Hollanders should in no wise be restrained, but that they should continue to have full liberty to settle at Manhattan and to go and return thither in ships of their own country. Winthrop at once visited the city under a flag of truce, and delivered the letter to the governor, who vainly endeavored to withhold it from the people. The burgo-masters insisted that it should be publicly read, when Stuyvesant, incensed beyond all expression, tore it in pieces before their eyes. The news was soon carried to the citizens at the palisades, who, abandoning their work, rushed to the *stadt-huys*, crying, "the letter! the letter!" Resistance was in vain, and a copy was made from the carefully collected fragments and given to the people. In answer to the summons to surrender, Stuyvesant returned a long defence of the Company's right to the province; while he secretly sent his last dispatch under cover of night to Holland.

Irritated at this long delay, Nicolls landed the soldiers from two of his ships at Breuckelen to storm the city by

land. The others sailed up the bay, and anchored in front of Fort Amsterdam. With the muzzles of their loaded cannon pointed at the ships, the soldiers of Stuyvesant awaited the command to fire. It would have been the signal for the destruction of the city. Men, women, and children flocked around the director, beseeching him to desist and to surrender. "I would rather be carried out dead," was his reply. But he was at length



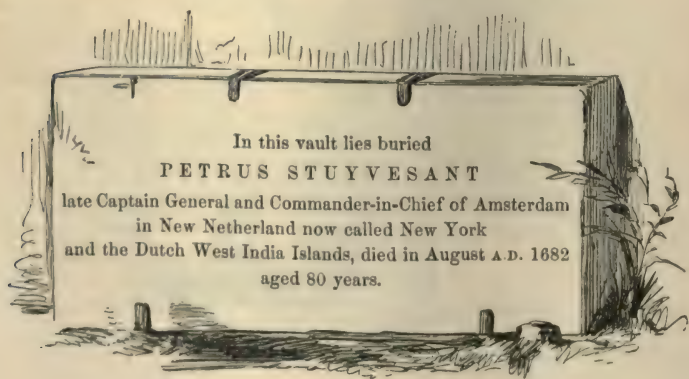
Old Stuyvesant Pear-tree in 1867.



obliged to yield. The people refused to obey his summons, the principal citizens, including his own son, implored him to submit, and at last the brave old Stuyvesant sadly consented to deliver up the fort, on condition that it should be returned again in case the difference of the boundaries should be settled by England and Holland.

On the morning of the 8th of September, 1664, Stuyvesant marched his soldiers out of Fort Amsterdam with all the honors of war. At the same time, the English troops marched in triumph into the city, and run up the English flag upon the fort, which they christened at once by the name of Fort James. Nicolls was proclaimed as deputy governor, and the city of New Amsterdam was transformed into NEW YORK.

Stuyvesant remained a resident of his beloved city, where he died and was buried in the family vault within the walls of the church which he had built at his own expense upon his extensive farm. The church is now gone, and its place is occupied by the church of St. Mark. In the outside wall of the latter, may be seen the original tablet with the following inscription :



Just without the graveyard inclosure, on the corner of Thirteenth street and Third Avenue, long stood the well-known Stuyvesant pear-tree, which had been brought from Holland in 1647, and planted by the governor's own hands in what was then his garden. At the end of February, 1867, this last relic of the Dutch dynasty, which had survived its contemporaries more than two hundred years, fell before the wind, and with it passed away all vestiges of the brave old director, Petrus Stuyvesant.\*

\* Governor Stuyvesant married Judith Bayard, a French refugee, by whom he had two sons, Balthazar Lazar and Nicholas William, from the younger of whom is descended the present Stuyvesant family of New York.

## CHAPTER IV.

1664—1674.

New York under the English Government—Recapture of the Province by the Dutch, and subsequent Retrocession.

THE English having thus succeeded in their long-cherished project of expelling the Dutch from their American possessions, Colonel Nicolls took possession of the conquered province as deputy-governor in behalf of the Duke of Yórk. The people, in fact, cared little for the change. They had been oppressed by the Dutch governors ; taxes had been levied on them without their consent ; they had been denied that direct share in the government which they claimed as their right, in conformity with the municipal institutions of the Fatherland ; and the few privileges which they enjoyed had been wrung with difficulty from their despotic rulers. Yet the Dutch government was at this time the most liberal of any ; but the province had been abandoned to the tender mercies of a selfish trading company, instead of being fostered by the protecting care of the States General. Besides, the English element now mingled largely in the city. The settlers who had come from New England and Virginia, retaining their predilection for their native



institutions, rejoiced in the change ; and the Dutch themselves were not greatly affected by it. Their trade with Holland was not interrupted ; they were still allowed to choose their inferior officers and to preserve their customs of inheritance ; their liberty of conscience was respected, and they were exempted from all danger of impressment, either for the army or the navy. The most oppressive grievance of which they had to complain was a law declaring all titles of land granted by the Dutch government to be invalid, and exacting large fees for their renewal.

The governor made it his policy to conciliate his new subjects, and it was not until the following year that he deemed it prudent to meddle with the form of government, and to substitute new officials for the schout, burgomaster and schepens. On the 12th of June, 1665, he issued the first English charter, since known as the Nicolls Charter, which revoked the form of the municipal government, and placed the executive power in the hands of a mayor, five aldermen and a sheriff, according to the English custom of incorporation ; said officers to be appointed by the governor. Thomas Willett was appointed mayor ; Thomas Delavall, Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt,\* John Brugges, Cornelius Van Ruyven and John Lawrence, aldermen, and Allard Anthony, sheriff. Thomas Willett, the first mayor of New York city, and great-great-grandfather of Col. Marinus Willett of Revolutionary memory, who held the same office a hundred and forty-two years after, was one of the Ply-

\* Emigrated from Holland in 1687.

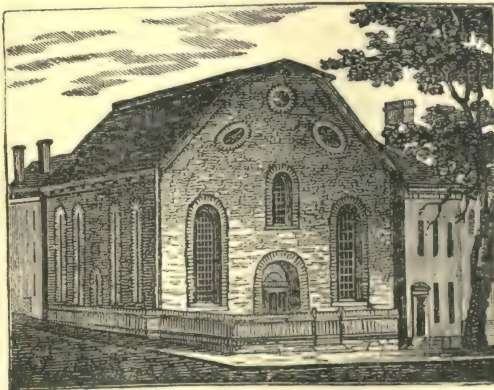
mouth Pilgrims. He had emigrated from England in 1629, and soon after engaging in trade with New Amsterdam, had purchased land in the city, and finally become a permanent resident. He was a popular man among his fellow-citizens, and this fact, joined with the judicious mingling of Dutch and English in the appointment of the other officials, disposed the people favorably towards the new government. Soon after, jury trials were established in the city. The governor retained the right to himself and his council to impose taxes and to enact or modify laws as they might deem proper. This last clause was distasteful to the people, and occasioned much complaint during his administration.

The city records were now ordered to be kept both in Dutch and English, and Nicholas Bayard\* was appointed assistant clerk to the Common Council; the principal secretary, Johannes Nevius, being imperfectly versed in the English language.

At this time, the city contained about fifteen hundred inhabitants, consisting of people of every sect in the nation. The only church, however, in the city, was the stone edifice within the walls of the fort, erected by Wilhelm Kieft, in which the Dutch Reformed service had hitherto been performed. The service of the Church of England was now introduced, and Nicolls, who appears to have been a man of liberal sentiments, gave the Lutherans permission to erect a church for themselves and to send to Europe for a preacher of their own denomination, which they had sought in vain from Stuy-

\* His mother was the sister of Stuyvesant.

vesant. They availed themselves of this, and built a small church in which the Rev. Jacob Fabritius, who arrived in 1669, officiated as the first minister. It was not long before dissensions arose between him and his charge, who accused him of grave misdemeanors, which seem to have been substantiated, as, on inquiry, the governor and council suspended him from the ministry, permitting him only to preach a farewell sermon and to install Bernardus Arent as his successor. Fabricius soon after repaired to Albany. On the recapture of the province by the Dutch, this church was removed by the orders of Governor Colve. It was rebuilt after the retrocession on the site of the future Grace Church on the west side of Broadway, for which a patent was obtained from Governor Dongan. The first churches were but temporary buildings. The structure in Broadway, which was destroyed by the fire of 1776, was built in 1710, soon after the commencement of the administration of Governor Hunter, and chiefly through the efforts of the newly-arrived Palatines.



Old Lutheran Church in Fraunkfort Street. Erected in 1767.



Soon after the capture of the province by the English, the territory forming the present State of New Jersey, which had hitherto belonged to New Netherland, was granted by the Duke of York to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret as a distinct and separate province. The boundaries between New York and Connecticut were also defined by commissioners appointed for the purpose, and Long Island was adjudged the property of the former.

In the meantime, this invasion of the Dutch possessions in a time of profound peace had caused a war between England and Holland, and a rumor that a hostile squadron under the command of the formidable De Ruyter had been dispatched by the States General to recapture the lost province gave the governor great alarm. He immediately set about strengthening the fortifications, which were very much out of repair, and making preparations for defence ; and summoned the citizens to aid him in the work. This they were reluctant to do. A few, indeed, offered to assist him, but the majority were not at all inclined to war against their own countrymen, however indifferent they might be to the result of the struggle. But, ere long, peace was declared, and by the treaty of Breda in 1667, the province of New Netherland was ceded to the English government in exchange for Surinam, though many of the English grumbled at the exchange, and complained that their countrymen had been overreached in the bargain.

After administering affairs with considerable sagacity for three years, Colonel Nicolls determined to return to Europe, and, having asked and obtained his recall.

set sail on his homeward voyage in August, 1668. He engaged in the subsequent war against Holland, and was killed in a naval engagement in 1672. Colonel Francis Lovelace was appointed his successor.

The change of rulers was not to the advantage of the people. Lovelace proved far more despotic than Nicolls had been. The people had long since demanded the right of levying their own taxes, and of controlling their own affairs ; but the governments, both Dutch and English, had decided that their only right was to obey, and had made it their settled policy to force them to submission. This, Lovelace determined to do in the most effectual manner. He ordered his deputy in the territory west of the Delaware to carry out his measures in that section of the country by levying such taxes on the people as might give them "liberty for no thought but how "to discharge them ;" and proceeded himself to impose a duty of ten per cent. upon all imports or exports to or from the province. Contending for the rights of free-born Englishmen, among which, they claimed, was a participation in legislation, several of the Long Island towns, together with West and East Chester, petitioned for a redress of grievances, but to no effect.

In 1670, Lovelace ordered the towns of Long Island to contribute to the repairs of the fort at New York. This they positively refused to do unless they were admitted to a share of the government. Flushing, Hempstead and Jamaica protested against this tyrannous proceeding ; for their sole answer, the governor and council ordered the protests to be publicly burned by the hands of the hangman.

In 1669, a public seal was transmitted by the Duke of York to the city authorities, together with a silver mace, and gowns for the municipal officers. During the same



First English Seal of the Province.

year, Lovelace established a meeting for merchants on Fridays, between the hours of eleven and twelve, near the bridge which crossed the sewer near the foot of Broad street. This was the site of the future Exchange. The hour of meeting was announced by the ringing of



the stadt-huys bell, and the mayor was ordered to see that no one disturbed the assembly.

In the same year, an incident occurred which proves how absolute was the authority exercised by the governor and council. Marcus Jacobson, a Swede from Delaware Bay, who had shown himself refractory under the new regime, was brought to Manhattan, tried by a special commission, and sentenced to death—then whipped, branded and sent to Barbadoes to be sold into slavery—his first sentence having been commuted through the *mercy* of the governor.

In 1670, Lovelace purchased Staten Island from the Indians, who complained that they had never received full payment from the Dutch, for the consideration of four hundred fathoms of wampum, together with several axes, kettles and coats, and thus secured the island to the property of the English government. He also approved the race-course which had been instituted by Nicolls at Hempstead, and directed that races should take place there in future during the month of May. In 1673, he established the first mail between New York and Boston, consisting of a single messenger, who was ordered to go and return with letters and packages once within a month, for a "more speedy intelligence and "dispatch of affairs."

In 1672, Charles II., at the instigation of the French government, proclaimed war against Holland. The Dutch availed themselves of the opportunity to endeavor to regain their lost province, and fitted out a squadron of five ships, under the command of Admirals Benckes and Evertsen and Captains Colve, Boes and Van Zye. to

sail against New York. The news of the expedition soon reached the city. Instead of making preparations to resist it, the governor placed the fort in the hands of Captain John Manning, and set out for Albany to regulate the Indian difficulties which had sprung up in that quarter. News was soon received that the Dutch fleet had already arrived off the coast of Virginia, and Manning immediately dispatched a messenger to the governor, who was then visiting in Westchester county, to hasten his return. He came at once, and commenced preparations for defence. The fort, which numbered forty-six guns, was placed in a posture of resistance, a force of four or five hundred men was mustered from among the citizens, and the volunteers were drilled in order to be in readiness for the expected attack. But the enemy did not make their appearance; and after waiting a short time, the governor disbanded the troops and set out on a journey to Connecticut. He had not waited long enough. On the 29th of July, 1673, the hostile fleet appeared off Sandy Hook. Manning instantly dispatched a messenger with the news to the governor, and set to work to beat up recruits, both in the city and country. His efforts were unavailing; the settlers in the country refused to aid him, while the city volunteers, who themselves were Dutch, went to work to spike the guns, and to render all possible assistance to the enemy. The fort contained but about fifty soldiers, most of whom were ignorant of the art of war, and the city was in a defenceless condition. The ships, meanwhile, quietly sailed up the bay, and anchored at Staten Island on the 30th inst.

The position of affairs certainly seemed hopeless enough, and Manning, who lacked both energy and courage, was not the man to retrieve it. He dispatched a messenger to the ships to inquire why they came in so hostile a manner to disturb the peace of his majesty's subjects ; while, at the same time, the admirals of the expedition dispatched a trumpeter with a summons to the said subjects to surrender. The messengers crossed each other on the way. Manning at once acknowledged the receipt of the summons, and promised to give them a definitive answer on the return of his messengers. By way of reply, the Dutch admirals weighed anchor and sailed up the bay ; then, anchoring opposite the fort, they sent word to Manning that half an hour would be given him to answer their summons. He asked till the following morning to consider. The request was refused him, and he was told that, after half an hour, a fire would be opened upon the fort. The half-hour passed without reply, when the Dutch kept their word, and opened a heavy cannonade on the English, which killed and wounded several of their men. Though many of the guns were in order, and an effective fire might have been poured on the ships, not a shot was fired in return. It was not long before six hundred men, under the command of Captain Anthony Colve, landed on the island, and ranged themselves on the Commons preparatory to marching into the city. The terrified Manning beat a parley, and sent Captain Carr, Thomas Lovelace, and Thomas Gibbs, to negotiate with Colve ; but as they had nothing definite to offer, that functionary detained Lovelace and Gibbs as hostages, and sent Carr back to



the fort, with a summons to Manning to surrender within a quarter of an hour. But this summons was never received. Carr, thinking it his best policy to provide for his own safety, made his way to the city gates, and fled from the town without troubling himself about his master. At the end of the time appointed, a trumpeter was sent for an answer to the summons, and was told in reply that none had been received. "This is "the third time they have fooled us," exclaimed Colve in a passion, as he ordered his men to march without delay. They proceeded down Broadway, and, as they approached the fort, were met by a messenger from Manning, offering a full surrender on condition that the garrison should be allowed to march out with all the honors of war. To this Colve assented, and after witnessing the exit of the English intruders, the Dutch troops continued their march down Broadway and again took possession of the fort and of New York. The name of the city was changed to New Orange, while the fort became Fort William Hendrick. But the Dutch did not keep their promise. The English soldiers were seized and imprisoned, their baggage plundered, and many of them carried away to foreign parts in the Dutch ships of war. The governor was permitted to return with the Dutch admirals to Europe.

The news of so easy a capture occasioned the deepest mortification to the English government, as well as to the absent governor and the New England colonies, and on the recovery of the province in 1674, Manning was tried in New York, by court-martial, for cowardice and treachery. The charges brought against him were, that

he had not put the garrison in a fitting state of defence ; but treated with the enemy, suffered their ships to approach and to send their boats ashore without firing upon them : and, finally, struck his flag and surrendered the city, although the fort was in a tenable condition and the garrison desirous to fight, and let in the enemy without conditions, unless to himself. It was also said, and believed by many, that he had been bribed by the Dutch to surrender the city. In defence, he alleged that he had no time to put the fort in a defensive posture ; that he treated with the enemy in hopes to delay their attack until aid should arrive ; that he did not fire because his ambassadors were on board ; that their landing was unknown to him, and that they were eight hundred strong, while he had but seventy or eighty men in the fort ; that it was for this reason that he ordered a flag of truce to be raised, but that the English flag was struck without his consent ; and that he made no conditions in his own favor, but only demanded that the garrison should march out with the honors of war. His defence, though reasonable in many points, proved unavailing ; the English were smarting under the insult which they had received, and piqued that one of their forts should have fallen so easy a prey to the enemy ; and Manning was found guilty of the charges brought against him. His interest at court saved him from the sentence of death, but he was adjudged to have his sword broken over his head by the executioner in front of the City Hall, and to be forever incapable of holding any civil or military office in the gift of the crown. Lovelace was also reprimanded by the English government,

and his estate ordered to be confiscated for the benefit of the Duke of York, his creditor.

The Dutch having thus regained possession of the city, the commanders of the fleet issued a new charter, restoring the former municipal government. Anthony De Milt was appointed schout, with three burgomasters and five schepens. Courts of Justice were established at Delaware Bay, Albany, and Esopus, and the magistrates of the provincial towns were required to appear at New Orange and swear allegiance to the Dutch government. The squadron soon returned to Holland accompanied by Lovelace, leaving Captain Anthony Colve in command of the province.

The Dutch now reasserted their right to the province of New Netherland, as defined by the boundaries agreed upon in the Stuyvesant treaty, and Colve received a commission from Benckes and Evertsen, the admirals of the fleet, authorizing him to govern the said territory. His rule was brief, but energetic. Taking a lesson from the condition in which the fort had been left by his predecessor, he determined that the next assailant should not find it so easy a capture, and vigorously set to work to place it in a defensive condition. The city palisades and the works of the fort were repaired, the buildings and inclosures that had accumulated about and crowded upon the latter were ordered to be removed, the guns were put in order, the ammunition looked to, and the citizen companies and watch drilled for active service. All exportation of provisions from the city for the next eight months was forbidden, not more than two of the sloops usually engaged in trading on the shores of the



Hudson were suffered to be absent at the same time, and every precaution was taken to strengthen the city and enable it to resist an attack. It was supposed, and not without reason, that the English would not give up this coveted territory without a struggle, and Colve, himself a military man, resolved that this should not be an easy one. Everything assumed a military character. The Commons became the place of general parade. The schout, at the head of the general militia, reviewed them every day before the stadthuys at the head of Coenties Slip. Every evening, at six, he received the keys of the city from the officers of the fort, and proceeded with a guard of six men to lock the gates and to place a sentry of citizens at the most exposed points. At sunrise, he went the rounds again, unlocked the gates, and restored the keys to the guard at the fort. At this time the city contained three hundred and twenty-two houses.

Soon after Colve assumed the reins of government, a charge of witchcraft was brought before him against a woman of the city, but the brave old soldier treated it with the contempt it deserved. New York was never much infested with this plague, which spread so widely in the New England States. Yet it is probable that some were infected with the contagion, for in 1665, Ralph Hall and his wife, residents of Setauket on Long Island, were arraigned before the city court of assizes on a charge of having caused the death of George Wood and his child by sorcery. The court, having faith in the black art, bound them both over to appear at the next sessions, but the affair coming to the ears of Nicolls, they were released from all recognizances, and acquitted of the

charge. In 1670, a similar accusation against a widow named Katharine Harrison residing in Westchester, was brought before the court. This woman had formerly been a resident of Weathersfield, Connecticut, where she had been tried for witchcraft, found guilty by the jury, pardoned by the judge, and ordered to remove from the colony. The odium followed her to her new abode ; and her neighbors, fearful of the presence of so dangerous a person, entreated that she might be driven from the town. She was ordered by the court to give security for her good behavior, and the proceedings against her were finally dropped. Such was the rise and progress of witchcraft in New York. Two other cases occurred on Long Island which were referred to the New England courts for trial, but they resulted in nothing.

Under the energetic rule of the warlike Colve, it is probable that the English would have had some difficulty in retaking the city by force of arms. But the days of the Dutch rulers were numbered. On the 9th of February, 1674, a treaty of peace between England and the States General was signed at Westminster, which restored the country to its former possessors. It was not, however, until the 10th of November of the same year that the city was finally ceded to the English, and the Dutch definitively dispossessed of the beautiful province which they had discovered and peopled, and of which they had retained possession for nearly sixty years. On that day the fort was surrendered to Major Edmund Andros, who had been appointed governor by the Duke of York. The fort again became Fort James, and the inhabitants of the province were absolved from their

oaths of allegiance to the States General, and required to swear fealty to the King of England. The new governor and his council, which consisted of John Lawrence, Captain Brockholst and Captain Dyre, met immediately after the surrender of the fort, and restoring the English form of municipal government, ordered that the magistrates who were in office at the time of the capture of the city should continue their duties six months longer. In the course of the following year, Andros appointed William Dervall, mayor ; Gabriel Minvielle, Nicholas De Meyer, Thomas Gibbs, Thomas Lewis, and Stephanus Van Cortlandt, aldermen ; and John Sharpe, sheriff. He also decreed that four aldermen should constitute a court of sessions.

It may not be amiss to close this chapter with a notice of the early settlers who successively filled the mayoralty from the appointment of Thomas Willett in 1665 to the recapture of the city by the Dutch, and whose names have been omitted in the rapid progress of our history. Names and documents are always uninteresting unless connected with events and associations ; and mere lists of city officials can have little interest for the general reader. Thomas Delavall, the successor of Willett in 1666, and who afterwards filled the mayor's chair in 1671 and 1678, was a captain in the English army, who accompanied Nicolls in his invasion of the city, and soon became a prominent man in the province. He engaged in mercantile pursuits, and purchased several estates in Manhattan and the vicinity, among which were Great and Little Barent's, now Barn Islands, in the Hellegat ; together with a cherry orchard of several



acres in the neighborhood of Franklin Square. From this orchard, Cherry street derives its name. He died in 1682, leaving several children, who married and became permanent residents of the city.

Cornelius Steenwyck, mayor in 1668-69-70-82-83, was a thorough-bred Netherlander, strongly attached to all the customs of the Fatherland, and distinguished for his inflexible integrity. He was a merchant, and one of the wealthiest and most influential men in the colony. His popularity was unbounded, as well among the English as the Dutch portion of the community; on one occasion, he was appointed governor *pro tem.* during the temporary absence of Lovelace, and he was always found faithful to his oaths of allegiance. He died in 1684, leaving several children. His widow afterwards married Domine Selinus, the clergyman of Brooklyn.

Matthias Nicoll, an English lawyer, who emigrated from Islip in Northamptonshire in 1660, was Steenwyck's successor. He held the office but for one year. Previously to this appointment, he had officiated as the first English secretary of the province under Col. Nicolls. He afterwards became one of the judges of the Supreme Court, and removed to Queens county, where he purchased large tracts of land, and died in 1687, leaving numerous descendants.

John Lawrence, mayor of the city at the time of its surrender to the Dutch, and subsequently in 1691, emigrated from England to the province during the administration of Kieft, and became one of the patentees of the towns of Hempstead and Flushing. He took up his residence in the city, where he had a house and store on

the river shore, between Hanover and Wall streets; and engaged in trade on the Hudson River. He died in the city in 1699, leaving several children.

William Dervall, the first mayor of the city after its restoration, was an English merchant who had removed from Boston to New York during the administration of Nicolls, and set up a store in company with his brother near the lower end of Pearl street. His wife was the daughter of Mayor Delavall, from whom he inherited Great Barn Island, together with a large estate at Harlem. He was shrewd but upright, and was much esteemed by his fellow-citizens.

The province thus passed away forever from the hands of its Dutch rulers, but many years elapsed before the Holland manners and customs were uprooted, and New York became in truth an English city. Indeed, some of them linger still, and New York yet retains a marked individuality which distinguishes it from the eastern cities, and savors strongly of its Dutch origin. The memorials of the Dutch dynasty have fallen one by one; the Stuyvesant pear-tree was long the last token in being of the flourishing nation which so long possessed the city of New Amsterdam—the last link that connected the present with the traditional past—and this fell, in 1867, before the slow decay of age. But the broad and liberal nature of the early settlers is still perpetuated in the cosmopolitan character of the city, in its freedom from exclusiveness, in its religious tolerance, and in its extended views of men and things. Though New York has many faults, yet they are not petty ones. There is no city on the western continent in which men more

naturally find their own level. Deeds find more respect than persons, and each one rises and falls, if not by his own merit, at least by his own endeavors. Most of the other cities of the United States have descended in a direct line from the pioneer settlers, retaining all the types of the character which first gave them birth ; in New York, this primitive type, instead of being predominant, is blended with all the races of the earth ; and if it be true, as one of our most eminent philosophers asserts, that a mixture of many materials makes the best mortar, there is no reason to regret it. The Dutch language has disappeared, the Dutch signs have passed away from the streets, and the Dutch manners and customs are forgotten, save in a few strongholds of the ancient Knickerbockers. But the Dutch spirit has not yet died out—enough of it is still remaining to enable New York to trace its lineage in a direct line to its parent—New Amsterdam.



New York in 1674.



## CHAPTER V.

1674.

New Amsterdam in the Old Dutch Colony Times.

BEFORE proceeding further with the thread of our history, it may be well to glance at the condition of New Amsterdam in the old Dutch Colony times, before its primitive manners and customs had been adulterated by English innovations. In the beginning of the settlement, the people had been forced to accommodate themselves to the necessities of a new country, and their houses, furniture and apparel had necessarily been of the rudest kind. But, at the time of which we write, the city had grown into a state of comparative wealth, and the inhabitants were beginning to enjoy the comforts of affluence, according to the standard of the times. This differed somewhat from the modern estimate ; a burgher worth a thousand dollars was esteemed rich ; and his neighbor worth five hundred, a man in easy circumstances. But money has but a relative value, and expenses were graded in conformity with the standard of wealth.

In the beginning of the settlement, as we have



Household in the old Dutch Colony times.

already said, the houses were one story in height with two rooms on a floor. The chimneys were of wood, and the roofs were thatched with reeds and straw. The furniture was of the rudest kind, carpets were unknown, as indeed they continued to be for many years after ; the stools and tables were hewn out of rough planks by the hands of the colonists ; wooden platters and pewter spoons took the place of more expensive crockery, and naught but the indispensable chest of homespun linen and a stray piece of plate or porcelain, a treasured memento of the Fatherland, was seen to remind one of civilization.

As the forests became cleared away, and the colony increased, the style of living experienced a material change. The straw roofs and wooden chimneys were deemed unsafe, and were ordered to be removed ; and the settlers commenced to build their houses of brick and stone. For some time, the bricks were imported from Holland ; in the administration of Stuyvesant, however, some enterprising citizens established a brick-yard on the island ; and the material henceforth became popular in the colony. The northern part of the island furnished abundance of stone. Many of the wooden houses had checkerwork fronts, or rather gable ends of small black and yellow Dutch bricks, with the date of their erection inserted in iron figures, facing the street. Most of the houses, indeed, fronted the same way ; the roofs were tiled or shingled, and invariably surmounted with a weathercock. The windows were small and the doors large ; the latter were divided horizontally, so that, the



Dutch Grocery in Broad street.



upper half being swung open, the burgher could lean on the lower and smoke his pipe in peaceful contemplation. Not less comfortable were the social "stoeps," and the low, projecting eaves, beneath which the friendly neighbors congregated at twilight to smoke their long pipes and discuss the price of beaver-skins. These institutions have come down to our own times, and are still known and appreciated in the suburbs of the city.

Every house was surrounded by a garden, varying in size according to the locality, but usually large enough to furnish accommodations for a horse, a cow, a couple of pigs, a score of barn-door fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a bed of tulips. Owing in part to the short-sighted policy which discouraged the introduction of English horses and cattle into the province, the stock had greatly deteriorated. The horses were branded with the name of the owner, and turned out in summer to graze on the waste lands in the upper part of the island, where they bred rapidly; then were again collected and housed in autumn. At a later period, horses were imported from the New England settlements, particularly the Narragansett pacers, which were the most highly valued. Carriages were unknown, and it was not until after the Revolution that these came into general use. Lumber wagons and sleighs were the only modes of conveyance in the old Dutch colony times. In 1696, the first hackney coach was introduced into the city; later, one horse chaises came to be used by the wealthiest inhabitants; but, with one or two exceptions, none but the royal governors aspired to the luxury of a private carriage.

Carpets, too, were almost unknown in the colony up to the period of the Revolution. Now and then, a piece of drugget, ostentatiously dignified by the name of carpet, and made to serve for the purpose of a crumb-cloth, was found in the houses of the wealthiest burghers, but even these were not in general use. The snow-white floor was sprinkled with fine sand, which was curiously stroked with a broom into fantastic curves and angles. This adornment pertained especially to the parlor; a room that was only used upon state occasions. The first carpet said to have been introduced into the city was found in the house of the pirate, Kidd, this was merely a good-sized Turkey rug, worth about twenty-five dollars.

The most ornamental piece of furniture in the parlor was usually the bed, with its heavy curtains and valance of camlet and killemminster. Mattresses were as yet unheard of; in their stead was used a substantial bed of live geese feathers, with a lighter one of down for a covering. These beds were the pride of the notable Dutch matrons; in these and the well-filled chests of home-made linen lay their claims to skill in housewifery.

The beds and pillows were cased in check coverings; the sheets were of home-spun linen, and over the whole was thrown a patch-work bed-quilt, made of bits of calico cut in every conceivable shape, and tortured into the most grotesque patterns that could possibly be invented by human ingenuity.

In a corner of the room stood a huge oaken, iron-bound chest, filled to overflowing with household linen, spun by the feminine part of the family, which they

always delighted in displaying before visitors. At a later date, this gave place to "the chest of drawers" of our grandmothers' times—huge piles of drawers, placed one upon the other and reaching to the ceiling, with brass rings over the key-holes to serve as knobs. The *escri-toire*, too, with its complication of writing-desk, drawers, and mysterious pigeon-holes, came into use about the same time; but both of these were unknown to the genuine Knickerbockers.

In another corner stood the Holland cupboard, with its glass doors, displaying the family plate and porcelain. The latter was rare, and, as a general rule, was "wisely" kept for show." Plate was more common, and there were few wealthy families that had not their porringers, tankards and ladles of massive silver, for plated ware was then unknown. A few had tea-services of china—tea-pots and sugar-bowls the size of a nut-shell, with cups and saucers that might have served for a fairy, adorned with quaint devices of men and things in the most impossible positions, which all can appreciate who have borne witness to the extreme fidelity of the paintings of the Celestials. But more generally, the fragrant bohea was sipped from the humbler pewter mugs, which were ranged in shining rows upon the kitchen dressers. Wooden-ware, too, was in universal use, and it was not until several years after that even the coarsest delf or earthen-ware was imported into the colony. Glass-ware was almost unknown; punch was drunk in turns by the company, from a huge bowl, and beer from a tankard of silver. Sideboards were not introduced until after the Revolution, and were exclusively of English origin.



Sofas, couches, lounges, and that peculiarly American institution, the rocking-chair, were things unknown to our Dutch ancestors. Their best chairs were of Russia leather, profusely ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails, and so straight and high-backed as to preclude the possibility of a moment's repose. Besides these, the parlor was commonly decorated with one or two chairs with embroidered backs and seats, the work of the daughters of the family. After the capture of the province, cane-seat and mahogany chairs were introduced, but these were unknown to the primitive Hollanders. The kitchen chairs were usually rush-bottomed. Couches and high-backed settees were introduced about the time of the Revolution—sofas are an innovation of modern times. Mahogany had not yet come into use; nearly all the furniture was made of oak, maple, or nut-wood.

Tables were not yet ranked in the category of ornamental furniture. The round tea-table, indeed, with the leaf turning up perpendicularly, like a Chinese fan, occupied a conspicuous place in the corner of the parlor; but this room was sacred to the social gatherings, so much in vogue among the Knickerbockers, denominated "tea-parties," which may account for its presence. The great, square dining-table, with leaves upheld by extended arms, stood in the kitchen for daily use. Japanned tea-tables and card-tables were introduced at a later date.

Some half-dozen clocks were to be found in the settlement, with about the same number of silver watches; but as these were scarcely ever known to go, their existence was of very little practical consequence. No watch-

maker had yet found it to his interest to emigrate, and the science of horology was at a low ebb in the colony. The flight of time long continued to be marked by sundials and hour-glasses ; indeed, it is only since the Revolution that clocks have come into general use. About 1720, the corner-clocks, consisting of cases reaching from the floor to the ceiling, with the dial at the top and the pendulum swinging almost at the bottom were introduced. These were all imported, nor were any manufactured in the country until within a comparatively recent date.

Small looking-glasses in narrow black frames with ornamented corners were in general use. Two or three of the wealthiest burghers were the possessors of large mirrors, in two plates, the upper one elaborately ornamented with flowers and gilding ; but these were objects of luxury to which but few could aspire. Pictures were plentiful, if we may believe the catalogues of household furniture of the olden times ; but these pictures were wretched engravings of Dutch cities and naval engagements, with family portraits at five shillings a head, which were hung at regular intervals upon the parlor walls. The window curtains were generally of flowered chintz, of inferior quality, simply run upon a string. Yet among these, as in the wearing apparel and the hangings of the beds, were sometimes found specimens of costly India stuffs, which had found their way, through the Dutch East India Company to these distant shores, and many rare articles of Eastern luxury thus floated in the wake of commerce to the homes of the wealthy burghers.

Stoves were never dreamed of by the worthy Knick-

erbockers, but in their stead they had the cheerful fire-place—sometimes in the corner, sometimes extending almost across the length of the room—with its huge back-log, and glowing fire of hickory wood. The shovel and tongs stood, one in each corner, keeping guard over the brass-mounted andirons which supported the blazing pile. In front was the brass fender, with its elaborate ornaments; and a curiously wrought fire-screen stood in the corner. Marble mantels had never yet been thought of; but the chimney-pieces were inlaid with parti-colored Dutch tiles, representing all sorts of scriptural and apocryphal stories. The kitchen fire-places were less pretentious, and of an immense size, so large that they would almost have sufficed to roast an ox whole. Over the fire swung the hooks and trammels, designed for the reception of the immense iron cooking pots, long since superseded by the modern stoves and ranges. The children and negroes grouped in the spacious chimney corners, cracking nuts and telling stories by the light of the blazing pine knots, while the “vrouws” turned the spinning-wheel, and the burghers smoked their long pipes and silently watched the wreaths of smoke as they curled above their heads. At nine they regularly said their prayers, commended themselves to the protection of the good St. Nicholas, and went to bed to rise with the dawn.

So regular was their lives that the lack of time-pieces made but little difference. The model citizens rose at cock crowing, breakfasted with the dawn, and went about their usual avocations. When the sun reached the “noon-mark,” dinner was on the table. This was strictly a family meal; dinner parties were unheard of, and the

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neighbor who should have dropped in without ceremony would have been likely to have met an indifferent welcome. But this apparent want of sociality was amply atoned for by the numerous tea-parties. After dinner, the worthy Dutch matrons would array themselves in their best linsey-jackets and petticoats of their own spinning, and, putting a half-finished worsted stocking into the capacious pocket which hung down from their girdle, with their scissors, pin-cushion and keys, outside their dress, sally forth to a neighbor's house to "take tea." Here they plied their knitting-needles and their tongues at the same time, discussed the village gossip, settled their neighbors' affairs to their own satisfaction, and finished their stockings in time for tea, which was on the table at six o'clock precisely. This was the occasion for the display of the family plate and the Lilliputian cups of rare old china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant bohea, sweetening it by an occasional bite from the huge lump of loaf sugar which was laid invariably by the side of each plate, while they discussed the hostess' apple-pies, doughnuts and waffles. Tea over, the party donned their cloaks and hoods, for bonnets were not, and set out straightway for home in order to be in time to superintend the milking and look after their household affairs before bed-time.

As we have already said, the Dutch ladies wore no bonnets, but brushed their hair back from their foreheads and covered it with a close-fitting cap of muslin or calico ; over this they wore, in the open air, hoods of silk or taffeta, elaborately quilted. Their dress consisted of a jacket of cloth or silk, and a number of short petti-

coats of every conceivable hue and material, quilted in fanciful figures. If the pride of the Dutch matrons lay in their beds and linen, the pride of the Dutch maidens lay equally in their elaborately wrought petticoats, which were their own handiwork, and usually constituted their only dowry. The wardrobe of a fashionable lady usually contained from ten to twenty of these, of silk, camlet, cloth, drugget, India stuff and a variety of other materials, all closely quilted, and costing from five to thirty dollars each. They wore blue, red, and green worsted stockings of their own knitting, with parti-colored clocks, together with high-heeled leather shoes. No finer material was known until after the Revolution. Considerable jewelry was in use among them in the shape of rings and brooches. Gold neck and fob chains were unknown: the few who owned watches attached them to chains of silver or steel; though girdle-chains of gold and silver were much in vogue among the most fashionable belles. These were attached to the richly bound Bibles and hymn-books and suspended from the belt outside the dress, thus forming an ostentatious Sunday decoration. For necklaces, they wore numerous strings of gold beads; the poorer classes, in humble imitation, encircled their throats with steel and glass beads, and strings of Job's tears, the fruit of a plant which was famed to possess some medicinal virtues.

The burghers wore long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to the ankles, vests with large flaps, and numerous pairs of breeches. The coats and vests were trimmed with large silver buttons, and decorated with lace. The low-crowned hats were made of beaver

—caps of fur and taffeta were also much in vogue. Though this costume was somewhat ponderous, the gentlemen do not appear to have fallen behind the ladies in extravagance in dress. Taffeta, plush and velvet were the favorite materials for their habiliments; their shoe-buckles and buttons were of solid silver, and they sported silver-hilted small swords and ivory-mounted canes. A few wore wigs; though the most wore their hair plaited tightly in cues.

But these garments were susceptible of indefinite preservation; for the every-day apparel was of good substantial homespun. Every household had from two to six spinning-wheels for wool and flax, whereon the women of the family expended every leisure moment. Looms, too, were in common use, and piles of home-spun cloth and snow-white linen attested to the industry of the active Dutch maidens. Hoards of home-made stuffs were thus accumulated in the settlement, sufficient to last till a distant generation. Cotton cloth was a fabric unknown. The women spun and wove, milked and churned, and attended to their household matters; the men traded with the natives or the other colonies, or kept their shops in their own city—no one was idle. They made no haste to be rich, were not given to speculation in bank stock or real estate, or any other of those schemes for making a fortune in the twinkling of an eye that only originate in the brain of the active and adventurous Yankees—that, their phlegmatic temperament forbade—but they realized the fable of the hare and the tortoise, and made their way up the ladder of fortune slowly but surely.



Books were rare luxuries in these times ; with the exception of the libraries of the domine and the doctor, Bibles and prayer-books constituted the sole literature of the settlement. These were objects of considerable display, being gorgeously bound, and worn suspended from the girdle by gold and silver chains of considerable value. The intellectual wants of the community were satisfied by the weekly discourses of the domine in the church of St. Nicholas, as yet the only one in the city. Thither the farmers drove from their bouweries on Sundays, with their wives and children arrayed in their best, and, leaving their farm-wagons upon the Bowling Green, turned their horses loose to graze on the grassy hill-slope outside the fort during the hours of service. In these hours, profound silence was enjoined upon the colony ; the remainder of the day was given to the Indians and negroes for recreation. But, though the Reformed Dutch Church within the walls of the fort was the only one as yet erected in New Amsterdam, it must not be inferred that there was a corresponding unanimity of religious opinion. Numerous religious organizations were already in existence, which, restrained by the repressive policy of Stuyvesant, were only waiting the advent of a more tolerant government to erect churches and chapels of their own. The service of the Church of England had already been performed by an English chaplain in the chapel in the fort during the administrations of Nicolls and Lovelace ; the Lutherans and French Calvinists also had preachers of their own. The prevailing religious denomination was the Dutch Calvinist ; but there were a few Episcopalians, a few Roman Catholics,

some Anabaptists, some Independents, several Jews, a number of Quakers, and a great many of no faith at all. At the time of the cession of the province to the English, no less than eighteen different languages were spoken in the city. Its religious tolerance had made it the refuge of the persecuted of every sect and clime, while its commercial advantages had attracted enterprising adventurers from all parts of the world, and had thus laid the foundation of a cosmopolitan city. All this tended to produce greater breadth of view and liberality of sentiment than was to be found in the New England colonies, where but one sect was tolerated, and which were made up almost exclusively of a single nation.

An outline of the streets of New Amsterdam at the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, will indicate the genealogy of the present streets of the city. A minute account of the residents, with the location of their property, which would extend beyond the scope of the present work, has already been given by Mr. Valentine in his valuable history.

Beginning at the ferry, along the road which led to the water-gate at the eastern extremity of the city-wall, was the Smit's Vly or Valley, so called from a blacksmith by the name of Cornelius Clopper, who set up his forge on the corner of Maiden Lane and Pearl street, where he intercepted the custom of the Long Island farmers, on their way to the city from the ferry. This road ran along the high water mark, and, consequently, was only built upon one side.

Next came Hoogh straat, which extended along the river shore, the line of which is marked now by the

north side of Pearl between Wall and William streets, and both sides of Stone between William and Broad streets. On the north side of Pearl between Broad and William streets, extending thence along the shore to Wall street was the Waal or "Sheet Pile street" built to protect the City Hall which fronted it on the northwest corner of Pearl street and Coenties Slip, from the washing of the tides.

Still continuing on the road along the shores of the river was the Water Side, extending along the northern side of Pearl from Broad street to Whitehall, in front of the old church, erected outside the walls of the fort for Domine Bogardus in the days of Wouter Van Twiller. This terminated in Perel street, which ran from Whitehall to State street. About the Battery were a few scattered buildings, among others, the house and store of Jacob Leisler on the west side of Whitehall street, between Pearl and State streets, and the old "White Hall" of Governor Stuyvesant which gave its name to the first named street.

Beginning at the east side of Whitehall above Stone street and extending to Heere straat or Broadway was "T' Marckvelt," afterwards Marketfield street, so called from the Bowling Green which fronted it, and which was then used at stated times for a cattle fair or market. At the western extremity of this street began Heere straat, the ancestor of the present Broadway, which extended to the west or land gate of the city wall, along the southerly side of which ran Wall street to the East River.

In the interior of the city, were the Heere graft, the inlet from which sprung the present Broad street,



extending from the river to Beaver street, and the Prince graft, the continuation of the same from Beaver to Garden street or Exchange Place, above which was an open common, used as a sheep pasture. From its intersection with these, an open ditch marked the course of the Beaver graft to Broadway, on each side of which, buildings were erected.

Beginning at Broad, and extending through Stone to Whitehall streets was Brouwer or Brewer straat, so called from having been the site of a number of breweries. In this street, stone pavements were first laid in the city, whence its future name. From the East River to Broadway ran T' Maagde Paatje, or the Maiden's Path.

From the bridge that crossed the inlet at Broad street ran Brugh or Bridge straat to Whitehall, on the corner of which was the house and store of Cornelius Steenwyck, the principal merchant of New Amsterdam. Beginning in the middle of Bridge street and extending to Stone street, parallel with Whitehall, was Winckel street, or the street of the stores, so called from the Company's storehouses, which fronted it on the east. This is now consolidated into a single block, and Winckel street is known only on the maps of olden time. Last of all came Smee street, on the line of William between Heere and Pearl streets, so called from the glass-maker, Jan Smeedes, who is supposed to have been its earliest resident. Other streets and lanes soon sprung into existence with the new colonization, but these long continued to be known as the ancient landmarks, and to this day, the line of but one has been blotted from the map of the city.

At this time, and long after, the inhabitants of the city continued to be distinguished for their frank good-nature, their love of home, and their cordial hospitality. A late writer says, speaking on this subject: "The hospitality "and simple plainness of New York city down to the "period of 1790 and 1800 was very peculiar. All felt "and praised it. Nothing was too good and no attention "too engrossing for a stranger. The name was a passport to everything kind and generous. All who were "introduced invited them to their house and board." May we not hope that some of the spirit of the ancient Knickerbockers still remains to us, and that we are not churlish in our welcome of the strangers who visit our shores?

Yet, despite the staid decorum of the city, it was overflowing with sociality and genial humor. Fast young men, fashionable amusements, late hours, and dissipation were wholly unknown, but there was no lack of hearty and homely sports. Of holidays, there were abundance; each family had some of its own; birth-days and marriage anniversaries were religiously observed in the family circle, and home-ties were thus drawn more closely together. Each season, too, brought its own peculiar festivals, and many new ones were invented to meet the social exigencies. The people held firmly to the old maxim that "many hands make light work," and never failed, when any extra task presented itself, to make it the occasion for a social gathering. Thus they had "quilting-bees," "apple-bees," "husking-bees," and "raising-bees," in which the allotted task was soon completed by the nimble fingers of the busy workers, who then sat

down to a supper of chocolate and soft waffles, and terminated the evening by a merry dance. Dancing was a favorite amusement; the negroes danced to the music of their rude instruments in the market-place; and the youths and maidens danced at their social gatherings, as well as around the May-pole on the Bowling Green on the first of May. This latter day was also memorable for another festival, which is indigenous to New York, and has grown into an institution—it was the general moving-day, and all who changed their residences were expected to vacate the premises which they occupied before the hour of noon. Rents ranged from twenty-five to one hundred dollars per annum; the houses being worth from two hundred to a thousand dollars each.

Besides the holidays which we have noted, the Dutch had five national festivals which were observed throughout the city; namely, Kerstrydt (Christmas); Nieuw jar (New Year); Paas (the Passover); Pinxter (Whitsuntide); and Santa Claus (St. Nicholas or Christ-kindle day). Most of these have come down to our own time in a form but slightly varied from the ancient observance. Christmas day opened with a general exchange of "merry Christmas" greetings throughout the city, and he bore off the palm who was the first to offer the wish to his neighbor; and this over, "turkey shooting" came next in order, and the young men repaired to "the Commons" or to "Beekman's Swamp" to shoot at turkeys which were set up for a target. Each man paid a few stuyvers for a shot, and he who succeeded in hitting the bird bore it off as a prize. The older citizens, mean-



while, gathered about the young sportsmen, criticising their skill, and telling tales of their own youthful dexterity. At home, the day was commemorated by a family dinner, after which the children and patriarchs joined together in a merry dance, and closed the day with gaiety and good humor.

New Year's day was devoted to the interchange of visits. Every house in the city was open, no stranger was unwelcome, cake, wine and punch were provided in profusion, and the opening year was greeted with general conviviality. It was considered a breach of etiquette for any one to omit a single acquaintance in his round of calls, and acquaintanceships were renewed and half-dissevered intimacies knotted again in the cordial warmth of the New Year's greeting. This custom, which has come down to our own times, has now extended to other cities, but its origin belongs exclusively to New York.

Paas, or Easter and Easter Monday, was once a notable festival in the city ; though now it is nearly forgotten, except among the children, who still crack colored eggs in honor of the occasion. Not many years have passed, however, since this holiday enjoyed as wholesale an observance as the others we have mentioned, and colored eggs were found upon every table. Though Easter Sunday is kept as a religious festival, it is no longer an occasion for merry-making.

But Santa Claus day was the best day of all in the estimation of the little folks, who, of all others, enjoy holidays the most intensely. It is notable, too, for having been the day sacred to St. Nicholas, the patron saint

of New York, who presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that touched her shores, who gave his name to the first church erected within her walls, and who has ever since been regarded as having especial charge of the destinies of his favorite city. To the children, he was a jolly, rosy-cheeked little old man, with a low-crowned hat, a pair of Flemish trunk-hose, and a pipe of immense length, who drove his reindeer sleigh loaded with gifts from the frozen regions of the North over the roofs of New Amsterdam for the benefit of good children. Models of propriety were they for a week preceding the eventful Christmas eve. When it came, they hung their stockings, carefully labelled, that the Saint might make no mistakes, in the chimney corner, and went early to bed, chanting the Santa Claus hymn, in addition to their usual devotions. For the hymn and the translation, which we give entire as a curiosity, we are indebted to D. T. Valentine, Esq.

“ Sint Nicholaas, goed heilig man,  
Trekt uw' besten Tabbard an,  
En reist daarmee naar Amsterdam,  
Van Amsterdam naar Spanje,  
Waar appellen von Oranje,  
En appelen van Granaten,  
Rollen door de Straten.  
Sint Nicholaas, myn goden Vriend,  
Ik heb u altyd wel gediend,  
Als gy my nu wat wilt geven,  
Fal ik u dienen als myn leven.”

## TRANSLATION.

“ Saint Nicholas, good holy man,  
Put your best Tabbard on you can,  
And in it go to Amsterdam,  
From Amsterdam to Hispanje,

- Where apples bright of Orange,  
And likewise those, pomegranites named,  
Roll through the streets all unreclaimed.  
Saint Nicholas, my dear, good friend,  
To serve you ever was my end;  
If you me now something will give,  
Serve you I will as long as I live."

These rhymes, Mr. Valentine tells us, continued to be sung among the children of the ancient Dutch families as late as the year 1851. But the custom is passing away, and the Christmas gifts are now given prosaically without legend or tradition. It is to be regretted, for childhood is the golden age of illusions, and short as this illusion may be, all who have tasted it know how sweet were the fruits that grew in the mysterious gardens of the good old Santa Claus. Peace to his ashes!



Santa Claus, the Patron Saint of New Amsterdam.



## CHAPTER VI.

1674—1689.

*New York under the new Regime—Progress of the City.*

EDMUND ANDROS, afterwards known as the "tyrant of "New England," was a man of marked ability, but imperious, and despotic in the highest degree. This was doubtless owing, in part, to the commands of the Duke of York, of whom he was a devoted follower, and who had given him instructions to continue the arbitrary course of policy pursued by the former government. No sooner was he installed in his office, than the people, hoping some advantage from the change of rulers, renewed their petition for an assembly of representatives. Andros laid the petition before the Duke of York, and strongly advised him to grant it. James, who regarded popular assemblies as dangerous and useless, utterly refused to listen to their prayer. "What do they want "with assemblies?" said he. "They have the Court of "Sessions, presided over by the governor; or, if this is "not enough, they can appeal to me." Such was the estimation in which the rights of the people were held by their royal masters. As another sample of the spirit

of the times, we may quote the remark made a short time before by Sir William Berkeley, the governor of Virginia, who "thanked God that there were neither free "schools nor printing-presses in the colony." "God "keep us from both," added he, fervently. And Lord Effingham, his successor, was directed on no account to suffer the latter to be established. The New England colonies, however, enjoyed a representative government, and this excited the envy of the New Yorkers, particularly of the inhabitants of the eastern towns of Long Island, who petitioned to be annexed to Connecticut, alleging, as a pretext, their New England origin. The request was refused, and Andros, intent on enlarging his province, attempted to extend its boundaries to the Connecticut River—the ancient limit—and repaired to Saybrook with several armed sloops to enforce his claim. The people immediately prepared for resistance; and Andros, seeing that he must fight or retreat, chose the latter, and returned to New York. He afterwards took forcible possession of Sagadahoc, a district in Maine between the Kennebec and the Penobscot, inhabited by a few Dutch settlers. Here, he erected a fort and constituted the county of Cornwall. Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, and a tract west of the Delaware, extending to the Schuylkill, were also included within the limits of the province, which contained, at this time, thirty-two towns and villages.

Though forced by the commands of his patron to deny to the citizens the political privileges which they so much desired, the new governor strove to make amends for it by promoting public improvements. In 1676, he

appointed as mayor, Nicholas De Meyer, a native-born Hollander, and one of the most enterprising traders of the province. Mayor De Meyer had emigrated from Holland at an early age, married the daughter of Hendrick Van Dyck, one of the most influential burghers, and grown up with the city, where many of his descendants are yet to be found.

Ordinances were established by the governor for regulating the public morals, and promoting the welfare of the city. The city gates were ordered to be closed at night at nine o'clock, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep watch by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty, and all profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden. Every citizen was ordered to provide himself with a good musket, or firelock, with at least six charges of powder and ball; and to appear, with good arms, before the captain's colors at the first beating of the drum.

All masters of vessels, on arriving in port, were required to give a full list of their passengers to the mayor, under penalty of a fine of a beaver-skin for each offence. Peddling was forbidden and none were permitted to sell goods at retail but freemen or burghers of the city. For this freedom, the merchants paid six beavers, and the mechanics two; unless they kept up an establishment therein, all lost it after twelve months' absence from the city. Six wine and four beer taverns were licensed by the governor, with permission to both to sell strong liquors; the rates of fare being regulated as follows: Lodging, three pence and four pence per night; meals, eight pence and a shilling; brandy, six



pence per gill ; French wines, fifteen pence per quart, rum, threepence per gill ; cider, fourpence per quart ; beer, threepence per quart ; and mum, sixpence per quart. If an Indian was seen drunk in the street, the tavern-keeper from whom he had obtained the liquor was fined ; if the latter could not be found, the whole street was forced to pay the penalty. No grain was suffered to be distilled, unless unfit for flour. Two years after, the excise on liquors was removed, and all were permitted to buy or sell in quantities exceeding a gallon.

All owners of vacant lots or ruinous buildings, were directed at once to build upon or improve them under penalty of seeing them sold at public auction. The tannpits in Broad street were declared a nuisance, and the tanners ordered to remove beyond the limits of the city. They established themselves along Maiden Lane, which was then a marshy valley. A company of four shoemakers, who were also their own tanners, purchased a tract of land bounded by Maiden Lane, Broadway, Ann street, and a line between William and Gold streets, and set up their business there. Henceforth this became known as "the Shoemaker's Land ;" and later, in 1696, when Maiden Lane was regulated, and the land surveyed and divided into town lots, it still retained its original title. The tanners were eventually driven from their locality, and forced to take refuge in the "Swamp," in the vicinity of Ferry street, of which more hereafter.

Other improvements, too, were made in Broad street. This, which had originally been a little rivulet, conveying the water from the marshes above Beaver street to the river, was lined with planks and converted into an open

sewer. The upper part of this drain was called the Prince graft ; the lower part, the Heere graft. The following year, a new dock was built, property-holders being taxed for the expense, at one and a half per cent a pound. Three hundred and one names are found on the list of the tax collector ; one-third of which are English, four French, and the remainder Dutch.

Slaughter-houses were ordered to be removed from the city and to be built over the water at the Smith's Fly, near the "Rondeel" or Half-Moon fort at the foot of Wall street. Permission was given to all the inhabitants to cut wood anywhere on the island a mile distant from a habitation. A weekly market was instituted, to be held every Saturday in the market-house, at the foot of Broad street. A yearly fair for cattle, grain and produce was also established, to be held at Breuckelen near the ferry on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday in November ; and on the Thursday, Friday and Saturday following, on the plain before the fort. For the better provision of supplies, all persons were exempted from arrest for debt while in attendance at these fairs.

In 1677, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, son of the well known Oloffte Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and the first native-born mayor of the city, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. Cortlandt, though still young, being but thirty-four years of age when he attained to this position, was already a prominent man in the city. He became still more so in subsequent events, and we shall meet him again in the affair of Leisler. He was a merchant and large property-holder, owning the well known "Clover Waytie," south of Maiden Lane, a large farm near the

Fresh Water Pond, and a piece of land in the vicinity of the present Cortlandt street, which thus obtained its name, with a frontage of two hundred and fifty feet on Broadway and extending quite down to the river shore ; besides large tracts of land on the shores of the North River. He died in the year 1701, leaving a large family, the descendants of which are still to be found in the city.

During this year, seven public wells were constructed in the city. These were built in the middle of the streets, and were especially designed for security against fires. Water was generally scarce and bad. An occasional spring of sweet water was found ; the best was in the vicinity of the present corner of Chatham and Pearl streets, but the march of civilization had not as yet extended so far. Many years after, the citizens learned to appreciate its virtues, and christened it "the Tea Water Pump."

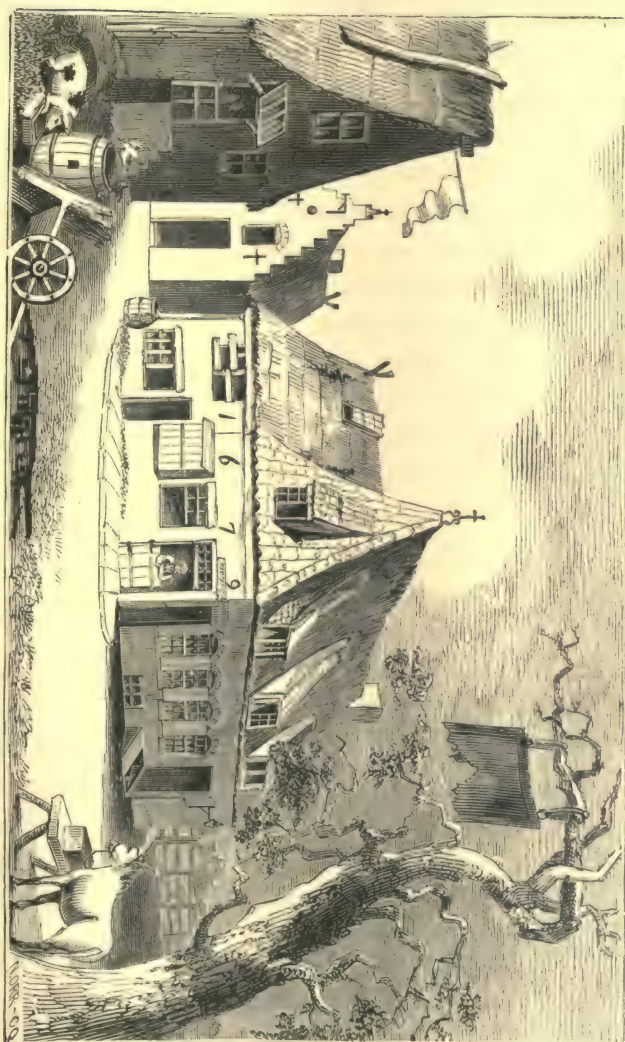
The following year, François Rombouts was appointed mayor. Mayor Rombouts was a Frenchman by birth ; a naturalized burgher, and a considerable merchant of the city, who had for several years been a prominent politician. His house was near the corner of Broadway and Rector street, on the site of the present Trinity Church, surrounded by extensive grounds extending down to the river shore. He held the office of mayor but for one year, though he continued to take an active part in politics until the time of his death, in 1691. He left one daughter, who afterwards married Roger Brett, a merchant of the city.

During the brief administration of Mayor Rombouts, the citizens received a boon from the governor which, in



a few years, trebled their wealth, and laid the foundation of the fortunes of New York. A considerable part of the country was now under cultivation, and flour was becoming an important article of trade. To secure the advantages of this commerce to the citizens, Andros granted them a monopoly of the bolting of flour, together with the exclusive right of exporting it out of the province, and forbade all other towns to engage in the trade under penalty of the forfeiture of the articles. This act excited the greatest indignation among the inland towns, who used every effort to procure its repeal. This they effected in 1694, six years after its enactment, but, during that time, the exports and imports of the city had increased from two to more than six thousand pounds sterling per annum, the shipping had increased from three ships to sixty, and more than six hundred new houses had been erected in the city. Lands increased to ten times their former value, and a fever for speculation broke out among the inhabitants; who vainly endeavored to prevent the repeal of this "bolting act," which brought them such golden fruit at the expense of their neighbors. During Rombout's administration, the shipping of the city consisted of three ships, eight sloops, and seven small coasting vessels. In the same year an Admiralty Court was first established in the province.

A curious law respecting the Indians is found upon the records of 1679. Hitherto, the Indians had been free, with the exception of a few slaves that had been brought into the province from the Massachusetts Bay colony. It was now enacted that all Indians who should come or be



Dutch Cottage in Beaver Street, in 1679.





brought into the province for the next six months, should be sold for the benefit of the government. A lack of negro slaves was probably the cause of the enactment of this ordinance. The slave trade had long been regarded as a legitimate branch of commerce, and there was scarcely a household in the city that was not provided with from one to a dozen negroes; yet the demand increased with the increase of the settlement, and the supply was found to be insufficient. Strict laws were enacted to keep this brute force within due bounds; negroes were forbidden to assemble together without special permission; to leave their masters' houses after nightfall, or to go beyond the city gates without a pass; yet all these precautions proved unavailing to prevent the terrible catastrophe in which the system of slavery culminated in 1741.

In 1680, Captain William Dyre, an Englishman who had taken up his residence in the city soon after the accession of the English government, was appointed mayor. He had been the commander of a naval force dispatched in 1642 by Rhode Island for the reduction of Fort Good Hope—a fact which did not increase his popularity among his adopted citizens. He also held the office of collector of customs—an office especially odious to the people.

Andros, meanwhile, had been compelled to repair to England to answer charges brought against him by Fenwick and Carteret, the proprietors of the Jerseys, who accused him of having interfered with their privileges. He set sail for Europe in 1680, intrusting the government to Anthony Brockholst. The discontent of the people increased daily; they grumbled at the heavy

taxes which were arbitrarily imposed on them, and even went so far as to accuse Dyre of levying them without authority. On this charge, he was indicted by the grand jury as a traitor, and was ordered to be tried by a special court. He pleaded that he had acted under the duke's commission, and, as this could not be gainsayed, he was sent to England for trial, and the port was left without a collector. The complaint was dismissed for want of evidence, none of the citizens having seen fit to appear as accusers; but they had accomplished their object in getting rid of the officer. Meanwhile, for a few months, the port remained free. Cornelius Steenwyck succeeded to the mayoralty. A census of the city was taken this year, and it was found to contain two hundred and seven houses, and two thousand inhabitants.

Andros soon returned, cleared from the charges of his enemies, with instructions to continue the system of taxation which weighed so heavily upon the citizens. But the resistance of the people, who went so far as to question the supreme authority of the Duke of York, joined with the remonstrances of William Penn, at length induced the royal duke to bate something of his pretensions; and in 1683, Andros was recalled, and Colonel Thomas Dongan appointed in his stead, with instructions to call a popular assembly.

Despite his sycophancy to the Duke of York, Andros seems to have really had the interests of the province at heart, and to have made the best of existing circumstances. He remonstrated with his royal master against the commands which he executed with fidelity, and he certainly enacted a different *rôle* in New York from that

which he afterwards played in New England. But the people, who only saw the power nearest them, were disposed to impute to him much of the blame which belonged in truth to the Duke of York, and they gladly received the news of his recall. The fidelity of Andros was not forgotten ; on the accession of the Duke of York to the throne in 1685, he was knighted and appointed royal governor of the colonies of New England ; a position which soon involved him in inextricable difficulties.

Governor Dongan reached New York on the 25th of April, 1683. He was of the Roman Catholic faith ; a fact which rendered him at first obnoxious to many ; but his firm and judicious policy, his steadfast integrity, and his pleasing and courteous address, soon won the affections of the people, and made him one of the most popular of the royal governors. In accordance with the instructions of his superiors, his first act after his arrival was to call a general assembly of the people. This long hoped-for concession was hailed with delight. On the 17th of October, 1683, the first Assembly, consisting of the governor, ten councillors, and seventeen representatives elected by the people, convened in the city of New York. This point gained, the contest continued, and New York, the legislative capital of the province, was henceforth the scene of bitter contention between the Assembly and the royal governors. The first act of this body was to frame a Charter of Liberties—the first popular charter of the province. This Charter of Liberties ordained “that ‘supreme legislative power should forever reside in the “governor, council and people, met in General Assembly ; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for



“representatives without restraint; that no freeman  
“should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that al.  
“trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax  
“should be assessed on any pretence whatever, but by  
“the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier  
“should be quartered on the inhabitants against their  
will; that no martial law should exist; and that no  
“person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should  
“at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for  
“any difference of opinion in matters of religion.”

The assemblies were to be held at least triennially; New York sending four representatives; Suffolk, one; Kings, one; Queens, one; Richmond, one; Westchester, one; Albany, two; Schenectady, one; Dukes County, two; and Cornwall, one; the number to be increased at the pleasure of the Duke of York. Twenty-seven was the maximum number down to the period of the Revolution. These representatives were free to appoint their own time of meeting and of adjournment, and were the sole judges of the qualifications of their own members. In case of vacancy in the Assembly, the governor was to issue summons for a new election. Bills passed by this body were submitted to the governor for concurrence, and laws were repealed by the authority that made them, with the consent of the Duke of York. One of the first acts of the Assembly was the division of the province into twelve counties—New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Westchester, Dutchess, Dukes and Cornwall. The two latter were presently dropped from the list, and ceded to other governments.

New police regulations were at once established. Sunday laws were enacted ; tavern-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor except to travellers, citizens to work, children to play in the streets, and Indians and negroes to assemble on the Sabbath. Twenty cartmen were licensed by the municipal authorities, on condition that they should repair the highways gratis whenever called on by the mayor, and cart the dirt from the streets, which the inhabitants were required to sweep together every Saturday afternoon beyond the precincts of the city. The rate of cartage was fixed at three pence per load to any place within the bounds of the city ; beyond which, the price was doubled. The cartmen, however, soon proved refractory, and a few weeks after, the license system was abandoned, and all persons, with the exception of slaves, were allowed to act as cartmen.

On the 8th of December, 1683, the city was divided into six wards. The First or South Ward, beginning at the river, extended along the west side of Broad to Beaver street ; thence westward along Beaver street to the Bowling Green ; thence southward by the fort to Pearl street ; and thence westward along the river shore to the place of starting. The Second or Dock Ward, also beginning at the river at the southeast corner of Pearl and Broad streets, extended along the shore to Hanover Square ; thence northward through William to Beaver street ; thence along Beaver to Broad street ; thence back through Broad to the river shore. The Third or East Ward formed a sort of triangle, beginning at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, and extending along the shore to the Half Moon fort at the foot of Wall street ;

thence stretching along Wall to the corner of William and thence returning along the east side of William to the river. The Fourth or North Ward, beginning at the northwest corner of William and Beaver streets, extended through the former to the corner of Wall ; thence westerly along the palisades to a line a little beyond Nassau street ; thence southerly to Beaver street ; thence easterly along Beaver to the first-named point. The Fifth or West Ward, beginning at the junction of the Fourth Ward with Beaver street, extended northerly along the boundary line of the latter to Wall street ; thence along the palisades to Broadway ; thence southerly to Beaver street ; thence easterly to the point of starting. The Sixth or Out Ward comprised all the farms and plantations outside the city walls, including the town of Harlem. Each of these wards was authorized to elect an alderman and councilman annually to represent them in the city government. The governor and council retained the appointment of the mayor in their own hands ; it was not, indeed, until long after the Revolution that this office was made elective by the people.

The following year, a monopoly of packing flour and making bread for exportation was granted to the citizens in addition to the previous "bolting act." At this time, there were twenty-four bakers in the province. These were divided into six classes ; a class being appointed for each secular day of the week. The weight and price of loaves was also regulated ; a white loaf weighing twelve ounces being valued at six stuyvers in wampum. This year, for the first time, the citizens elected their aldermen and councilmen. Gabriel Minvielle, a merchant of French origin, who had emigrated to the pro-



vince in 1669, was appointed mayor. He held the office but one year ; though he afterwards mingled largely in politics, and took an active part with the aristocratic faction in the affair of Leisler. He died in 1702, leaving no children.

In 1685, the Duke of York succeeded to the throne under the title of James II., and New York became a royal province. His accession was marked by renewed oppressions. In his new instructions to Dongan, he authorized him, with his council, to resume the power of enacting laws and imposing taxes ; and also directed him on no account to suffer printing-presses to be established in the colony. He also urged Dongan to favor the introduction of the Roman Catholic religion into the province ; a course of policy which the governor, himself a Catholic, was reluctant to adopt. The French in the Canadas were using every effort to gain over the Iroquois through the influence of Jesuitical missionaries, and the clear-sighted Dongan saw that it was necessary to counteract this influence to preserve the province to the English government. This conduct displeased James, who was more of a churchman than a statesman, and paved the way for Dongan's speedy recall.

On the 6th of August, 1685, the Assembly was dissolved by proclamation of the governor, and no other was summoned during the reign of James. Nicholas Bayard was chosen mayor for this year. Bayard was of Holland origin, and was cousin of Judith Bayard, the wife of Petrus Stuyvesant. Few men in the province led a more eventful life. Entering early into politics as well as into mercantile life, he amassed a fortune, and, at

the same time, became one of the prominent men of the city. In the stirring times of the Leisler Rebellion, he took sides with the aristocratic faction, was imprisoned, tried, convicted of treason and sentenced to death by the Leislerians ; then released and promoted to high honors on the elevation of his own party to power. He owned large tracts of land in various parts of the city, among which was the well known " Bayard Farm," lying on the west side of the Bowery above Canal street. He died in 1711, leaving an only son who inherited his large estates.

A disposition was manifested during this year towards the persecution of the Jews, which was subsequently carried much further. The clause in the charter, granting tolerance to all who worshipped God through Jesus Christ, was construed to exclude the Hebrew race, and the Jews were forbidden to exercise their religion. They were also prohibited from selling goods at retail, but were permitted to continue the wholesale trade.

A public chimney-sweeper was appointed for the city, who was to cry his approach through the public streets, and who probably originated the whoop peculiar to his vocation. His rates were fixed by law at a shilling and eighteen pence per chimney, according to the height of the house. A part of the slaughter-house over the Smits's Vly was converted into a powder-magazine, its distance from the city rendering it a safe place of deposit for the explosive material, and Garret Johnson, the proprietor of the establishment, was constituted the keeper. Markets were ordered to be held three times a week, though fish, poultry, butter, fruits and vegetables

were permitted to be sold daily. A haven master was appointed to look after the shipping and collect the bills, and surveyors were named to regulate the buildings and *preserve the uniformity* of the streets.

In 1686, the Dongan Charter was granted to the city. This instrument, which still forms the basis of the municipal rights and privileges of New York, confirmed the franchises before enjoyed by the corporation, and placed the city government on a definite footing. The governor retained the appointment of the mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, high constable, town clerk, and clerk of the market in his own hands; leaving the aldermen, assistants, and petty constables to be chosen by the people at the annual election on St. Michael's Day. This charter declared that New York City should thenceforth comprise the entire island of Manhattan, extending to the low-water mark of the bays and rivers surrounding it.\*

In the same year, the city received a new seal from



City Seal of 1686.

\* Dated April 22, 1686.



the home government. This still preserved the beaver of the Dutch, with the addition of a flour-barrel and the arms of a windmill in token of the prevailing commerce of the city. The whole was supported by two Indian chiefs, and encircled with a wreath of laurel, with the motto, SIGILLUM CIVITATIS NOVI EBORACI.

In 1687, Stephanus Van Cortlandt was again appointed mayor. During his mayoralty, it was determined to enlarge the city by building a new street in the river along the line of Water street, between Whitehall and Old Slip, and water lots were sold by the corporation on condition that the purchasers should make the street towards the water, and protect it by a substantial wharf from the washing of the tide, in imitation of the Waal or sheet pile street, extending along the line of Pearl street, from Broad to William streets in front of the City Hall. It was not, however, until some years after, that this scheme was carried into effect, and the projected street rescued from the waters.

Measures were also taken to enlarge the city still further by placing the fortifications further out, and laying out Wall street thirty-six feet wide. The fortifications, indeed, were now worse than useless. The palisades which had been erected in 1653 along the line of Wall street had fallen down, the works were in ruins, the guns had disappeared from the artillery-mounts, and the ditches and stockades were in a ruinous condition. Their immediate removal was determined on and ordered, but was delayed by the revolution which followed soon after. When war broke out between France and England in 1693, they were again repaired to be in readiness for the

expected French invasion, and it was not until 1699 that their demolition was finally accomplished. Wall street, however, was laid out immediately, and it was not long before it became one of the most important thoroughfares in the city. During the same year, a valuation was made of the city property, which was estimated on the assessor's books at £78,231.

In the meantime, Indian affairs had claimed the attention of the governor. The treaty of peace, long since concluded at Tawasentha between the Dutch and the Iroquois, had never been openly broken, and the Indian war during Kieft's administration had been definitively ended by the interposition of these powerful tribes. Yet the Five Nations had fancied themselves slighted by the late governors, and their warriors had resented the supposed insults by occasional aggressions upon the English settlements. Just at this juncture, the French in Canada, who had long been endeavoring to persuade the Iroquois to acknowledge their sway, resolved to force them to submission; and organized a large army, designed for their extermination. On hearing of this project, James II., regarding it as a good opportunity to rid the province of a dangerous enemy, ordered Dongan not to interfere in the matter. Dongan, however, was far too honorable to see his allies murdered in cold blood, in obedience to the will of his superiors. He warned the Iroquois at once of their danger, and, promising them assistance, invited them to meet him at Albany, to renew the treaty of peace which had well-nigh been forgotten. They were punctual at the rendezvous, and concluded a new treaty, which was long respected by both parties. The

French made two invasions on the territory of the Iroquois, but, weakened by sickness and unacquainted with Indian warfare, they soon returned with scattered ranks, having effected nothing, except to arouse the wrath of a powerful enemy. They had opened the door to a terrible retribution. The Indians fell with fury upon the Canadian settlements, burning, ravaging, and slaying without mercy, until they had nearly exterminated the French from the territory. The war continued until of all the French colonies, Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivières alone remained, and the French dominion in America was almost annihilated. Governor Dongan remained a firm friend of the Indians during his administration, aiding them by his counsel, and doing them every good office in his power. By this policy, he gained the fullest confidence of the grateful savages, and the name of "Dongan, the white father" was remembered in the Indian lodges long after it had grown indifferent to his countrymen of Manhattan.

While Dongan was thus winning popularity abroad among his savage allies, a growing feeling of discontent was springing up among his subjects at home. The citizens were mostly Protestants, and bitterly opposed to the Catholic religion; many of them Waldenses and Huguenots, who had fled from the religious persecutions in Europe, and crossed the ocean to seek protection under the tolerant Dutch government. On the cession of the province to the English, they fell under the direct rule of the Duke of York, a zealous Catholic, and an avowed opponent to the Protestant religion. On his accession to the throne, he awakened their distrust still



more by surrounding himself with those of his creed, and elevating them to most of the posts of honor and profit in the kingdom. It was evidently and naturally his settled purpose to encourage the growth of Catholicism in his dominions, and though his plans for the conversion of the Indians were thwarted by the policy of Dongan, the Protestants saw his designs maturing in the city. Roman Catholics began to emigrate rapidly; the collector of customs with several other prominent officials were avowed Papists, and the minister of the church of England, with many others, was suspected of secretly favoring the same religion. The people grew jealous of the Catholic influence, and murmured loudly at the spread of the obnoxious faith. Governor Dongan, who was still popular, despite his creed, used every effort to soothe their discontent by choosing the majority of his council from among the staunchest Protestants, and showing the greater possible religious toleration. But his judicious policy displeased his royal master, and, in the midst of his politic measures, he was suddenly recalled from the government. Resigning his command to Francis Nicholson, the deputy of Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed royal governor both of New England and New York, he set sail for Europe. He afterwards returned, and took up his residence on an estate on Staten Island, for which he had previously procured a patent, and which continued for many years in the possession of his family.

Nicholson took possession of the government during the month of August, 1688. On the 24th of the same month, Andros issued a proclamation for a general

thanksgiving for the birth of a prince, the heir to the English crown. The next English mail brought startling intelligence. The Prince of Orange had invaded England, the people had everywhere flocked to his standard, James had abdicated the throne and fled to the continent in despair, and William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, had been proclaimed King and Queen of England

## CHAPTER VII.

1689—1692.

Revolution of 1689—Affair of Leisler.

THE news produced an instant revolution in the colonies. The Prince and Princess of Orange were known as stanch Protestants, and their accession to the throne was hailed with delight. But a knotty point arose in the administration of affairs. The commissions that had been granted by James II. became null and void on the receipt of this intelligence. The new sovereigns, involved in the perplexities of home affairs, and hardly, as yet, seated firmly on the throne, had found no time to forward instructions to their distant colonies, who were thus left without legal authority. Uncertain how to act, they determined to act for themselves. The Bostonians rose in arms, seized Sir Edmund Andros and his officers, sent them to England, and resumed their former popular government. The New Yorkers were not thus united. While they recognized the supremacy of William and Mary, a small party insisted that the colonial government had not been overthrown by the late revolution, but remained vested in the lieutenant-governor and his



council until further advices should arrive from England. This party consisted chiefly of the wealthiest and most aristocratic portion of the citizens, and was headed by Stephanus Van Cortlandt, mayor of the city, Nicholas Bayard, colonel of the city militia, Frederick Philipse,\* a wealthy citizen, and Joseph Dudley ; all of whom were members of the council, holding their commissions from Dongan, the royal governor.

The mass of the people, on the other hand, maintained that the whole government had been overthrown by the deposal of James II., and that, as no one could longer legally hold power from the late authorities, the people themselves must rule until the arrival of the newly commissioned governor. The greatest excitement prevailed throughout the city. Nicholson and his party, though openly acknowledging the supremacy of the new government, were suspected of being still in the interests of the late king. Rumors of every sort were abroad. Nicholson himself was known to be an adherent to the Catholic faith, as well as many of his party ; and this fact increased the distrust of the people. A rumor was spread that the Papists had plotted to attack the Protestants while at church in the fort, massacre them all, take possession of the government, and erect the standard of the Pope and King James.

These extravagant rumors seem to have been groundless, but they, nevertheless, excited general consternation. The people of Long Island deposed their magistrates and chose others in their stead ; and also

\* Or Flypsen, originally from Bohemia

dispatched a large body of militia to New York, "to seize the fort, and to keep off popery, French invasion and slavery."

The militia force of New York at this time consisted of five train-bands, of which Nicholas Bayard was colonel, and Jacob Leisler, senior captain. Of Bayard, we have already spoken. Jacob Leisler, who became in this struggle the hero of one of the most eventful epochs in the history of New York, was one of the oldest and wealthiest of the ancient Dutch burghers. He emigrated from Frankfort to New Amsterdam in the ship *Otter*, in the year 1660, as a soldier in the service of the West India Company. Soon after his arrival, he married *Elsje Loockermans*, widow of *Cornelius Vanderveer*, and thus became uncle of *Stephanus Van Cortlandt* and *Nicholas Bayard*, the foes who afterwards brought him to the scaffold. He engaged at once in commerce, and soon became one of the leading shipping merchants of the city. On the cession of the city to the English, he took oaths of allegiance to the new government, and was among those who contributed, in 1672, towards the repairs of *Fort James*. Two years after, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the forced loan levied by *Colve*, at which time his property was valued at fifteen thousand guilders. In 1678, on a voyage to Europe, he was taken prisoner by the Turks, and forced to pay a heavy ransom for his liberty. On his return, in 1683, he received the appointment of Commissioner of the Admiralty from Governor *Dongan*. He had two children, *Jacob* and *Mary*, the latter of whom married *Jacob Milborne*, the companion of her father's prosperity and

misfortunes, and, after his death, Abraham Gouverneur his son grew up to vindicate his father's memory, and to wring a tardy justice from the hands of his judges. He was well known as a zealous opponent of the Catholic faith. In Albany, in 1675, he had been imprisoned by Andros for his opposition to Rensselaer, an Episcopal clergyman and suspected Papist, who had been sent to the province by the Duke of York, and had thus won the confidence of the Protestant party, who in this emergency, naturally chose him as their leader.

The public money, amounting to £773 12s., had been deposited for safe keeping in the fort, which was garrisoned by a few soldiers, under the command of a Catholic ensign. Anxious to secure the control of this treasure, the citizens assembled on the 2d of June, 1689, and marching in a body to the house of Leisler, requested him to lead them to the seizure of the fort; then, upon his refusal, proceeded thither, headed by Ensign Stoll, and entered the fortress without resistance. On learning of this capture, Leisler repaired to the fort with forty-seven men, where he was welcomed by the citizens and acknowledged their leader.

The people were now openly divided into two parties—the democratic and aristocratic,—the Leislerian and anti-Leislerian. The former met together, and chose a Committee of Safety, consisting of Richard Denton, Samuel Edsall, Theunis Roelofse, Pieter Delanoy, Jean Marest, Mathias Harvey, Daniel Le Klercke, Johannes Vermilye, Thomas Williams and William Lawrence, for the immediate government of the province. This committee appointed Jacob Leisler captain of the fort, with



full power to preserve the peace and to suppress any rebellion until the arrival of instructions from England.

In the meantime, the city militia had joined the popular party, and it was agreed that the fort should be held by each of the five train-bands in turn. On the evening of the capture, it was resigned by Leisler to Captain Lodowick and his company. The next morning, a rumor was circulated that three ships were coming up the bay, upon which the train-bands hastily assembled in the fort, where the five captains and four hundred men, together with seventy volunteers from Westchester, signed an agreement to hold the fort for William and Mary.

Nicholson and his party, meanwhile, had not been idle. No sooner had Leisler entered the fort than, hastily calling together the city officials, they resolved themselves into a convention in opposition to the Committee of Safety, and resolved to take measures to counteract the revolutionists. Thinking the public money unsafe in the fort, they determined to remove it to the house of Frederick Philipse ; but Leisler refused to deliver it to their order. They next made an effort to secure the custom-house revenues. The people had already refused payment of duties to the collector, Matthias Plowman, under the pretext that he was a Catholic. Nicholson now dispatched Nicholas Bayard and three others to take his place. On arriving at the custom-house, they found it guarded by militia. The Committee of Safety had already appointed their own collector, and armed men were sent on board all vessels arriving in port.

Foiled in this quarter, Colonel Bayard repaired to the fort to look after his refractory train-bands. He found

them assembled on the Bowling Green, and ordered them to disperse. They refused to obey. Unable to enforce his commands, he returned to the City Hall at Coenties Slip, where Nicholson had assembled the rest of the council. It was not long before Captain Lodowick, the captain of the day, came to demand the surrender of the keys of the fort. Nicholson, finding that the militia had declared against him, and that resistance would be in vain, reluctantly resigned them; and hastily breaking up his council, fled to a ship in the harbor, and set sail for England, leaving the government in the hands of Leisler and his party. Bayard took refuge at Albany with Colonel Peter Schuyler,\* the mayor of that city, who also refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Leisler. Van Cortlandt, who still claimed to act as mayor, remained in New York.

On the 16th of August, the Committee of Safety authorized Leisler to act as commander-in-chief of the province until further instructions should arrive from England. The neighboring colonies did not delay to recognize his authority. Massachusetts approved his conduct, and the General Court of Connecticut dispatched two deputies to congratulate him upon his success, and to promise him assistance if necessary. These deputies brought news of the proclamation of the new sovereigns in England, upon which Leisler immediately ordered them to be proclaimed at the sound of the trumpet at the fort and the City Hall. He then went energetically to work to restore order to public affairs.

\* So well known for his salutary influence over the Indians.

Knowing that the French court had espoused the cause of the deposed king, and that a war with France must ensue, he set about repairing the fortifications and providing for the public safety. He stockaded the fort and erected a battery of seven guns to the west of it, strengthened the fortifications on the land side, and placed a garrison of fifty men in the fort, besides a company of militia that mounted guard every night, after which he dispatched a private letter to the king, relating the particulars of the seizure of the fort, and accounting for the expenditure of the public money, the most of which had been swallowed up in the repairs.

On the 29th of September, 1689, by order of the Committee of Safety, the people assembled in their wards and elected their aldermen and councilmen, and for the first time, their mayor also. Pieter Delanoy was chosen mayor, Johannes Johnson, sheriff, and Abraham Gouverneur, clerk. Mr. Delanoy was a native born Hollander, who had emigrated to New Amsterdam in the days of Stuyvesant, and engaged in trade with signal success. He was warmly attached to the popular party, and clung faithfully to it through its changing fortunes. On the 14th of October, 1689, he was proclaimed mayor by Leisler, and on the same day he took the oaths of office, together with the Common Council, at the City Hall at Coenties Slip, now in the possession of the popular party.

The city was emphatically divided against itself. Each party had its mayor and common council, who claimed to administer the city affairs, and each met and transacted the business of the city, wholly ignoring



the existence of the other. Delanoy, on one side, had possession of the City Hall ; Van Cortlandt, on the other, held the charter, books, seals and papers. The newly-elected mayor sent to demand the latter, but without avail, and so the matter rested.

The election increased instead of allaying the popular agitation, and Bayard, still at Albany, fomented it by every means in his power. On the 20th of October, he addressed a letter to the militia, declaring that Jacob Leisler and his associates had illegally invaded their majesties' fort and subverted all lawful authority, and commanding the train-bands as their colonel to refuse all aid to these usurpers, and to continue to obey the civil government established by Sir Edmund Andros, which was still in full force, and was the only legal authority. This letter was productive of no effect. The soldiers and the majority of the citizens continued faithful to Leisler. Long Island, Westchester and Orange Counties also recognized his authority, but the Albanians continued to regard him as a usurper, and to obey the authorities established by the late monarchy.

In the meantime, war had broken out on the frontier. France, espousing the cause of the exiled king, had declared war against England, and the French in the Canadas, with their Indian allies, the Hurons, threatened the little settlements that had sprung up along the northern frontier with speedy destruction. Terrified at the danger, the Albanians resolved to seek assistance from New York ; and in September, a convention of the civil authorities dispatched a messenger to Leisler to entreat him to furnish them with men, ammunition and money

Leisler made no reply to the convention, who held their commissions from James II. He sent some powder and guns to the military officers, but refused them any soldiers, on account of some alleged slight which his people had received in Albany; and urged the Albanians to send deputies to New York to consult with him for the public good. This they refused to do, and asked assistance from Connecticut, which two months after, sent them eighty-seven men.

About the same time, Leisler dispatched his son-in-law and secretary, Milborne, who had arrived from England the preceding summer, with a force of fifty men to their aid; but the Albanians, suspecting that this expedition was covertly designed to gain possession of the fort and overthrow the existing government, determined that they should not be permitted to take command in the city. The force, indeed, was too small for any such purpose, but Milborne doubtless entertained the design, and relied on the aid which he might receive from the citizens. The latter, however, were averse to a change, and, yielding to the persuasions of their officers, had already pledged themselves at a public meeting to maintain the present authorities. The troops, on their arrival, were not suffered to land, but Milborne was invited to come alone into the city. He repaired to the City Hall, and at once commenced to harangue the people, telling them that their present charter was null and void, and urging them to depose their officers and choose new ones in their stead, as they now had a right to govern themselves. He also declared that he was authorized by the Committee of Safety of the province to administer affairs at

Albany ; and, by virtue of this authority, he demanded that an account should be furnished him of the arms and stores in the fort, and that an election should be held for both civil and military officers. The convention refused to acknowledge his commission, and forbade him to come within the gates of the city unless he would consent to submit to their authority. He next attempted to force an entrance, when the guns of the fort were turned upon him, and seeing that, with his small force, he could effect nothing, he wisely determined to return to New York.

In the month of December, a packet arrived from England, addressed to Francis Nicholson, or to those who, for the time being, administered the government in the province of New York. This packet contained a commission empowering the person who was then at the head of the government to appoint a council and to act as lieutenant-governor until further orders. Hearing of the arrival of this precious document, Nicholas Bayard came secretly to New York, and seeking out Riggs, the bearer of the packet, endeavored to persuade him that Leisler was a usurper, and that it rightfully belonged to himself and Philipse as members of the late council. His arguments failed to satisfy Riggs, who, finding that Leisler had been conducting the government for nearly seven months with the consent of the people and in behalf of William and Mary, delivered the papers to him as their rightful possessor. Leisler showed them to the Committee of Safety, and, by their advice, assumed the title of lieutenant-governor, and appointed a council of eight persons to assist him in administering the government. This council consisted of Pieter Delanoy, Samuel Staats,



Hendrick Jansen, Johannes Vermilye, Gerardus Beekman, Samuel Edsall, Thomas Williams and William Lawrence.

Thinking himself now the legal governor of the province and sure of his position, Leisler resolved to restore order by energetic measures. The party of his enemies was constantly increasing. His fellow-citizens were jealous of his sudden elevation, and the leaders of the aristocratic faction used every effort to foment this feeling, and to stir them up to open rebellion. They even raised a street riot, from which he narrowly escaped with his life. The drums were beat and the military called out, and for a few minutes the result of the struggle seemed doubtful. The riot was finally quelled, several of the combatants were thrown into prison, and warrants were issued for the arrest of Bayard, Van Cortlandt and several others who had been implicated in the affair. Van Cortlandt escaped, but Bayard and William Nichols were arrested and imprisoned in the cells at the City Hall, which then served also as the city prison, and a court was summoned to try them for treason. Terrified at his danger, Bayard sent a submissive petition to the governor, acknowledging his errors, and entreating pardon in the humblest terms. His supplication stayed the proceedings and saved him from death, although it did not obtain his release. He remained in prison fourteen months until the arrival of Governor Sloughter, then emerged to wreak a terrible vengeance upon his jailer. Meanwhile, his party did not slacken their zeal, but stirred up a powerful opposition to Leisler.

A new event occurred to attract the public notice

The frontier warfare still continued, with its scenes of savage barbarity. In February, 1690, it reached its climax. A party of French and Indians fell at midnight upon the little village of Schenectady, and transformed the peaceful settlement into a scene of ruin. Men, women and children were shot, scalped or carried into captivity; the village was plundered and set on fire, and but one house escaped the general conflagration. A few escaped half-naked through the snow to carry the news to their neighbors at Albany.

This fearful catastrophe opened the eyes of the Albanians to their folly in rejecting the aid of New York at a time when union was so much needed, and in wasting their time in disputing the legality of commissions which would so soon be settled by direct instructions from England. The most natural conclusion in the existing state of affairs was, certainly, that when the authority of James II. ceased, the authority of his officers ceased also, and the government reverted to the people until further instructions should be received from the new powers. Such was the interpretation of the mass of the people. But the officials who had been commissioned by the late government naturally availed themselves of every quibble whereby to retain their powers, and being rich in means, though poor in numbers, they were, at least, partially successful. It was a combat between the aristocrats and the people. In New York, the democracy triumphed; in Albany, the aristocracy. Leisler, who now considered himself lieutenant-governor, by virtue of the royal commission, again sent Milborne with a strong body of troops to force Albany to submit to his authority.

The citizens, terrified at the massacre of Schenectady, no longer attempted resistance, but quietly surrendered the fort into his hands.

Having thus succeeded in gaining control of the province, Leisler summoned a convention of delegates from Massachusetts and Connecticut to meet him at New York to consult together on the common danger. This convention assembled on the 1st of May, 1690, and determined to fit out an expedition against the Canadas. Leisler promised to join with Connecticut in dispatching a force of nine hundred men to attack Montreal, while Massachusetts pledged herself to send a fleet and an army against Quebec. The expeditions were immediately fitted out, but both proved signally unsuccessful.

The enemies of Leisler, in the meantime, had used every effort to asperse his motives and actions to the king. Though he had always administered the government in the name of William and Mary, he was represented as in a state of actual rebellion, and denounced to the English court as a hypocrite and arch-traitor. Much of this calumny was due to Francis Nicholson, who had been received with favor on his return, and who had avenged himself on Leisler for his forcible expulsion from the government by intriguing against him in the English court. Immediately upon his accession to the government, Leisler had dispatched a memorial and private letter to the king, informing him of the whole affair; but these papers, written in imperfect English—a language which Leisler both wrote and spoke badly—were wrongly construed. Nicholson did not cease to represent Leisler to the king as an ambitious usurper,



who had acted from aversion to the Church of England and with an eye to his own private interests, rather than from any devotion to the Prince of Orange. Misled by these reports, the king made no reply to Leisler, although he returned thanks to the colonies for their fidelity ; and soon after appointed Henry Sloughter governor of New York. This was a most injudicious choice. It is true that the appointment of a new governor was needed to restore harmony among the contending factions, but a worse one than Sloughter could hardly have been found. According to the admission of one of the king's own officers, he was "licentious, avaricious and poor,"—a broken-down adventurer who came to repair his wasted fortunes from the revenues of the office without thought or care for the welfare of his subjects. But the enemies of Leisler rejoiced at the appointment. They felt themselves sure of the new governor, whose necessities would bind him to the wealthiest party, and saw that the star of their adversary was near its setting.

In 1690, Governor Sloughter set sail from England with several ships and a considerable body of troops. By some accident, the vessels parted company, and the first ship that arrived was the *Beaver*, commanded by Major Richard Ingoldsby, who had received the appointment of lieutenant-governor. The *Beaver* arrived in January, 1691. Ingoldsby at once announced the appointment of Sloughter, and in his name demanded that the fort should be surrendered to him for the accommodation of his soldiers. Leisler, in reply, offered quarters for his men, but refused to surrender the fort into his hands until he had first produced the royal commission. This was

impossible ; the papers were in the hands of Sloughter, and Ingoldsby had no credentials whatever in his possession. Under these circumstances, it was but natural for Leisler to refuse his demands ; but, urged on by the opposite party, he issued a proclamation, calling on the people and magistrates to aid him in enforcing the royal commission, and branding all as traitors who refused to obey. Leisler, in turn, replied by another proclamation, protesting against his proceedings, and warning him, at his peril, not to attempt any hostility against the fort or city.

Ingoldsby immediately landed his soldiers, and proceeded to blockade the fort by land and sea, while Leisler gathered his friends about him, and prepared for future action. For seven weeks the city was thus blockaded. During this time, the conduct of Leisler seems to have been prudent and courteous. A shot was fired at Ingoldsby's troops as they were returning one night to their ship—he used every effort to detect the offender. He ordered the soldiers to be quartered in the City Hall and entreated the citizens not to molest them. While he steadfastly refused to deliver the fort to Ingoldsby until he should produce a royal commission, he constantly spoke of him in respectful terms, and declared his entire willingness to surrender the fort to any one authorized to receive it. Ingoldsby, on his side, who was wholly under the empire of the anti-Leislerian party, spared no pains to annoy and irritate the governor. He paraded his soldiers about the fort, shut out supplies, interrupted the mayor and common council while engaged in the discharge of their duties, and endeavored by a thousand petty annoyances to provoke

Leisler to open combat. His efforts were unavailing; the governor intrenched himself in the fort and patiently awaited the coming of Slougher to free him from all perplexities. He little dreamed of the manner in which this would be accomplished.

On the 19th of March, 1691, the vessel of Slougher entered the harbor. Philipse, Van Cortlandt, and others of their party, hastened on board, and, greeting him with the warmest protestations of fidelity, escorted him to the City Hall, where he published his commission and took the oaths of office at eleven o'clock at night. Without heeding the lateness of the hour, he immediately dispatched Ingoldsby with a party of soldiers to take possession of the fort. Leisler, who did not know Slougher, and who suspected some snare, instead of surrendering the fort in obedience to the order, sent a letter, written in broken English, by Ensign Stoll, to the governor, charging Stoll, who had seen Slougher in Europe, to look at him well, and be sure that he was no counterfeit, got up for the occasion. Slougher, who suspected something of this, informed Stoll that he intended to make himself known in New York as well as in England, and ordered Major Ingoldsby to go a second time to take possession of the fort, and at the same time, to release Colonel Bayard and Mr. Nichols from their imprisonment to attend his majesty's service, they having been appointed members of the council. He also ordered Leisler, Milborne, and the others "who called themselves the council," to come to him at once, without loss of time. Leisler refused either to surrender the fort or to release the prisoners, but sent Milborne and Delanoy to make terms with the



governor, and to endeavor to procure some security for his own safety, which he felt was in imminent danger. Slougher at once imprisoned the envoys, and sent Ingoldsby a third time to take possession of the fort, which Leisler again refused to him.

Early the next morning, Leisler sent a letter to the governor, surrendering the fort, and apologizing for holding it after his arrival. That he had done so, was unwise, but certainly not indicative of treasonable designs. He had hoped to retain possession of it, that he might in some degree counteract the influence of his enemies by a personal surrender. He well knew that to yield it to Ingoldsby would be to place his life in the power of the opposite faction; but the delay by which he sought to escape was made the most effectual instrument of his ruin.

No notice whatever was taken of the letter. Slougher and his friends met at the City Hall, where a council was sworn in, consisting of Joseph Dudley, Frederick Philipse, Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Gabriel Minvielle, Chudley Brooke, Thomas Willett, William Pinhorne and William Nichols—all sworn foes of Leisler. This done, twenty-nine papers from the English government relative to Leisler, which had been first *sent to England from Albany*, were delivered to the secretary, and Jacob Leisler was brought in a prisoner. The king's letter, from which he claimed to derive his authority, was taken from him, and he was committed to the guard-house with eleven of his adherents. At the same meeting, the governor appointed John Lawrence mayor of the city.

Leisler and his companions remained in the guard-

house until the 23d of March, when the governor and council met at the fort, and appointed a committee to examine them with a view to their removal to the city prison. The next day the council met again, and organized a special court of eight members for the trial of the prisoners. Sir Robert Robertson, William Smith, William Pinhorne, John Lawrence, Jasper Hicks, Richard Ingoldsby, Isaac Arnold and John Young were appointed judges by the governor, for the trial of the prisoners on a charge of murder and rebellion.

On the 30th of March, the court met for the trial of the prisoners. Leisler refused to plead, alleging that the court had no jurisdiction in the case, but that it belonged to his majesty himself to declare whether he had acted under legal authority, and insisting that the letter addressed to Nicholson, or, in his absence, to the chiefs of the government, had entitled him to act as lieutenant-governor. The pliant judges, instead of deciding the question, submitted it to the opinion of the governor and council. They decided in the negative ; Leisler was pronounced a usurper, and, on the 13th of April, both he and Milborne were condemned to death as rebels and traitors.

Notwithstanding the prejudices of Slougher against Leisler, he feared to risk the displeasure of the king by summarily putting to death the man who had first raised his standard in New York, and who had constantly professed to act under his authority. He hesitated, talked of a reprieve, and flatly refused to sign his death-warrant until it had first received the sanction of the king. But the enemies of Leisler were thirsting for his blood. Bayard, embittered by his long imprisonment, burned for

revenge, and Nichols and Van Cortlandt were not slow to second him. On the 14th of May, the council met and urged the governor to carry the sentence into execution. The next day, the petition was seconded by the new assembly, the speaker of which was a declared enemy of Leisler. But Sloughter still hesitated, and the council determined to gain by stratagem what they could not by entreaty. Knowing the weakness of the governor, they invited him to a feast; then, when he was overcome with wine, cajoled him into signing the death-warrant.

The fatal signature once procured, they dared not await the possibility of its revocation. An officer stole with it from the scene of festivity to the city prison, and ordered the victims to be led out for immediate execution. The council, meanwhile, plied the governor with wine, and amused him into forgetfulness of the fate of the prisoners.

In the midst of a cold and drizzling spring rain, Leisler and Milborne were led out for execution. The scaffold was erected in the square at the lower end of the Park, on his own grounds, in full view of his country-seat. The weeping people thronged about him, execrating those who had deprived them of their leader. A few members of the council stole from the scene of revelry, and came to witness the consummation of their vengeance. Leisler's dying speech was full of humility and forgiveness. "Why must you die?" said he to Milborne. "You have been but a servant, doing my will. What I have done has been but in the service of my king and queen, for the Protestant cause, and for the good of my country; and for this I must die. Some errors I have



"committed; for these I ask pardon. I forgive my "enemies as I hope to be forgiven, and I entreat my "children to do the same." Not so humble was the youthful Milborne. Turning to Robert Livingston,\* who had stationed himself near the scaffold, he said to him fiercely: "You have caused my death, but for "this will I implead you before the bar of God."—The drop fell; the populace rushed forth with shrieks and groans to snatch some relic of their martyred leader, and the last act was ended of one of the most eventful dramas ever enacted within the city of New York. The bodies were taken down, and interred, by Leisler's own request, in his garden near the site of Tammany Hall. Thus perished the last Dutch governor of New York.

Leisler was truly a martyr of the people. They had chosen him to stand at their head and to aid them in preserving their civil and religious liberty when left without a ruler and in danger of falling a prey to a clique of ambitious men. Under their authority he acted until it was, as he thought, confirmed by the king. On the arrival of the new governor, he surrendered the fort on the day that the council was sworn in; and they had no right to demand it before. Yet he was immediately arrested without a hearing, thrown into prison like a common malefactor, and sentenced to death, not by the judgment of the court that had been appointed for his trial, but by the decision of a council composed of his bitterest enemies. But it was the people instead of Leisler who were struck at, in truth. It was then, as

\* Emigrated about 1672, originally from Scotland.

later, the policy of the English government to crush every symptom of popular liberty in her colonies, and to rule them with a rod of iron. Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milborne were the first victims in the cause of freedom, and the pioneers of the long train that followed on the fields of the Revolution more than a century after.

Four years afterwards, the son of Jacob Leisler did justice to the memory of his father by prosecuting the appeal which had been denied him. On the 11th of March, 1695, the Lords Commissioners of Trade, to whom it had been referred, decided that the deceased had been condemned and executed according to law, but that their families were fit objects of royal compassion, and ordered the confiscated estates to be restored. But this did not satisfy the friends of the victims, who appealed from this decision to Parliament, and by the aid of powerful influence, obtained the same year a reversal of the attainder. This act stated explicitly that Leisler had been appointed commander-in-chief until their majesties' pleasure should be further known; that he was afterwards confirmed in his authority by their majesties' letter, dated July 30, 1689; that, while he held this power, by virtue of said authority, Major Ingoldsby had arrived in January and demanded the surrender of the fort without producing any legal authority; that Leisler, pursuant to the trust reposed in him, kept possession of the fort until the following March, when Henry Sloughter arrived late in the evening; that Leisler, having received notice of his coming, delivered the fort to him early the next morning;

and consequently, that all acts, judgments and attainders were declared reversed by the decision of parliament. Three years after, the bodies of Leisler and Milborne were disinterred and reburied with great ceremony in the old Dutch church in Garden street.

Sloughter was now firmly established as governor, and affairs began to assume a settled aspect. But the rancor of the late struggle did not soon die out, and for the next quarter of a century, the supremacy of the city was warmly contested by the Leislerians and anti-Leislerians. The parties transmitted the feud to their children, and the vestiges of it are even now to be found among the descendants of these early colonists.

As may readily be inferred from preceding events, the first Assembly that met under the new administration was wholly devoted to the interests of the governor. The laws which they framed, and which came to be recognized as the first acknowledged code in the province, were molded to suit his interests, and to make him wholly independent of the people, by granting him a permanent revenue, together with the sole right of issuing warrants for moneys from the public treasury. The Charter of Liberties, which had been granted by the Duke of York in Dongan's administration, was declared null and void. The single popular law passed by them, declaring that it was the people's *right* instead of *privilege* to be represented in general assembly was vetoed by the king. The old Court of Assizes was abolished, and a Supreme Court, consisting of five judges, instituted in its stead. Of this, Dudley was made chief-justice with a salary of a hundred and thirty pounds, and Johnson,



Smith, Van Cortlandt, and Pinhorne were appointed his associates.

In 1691, Abraham De Peyster, captain of one of the train-bands, and a friend of Leisler, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. De Peyster had taken an active part on the side of the people in the late agitation, and his appointment was well calculated to meet their favor. He held the office for three years, after which he received the appointment of treasurer which he held until his death in 1721.

Comparative tranquillity being now restored the citizens began to turn their attention to public improvements. Water street was extended from Old Slip to Fulton street, and Pine, Cedar, and the neighboring streets were laid out through the old Damen farm. Two markets for meat were established, the one in Broadway, opposite the fort, and the other at Coenties Slip; and no cattle were permitted to be slaughtered within the city gates.

The city determined to assume the support of the public paupers, and each alderman was ordered to make a return of the poor in his ward. Several were soon recommended as objects of charity, to whom a pittance was granted from the public treasury, no house being as yet provided for their reception. The poisonous weeds, stramonium and others, that grew in such abundance on the island, were ordered to be rooted up from the highways, and every citizen was directed to keep the street clean before his door.

In the same year, it was decided to build another church up-town, and the officers of the church of St. Nicholas purchased a building-lot in Garden street, now

Exchange place, 125 feet front by 180 feet rear, for which they paid a hundred and eighty pieces of eight, on which a church was soon after erected.

Many other municipal regulations, concerning hucksters, bakers, butchers and others were established, which were then esteemed of vital importance, but the minutiae of which would now be wearisome to the general reader. A single item we must notice as conveying an idea of the punishments practised in olden times. A pillory, cage, whipping-post, and ducking-stool were set up in the vicinity of the City Hall, and hither were brought all vagrants, slanderers, pilferers, and truant children to be exposed for public show, or to receive such severer chastisement as their offences might warrant.



The Bowery House.



Old Dutch Church in Garden Street. Erected in 1696.





On the 23d of July, 1691, Sloughter died suddenly. So hostile was the spirit of the times and so bitter the animosities that existed against him, that it was at first asserted that he had been poisoned by the Leisle-rians, but this charge was disproved by a *post mortem* examination. His remains were deposited in the Stuyvesant vault, next to those of the old Dutch governor, The charge of affairs devolved upon Dudley, Major Ingoldsby, to whom it belonged of right, being absent in Curaçoa.

## CHAPTER VIII.

1692—1702.

**Administration of Fletcher—Progress of the City—Piratical Depredations—Lord Bellamont Governor.**

ON the 29th of August, 1692, Benjamin Fletcher, the newly-appointed governor, arrived at New York. He was also invested with the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware, of which Penn had recently been deprived by reason of suspicions of his loyalty, and was commissioned to command the militia of Connecticut and New Jersey—a duty which he found it somewhat difficult to perform. The frontier warfare still continued, and New York, who, from her geographical position, became the English bulwark against the French in the Canadas, had petitioned that the other colonies should contribute to her defence. The request was granted, and Fletcher came instructed to require the southern and eastern provinces to furnish their quota of men and money towards carrying on the war. The order was grumblingly received; the Quakers excused themselves under pretext of conscientious scruples, but finally voted a small sum on condition that it should not be used for the war; Virginia raised five hundred pounds as the extent of her



resources ; Maryland furnished a small sum under protest, Connecticut sent no money under plea of an empty treasury, but promised to supply volunteers when needed, and Massachusetts flatly refused to furnish either, alleging that she had her own frontier to defend. The whole burden of the war was thus thrown upon New York, despite her exhausted treasury, and her population, decimated by the tragedies lately enacted on the frontier.

The new governor was despotic, passionate, avaricious and fanatical withal, it being his darling project to make the Church of England the established church of the land. He at once attached himself to the anti-Leislerians, and continued a sworn friend to them during his administration. He retained the council of his predecessor with the exception of Joseph Dudley<sup>1</sup> and William Pinhorne, who were replaced by Caleb Heathcote and John Young. Dudley was also superseded in the chief-justice-ship by William Smith. He returned at once to England. when he obtained the governorship of the Isle of Wight.

On the arrival of the new governor, the mayor and corporation of the city met and appropriated twenty pounds from the public treasury towards a public dinner in his honor. This was a politic movement on their part ; they were anxious to dispose him favorably towards a petition which they had to offer. Vigorous efforts were being made by the towns outside to break up the monopoly of bolting flour and making bread for exportation, which had been granted to the city several years before, and which had grown to be so valuable a privilege. The numerous laws that had been passed to prevent its infringement had proved unavailing, and the citizens

hoped to obtain the concurrence of the governor in securing this right exclusively to the city. The dinner was followed by an address entreating the governor to petition to their majesties for a confirmation of the city charter, and for the continuation of the bolting and baking monopoly; and also entreating that the duties of clerk of the market, water-bailiff and coroner might be included in the functions of the mayoralty.

That nothing might be spared to secure the governor's assistance in the matter, the city authorities presented another address to him a few days after, couched in the most flattering terms, in which they expressed their joy that so wise and pious a governor should have been set to rule over them, and entreated him to take the decaying state of their afflicted city into favorable consideration, and become its benefactor by securing to it that monopoly without which it must perish. The recorder was also directed to prepare an address to William and Mary, thanking them for the blessing which they had conferred on the province by appointing Fletcher the governor thereof. Nor did their efforts stop here. On his return from a subsequent voyage to Albany whither he had gone to direct matters in respect to the frontier warfare, the mayor and corporation appropriated one hundred pounds for the purchase of a gold cup, to be presented to him in testimony of their joy at his safe arrival. They let slip no opportunity to load him with fulsome compliments, and to testify to their approbation of all his acts. But this servility availed them nothing; in the autumn of 1696, the bolting-act was repealed by the

Assembly, and the commerce in bread and flour thrown open to all competitors.

News having been received of a projected French invasion, it was determined, soon after Fletcher's arrival, to erect a new line of fortifications across the island in the place of those now in ruins, and a hundred pounds were appropriated for the purpose by the corporation. All Indians and negroes who were not already engaged in military service were ordered to assist in the work, and the citizens generally were directed to give it all the assistance in their power. It was also determined to erect a battery upon a platform laid upon the point of rocks under the fort, so as to command both rivers; and the filling in of the present Battery was also commenced. Orders were given to see that the guns of the fort were mounted and fit for use, and that there was a sufficiency of ammunition.

In 1693, William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer, having become involved in difficulties in consequence of his connection with George Keith, who had attempted to produce a revolution in Quakerism, removed to New York, and established the first printing press in the city. He was at first employed by the city authorities to print the corporation laws, and a few years after established a newspaper, which proved a successful speculation.\*

\* New York was the third of the Anglo-American colonies in which printing was introduced—Massachusetts and Pennsylvania preceding it. The first thing printed in this city was a small folio volume of the laws of the colony, executed by Bradford in the first year of his arrival. The next of which we have any account was a small 24mo. volume of 51 pages, entitled, "A Letter of Advice to a Young Gentleman leaving the University, concerning his Behavior and Conversation in the World,



In 1694, Charles Lodowick, whom we have already seen as captain of the train-bands in the affair of Leisler, was appointed mayor. Mr. Lodowick was a prominent merchant, the son of one of the early traders in the city. He retained the office for but one year, after which he received the appointment of lieutenant-colonel of the province. He subsequently removed to England, where he died.

The chief aim of Fletcher, next to his personal aggrandizement, was the introduction into the province of the English church and the English language. This was contrary to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants, who still spoke the Dutch language and adhered to the Dutch church, which they regarded as the established church of the province. This church was attached to the Classis of Amsterdam, which was made a pretext by Fletcher for substituting the Church of England in its stead. The first Assembly that convened after his arrival, though they approved his conduct, and supplied him liberally with money for the defence of the frontiers, refused to listen to his intimations on this head. The next Assembly, which convened in the September of 1693, proved more compliant. Besides granting him a permanent revenue for five years and giving him control of the treasury, they passed an act providing for the

by R. L. Printed and sold by W. Bradford, Printer to His Majesty, King William, at the Bible in New York, 1696." A copy of this rare work was quite recently sold at the auction sale of the library of the late E. B. Corwin, for the low sum of \$12 50. On the 16th of October, 1725, the first newspaper in the city of New York was issued by Bradford, with the following heading: "NEW YORK GAZETTE. From Monday, Oct. 16th, to Oct. 23d, 1725." The paper was issued weekly, and was printed on a small foolscap sheet.

building of a church in the city of New York, another in Richmond, two in Westchester, and two in Suffolk, in each of which was to be settled a Protestant minister on a salary of from forty to a hundred pounds, to be paid by a tax levied on the inhabitants. This was less than the governor desired—he returned the act, which had been sent to him for approval, with an amendment granting him the power of inducting every incumbent, which the Assembly refused to pass. Upon this he called them before him, and angrily broke up the session, telling them that he would let them know that he would collate or suspend any minister that he chose, and that, while he stayed in the government, he should take care that neither heresy, schism, nor rebellion should be preached among them. The bill subsequently passed without the amendment, and the word Protestant being construed to mean Episcopal, all the inhabitants were compelled to support the Church of England, whatever might be their religious opinion. In 1696, Trinity church was begun under the provisions of this act, and was completed and opened for worship on the 6th of February of the following year by the Rev. William Vesey. The church was a small square edifice, with a very tall spire. A pew in it was appropriated to the mayor and common council, and a sermon was annually preached to them, on the day of the city election. In 1703, a cemetery was donated it by the corporation, on condition that it should ever after be kept neatly fenced, and that the burial fees should not exceed eighteenpence for children and three shillings for adults; and so great was the immigration into this city of the dead, that, at

the period of the Revolution, its inmates numbered more than a hundred and sixty thousand. The old graveyard of the Dutch burghers in Broadway above Morris street, had, in 1677, been cut up into four building lots and sold at auction to the highest bidder. In 1703, the King's Farm was granted to the church by Queen Anne, thus becoming the celebrated Trinity church property. The church was enlarged in 1735, and again in 1737, to meet the increasing wants of the congregation, and thus remained until it fell a victim to the conflagration of 1776, which laid waste the greater portion of the city. It lay in ruins until 1788, when it was again rebuilt, and consecrated by Bishop Provost in 1791. In 1839, it was again demolished to make room for the present edifice, which was opened in 1846.

The parish was afterwards made to include St. George's in Beekman street, erected in 1752; St. Paul's in Broadway, erected in 1766; St. John's in Varick street, erected in 1807, and Trinity Chapel in Twenty-fifth street, between Broadway and Sixth Avenue, erected in 1854, all chapels, dependent upon Trinity as the parish church.

The frontier warfare had continued meanwhile, and Fletcher's conduct in this had been characterized with decision and promptness, thanks, in part, to the advice of Peter Schuyler, who knew the Indians intimately, and who had advised Fletcher on his arrival to form a firm league with the Iroquois, who formed a powerful barrier between the English settlements and the Canadas. It was the policy of the French government to exterminate these tribes as the greatest obstacle in the way of



their designs, then to seize Albany, and, proceeding down the river, take possession of New York, and thus make themselves masters of the province. For this purpose, they dispatched Frontenac with a large army in 1696 to invade the territory of the Iroquois. The expedition proved unsuccessful, and before it could be renewed, a treaty of peace was concluded at Ryswick between France and England which definitively put an end to the war.

The city had long suffered from the rapacity of government officials and the reflected horrors of a distant warfare ; it had now another scourge to encounter. The system of privateering had long been in existence, and had not only been connived at but openly encouraged by the European governments, who deemed it an excellent means of annoying their enemies' commerce without trouble or expense to themselves. The adventurous privateers, emboldened by their successes, soon ripened into buccaneers, and, bearing down upon ships of all nations, plundered them of their cargoes, then scuttled and sunk them, that none might escape to tell the tale. The American coasts were infested by pirates, no vessel was safe upon the waters, and the ocean commerce was almost destroyed. New York suffered especially from these depredations. Her merchant vessels were rifled and burnt within sight of her shores, and the pirates even entered her harbors and seized her ships as they lay at anchor. Complaint to the authorities availed nothing ; nearly every government official was implicated in the nefarious trade, and it was suspected, almost with certainty, that Fletcher himself was confederated

with the pirates and a sharer in their booty. The corsairs boldly entered the ports, sure that their money would purchase protection, and many of the merchants, finding legal trade suspended, were tempted to embark in the traffic and to lend assistance to the successful buccaneers.

The interruption to commerce at length grew so alarming that the English government found it necessary to interfere in the matter, and to take vigorous measures for the suppression of piracy. Fletcher, who was accused on every side of protecting the corsairs, was recalled, and Lord Bellamont was appointed in his stead, with instructions to extirpate the pirates from the seas. He received his appointment in 1695,—although he did not enter upon the duties of his office until nearly three years after—and immediately began to take measures to follow out his instructions. He first urged the government to fit out an armed force to cruise against the buccaneers, but as all the naval force was needed in the war with France, which was not yet ended, the request was refused. He then organized a stock company, in which the king himself, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chancellor Somers, the Earls of Oxford and Romney, Robert Livingston and several others, became shareholders, for the purpose of fitting out a privateering expedition against the pirates. Six thousand pounds were soon raised for the enterprise. The *Adventure Galley*, a fine ship, manned with sixty sailors and thirty guns, was at once fitted out, and the command of it intrusted to Captain William Kidd, a New York sea-captain, who happened to be in London at the time, and who had been

warmly recommended to Bellamont by Robert Livingston, and, to stimulate him further in the pursuit of his prey, one fifth of the proceeds of the expedition was promised him as his share in the enterprise. Kidd had previously commanded a privateer in the West Indies, and had, for some years, been captain of a packet ship, which plied between New York and London. He was a resident of the city of New York, where he owned a house and lot in Liberty street and passed for a worthy and respectable citizen. In 1691, he had married Sarah Oort, the widow of one of his fellow captains and a woman of the highest respectability, by whom he had one daughter. His house was one of the most commodious and best furnished in the city ; he moved among the best circles of society, and nothing in his previous conduct or mode of life indicated the terrible career that followed the fitting out of this fatal expedition.

On taking command of the ship, Kidd immediately repaired to New York, and, shipping ninety additional men, sailed for the Indian seas in quest of pirates. The sequel of his career is already too well known to be repeated in detail. He succumbed to temptation, joined the band which he had been sent to destroy, and became one of the most daring and successful pirates that ever hoisted the black flag on the seas. His career was short, embracing only two years, yet, during that time, he plundered scores of ships, amassed countless treasure, and made his name a terror on the seas and a by-word for future generations. Grown daring by his success, he exchanged his ship for a frigate that he had captured, and, in 1698, returned to New York. But Bellamont was



now governor, and protection was no longer vouchsafed to pirates. Passing up Long Island Sound, he landed at Gardiner's Island and buried a portion of his treasure ; then, dividing his spoils with his crew, he discharged them and repaired to Boston, where he quietly took up his residence under an assumed name. Here he was met by Bellamont, who at once recognized and arrested him. He was sent to England for trial, found guilty of piracy, sentenced to death, and executed on the 12th of May, 1701, His wife and daughter continued to reside in New York after his death in the strictest seclusion. Search was made by the authorities for the buried treasure, and a large box of gold, silver, and jewels was found at the place of deposit on Gardiner's Island. This inflamed the imagination of the gold-hunters ; rumors of immense sums buried on Long Island and the shores of the North River circulated eagerly from mouth to mouth, and every likely and unlikely locality was mined in search of the hidden treasure. The faith has even come down to our own times, and the words "Kidd's treasure," still suggests to some credulous minds visions of untold wealth lying almost at their doors, awaiting the touch of the spade and mattock.

The result of this enterprise caused great excitement and indignation, both in America and in England, and Bellamont, Livingston, and even the king himself, were openly accused of having secretly connived at it and shared in the spoils. A motion was made in the House of Commons that all who had been interested in the adventure should be deprived of their official positions, and this motion being lost by a large majority, the noble-

men were impeached and forced to undergo the form of a trial for their lives ; but the charges against them could not be sustained and all the accused were honorably acquitted.

As we have already said, Fletcher continued to administer the government for more than two years after he had been superseded by Bellamont. During this time, various public improvements were made and municipal ordinances enacted, indicating the growth of the city. Soon after the departure of Kidd from the port of New York in 1696 on his piratical expedition, the erection of Trinity Church as well as that of the new Dutch Church—known to us by tradition as the Old Dutch Church—in Garden street, was commenced. Both were completed in the course of the following year. It was also determined to build a new City Hall, the old "Stadt-Huys" at Coenties Slip having become so dilapidated that the mayor and corporation, finding it impossible to meet there any longer, had been compelled to remove to the house of George Reparreck, next door. A consultation was held as to the most available means for raising the necessary funds, and it was decided to sell the old stadt-huys and grounds, and to mortgage the ferry-lease for fifteen years. It was also resolved that the new hall should be completed within a twelvemonth, and a committee was appointed to select a site and make the necessary estimates, but it was not until 1699 that the site at the junction of Wall and Broad streets was actually selected, and the old stadt-huys sold at public auction. This was purchased by a merchant named John Rodman, together with the grounds and all the appurtenances, with



The Stuyvesant Mansion (see page 153).

the exception of the bell and royal arms, for the sum of nine hundred and twenty pounds sterling, the city reserving the use of it for a jail a month longer. The first building in the city used for a jail was at the corner of Dock street and Coenties Slip. The new City Hall was built in the form of an L, and open in the middle. The dungeons for criminals were in the cellar. The first story had two large staircases, and two large and two small rooms. The middle of the second story was occupied by the court room, with the assembly room on one side, and the magistrates' room on the other. The debtors' cells were in the attic.

In 1696, Maiden Lane was regulated, and Captain Teunis Dekay was permitted to make a cartway through Nassau street—designated in his petition as “the street “that runs by the pie-woman’s, leading to the city commons,”—receiving the soil in compensation for his labor. A cartway was also made along Hanover Square, or “Burger’s Path,” as it was then called. A contract



was made for cleaning the streets at thirty pounds sterling per annum—a work which had hitherto been done by the citizens themselves, every man being required to keep the street clean before his own door.

In 1697, the first attempt at lighting the streets was made. This was done by hanging out a lantern and candle upon the end of a pole from the window of every seventh house, on the nights when there was no moon; the expense being divided equally among the seven houses. The first regular night watch, consisting of four men, was established during the same year.

Two persons in each ward were also appointed by the corporation to inspect every chimney and hearth once a week, the better to secure the city against fire. At this time the city numbered six hundred houses, and about six thousand inhabitants.

Great scarcity of bread prevailed in the city during this year. None was to be had of the bakers, who declared that it was impossible to purchase flour at rates reasonable enough to supply their customers at the prices fixed by law. The matter was taken into public consideration, and a census ordered to be taken of all the wheat, flour and bread then within the city. Seven thousand bushels of wheat were found—not more than a week's provision for the six thousand inhabitants. The scarcity was at once attributed to the repeal of the bolting act, which had enabled the planters to grind their own flour and to hold it back from the general market for private speculation, and an address was directly forwarded to the king, complaining of the famine to which the city was reduced, and earnestly entreating him to restore the

monopoly. Meanwhile an assize of rye bread was established; a five-pound loaf being valued at four pence-half penny, and the price of rye being fixed at three shillings and threepence per bushel.

On the 2d of April, 1698, Lord Bellamont arrived at New York, accompanied by his wife and his cousin, John Nanfan, who was also his lieutenant-governor, and was received by the citizens with demonstrations of delight. Johannes de Peyster, the brother of Abraham de Peyster, the mayor of 1691, was at this time mayor of the city, having succeeded William Merritt, who had filled the mayoralty for the past three years. The corporation at once gave a public dinner to the governor and tendered him a complimentary address, and the people were not backward in seconding the welcome. Bellamont, who was diametrically opposed to the policy of Fletcher, directly attached himself to the Leislerian party. He had already espoused the same cause in England, and had aided young Leisler in procuring the reversion of his father's attainder. He molded his council to suit his own views. Bayard, Philipse and the rest of their party, resigned or were removed, and a new council was appointed, consisting chiefly of the Leislerian party. A new Assembly was convened on the 18th of May, 1699, in which the same element preponderated. Bellamont's opening speech augured well for the future. He spoke of the disorderly state of the province, left as it was with a divided people, an empty treasury, ruined fortifications and a few half-naked soldiers, and branded with the stigma of being a rendezvous for pirates. "It would be hard,"

said he, "if I, who come before you with an honest heart and a resolution to be just to your interests, should meet with greater difficulties in the discharge of his majesty's service than those who have gone before me. I shall take care that there shall be no more misapplication of the public money; I shall pocket none of it myself, neither shall there be any embezzlement of it by others; but exact accounts shall be given you when and as often as you require."

The members of the Assembly, rejoiced at the pledges of their new governor, passed a warm vote of thanks for this welcome speech, and voted him a revenue for six years. In compliance with his suggestions, they passed several wholesome acts for the suppression of piracy, for the regulation of the elections, and for the indemnification of those who had been excepted from the general pardon of 1691. Under this act, the families of Leisler and Milborne recovered their estates. The time had now come for the exaltation of these martyrs. Their remains were disinterred with great ceremony, and after lying in state for some weeks, were conveyed under guard of a military escort to the Dutch church in Garden street, and buried there. An immense concourse of citizens attended the funeral, which was honored by the presence of the governor himself.

Soon after the arrival of Bellamont, the mayor and corporation waited on him, and entreated his assistance in the recovery of the coveted bolting monopoly. They also raised the sum of fifty pounds sterling for the purpose of dispatching a special agent to the English govern-



ment to represent to them the misery which the repeal of this act had occasioned in the city, and a memorial was addressed to the king, depicting the prevailing famine in glowing colors, and prophesying utter ruin to New York, unless this privilege, which constituted the life of the city, should at once be restored to it. But their prayers and petitions were of no avail; the act of the Assembly was not repealed; yet New York continued to thrive without the aid of the bolting monopoly.

In 1699, David Provoost was appointed mayor. Mr. Provoost was the son of one of the ancient Dutch burghers, and a popular man among his fellow-citizens. His administration was marked by several public improvements. Two new market houses were erected, one at Coenties Slip and the other at the foot of Broad street, and King, now William street, was filled up and regulated. Public scavengers were employed to clean the streets, and all persons were directed to pave before their houses under penalty of a fine of twenty shillings. A hospital was established for the poor in a house hired for the purpose—no institution of the kind was built until three-quarters of a century after. The ferry was farmed out for a term of seven years at a rent of a hundred and sixty-five pounds sterling per annum. By the conditions of the lease, the lessee was required to keep two large boats for corn and cattle, and two smaller ones for passengers. The rates of fare were fixed at eight stuyvers in wampum or a silver twopence for single persons, or half that sum for each of a company; a shilling for a horse, twopence for a hog, a penny for a sheep, etc. The city engaged to build a substantial ferry-house

on Nassau or Long Island, which the ferry-man was required to keep in repair. The dock was also leased to Philip French at an annual rent of forty pounds sterling ; the lessee being required within a year to clean the dock and slip till a sandy bottom should be found, and to keep it, and the wharves about it, clean in the future. A variety of municipal ordinances were passed the same year, the general tendency of which was to restrain all public excesses and to promote the welfare of the city. The firing of guns within the precincts of the city was strictly forbidden. A powder-house was ordered to be built for public use, and all persons were interdicted from keeping more than fifty pounds of powder in their houses at one time. An impost was levied upon all flour and bread brought into the city, for the benefit of the public treasury ; this tax, however, proved unpopular, and was annulled a few weeks after.

In 1700, Isaac de Riemer, a merchant of Holland origin was appointed mayor. He was a descendant of one of the oldest families of the city, and a nephew of the well-known Cornelius Steenwyck, the former mayor.

Bellamont, in the meantime, had gone to Boston, having been appointed governor of Massachusetts as well as of New York, to look after the interests of the Board of Trade, as he had especially been instructed to do. This board, consisting of a president and seven members, had been instituted in 1696, just after the appointment of Bellamont as governor, and the commerce of the colonies placed under its supervision. The acts of trade restricting this commerce had been made still more stringent, and courts of Vice-Admiralty established in all

the colonies, invested with supreme authority in all cases pertaining to the admiralty or revenue. The colonists protested bitterly against this measure, but the English government sustained the courts, and imposed oaths upon the colonial governors to enforce the acts of trade. The people however rebelled against the new authorities, and the revenue laws were constantly violated, especially in New England. Bellamont's address and manners soon made him popular among his Boston subjects, but they strenuously resisted his efforts to enforce the navigation acts, and he returned to New York, having effected nothing. Here, he soon became involved in a new controversy with the New York merchants, who complained of him to the Board of Trade and to Parliament. But before the affair could be investigated, the proceedings were suspended by the sudden death of the governor. He was buried with funeral honors in the chapel of the fort, and a few days afterwards, his coat of arms was carried in great state and placed in front of the City Hall in Wall street, together with that of his successor, John Nanfan. Here they remained until the arrival of Cornbury and the accession of the anti-Leislerian party in 1702, when they were torn down and contemptuously broken in pieces.

The authority now devolved upon Lieutenant-Governor Nanfan until the appointment of a new governor, but, he being absent in Barbadoes, a violent contest took place in respect to the temporary administration of the government. The anti-Leislerians insisted that it belonged of right to Colonel William Smith, the senior member of the council, while the Leislerians, who were in the



majority, declared that a temporary chairman must be elected, as had previously been done after the death of Sloughter. In the midst of the discussion Nanfan arrived, and opportunely assumed the direction of the government.

Nanfan was as warm a Leislerian as Bellamont, though less judicious in his course of policy, and his first Assembly was imbued with the same spirit. In the late contest, the claims of Smith to the chair had been warmly supported by Peter Schuyler and Robert Livingston, the latter of whom had been one of Leisler's bitterest foes, and had been denounced by Milborne in his dying words upon the scaffold. The time had now come for him to pay the penalty. The new Assembly removed him from his office of Secretary of Indian Affairs and Collector of Customs, and demanded his accounts, which he could not furnish, as the Assembly well knew, for they were at this time in the hands of Lady Bellamont. Upon his failure to produce them, he was pronounced a defaulter, and expelled from the council, and his property was confiscated for the public benefit.

Not less was the confusion in the city affairs. At this time, the municipal government was composed of a mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and six assistants, the mayor having the casting vote. In the fall election of 1701, Thomas Noell, a merchant and an anti-Leislerian, was elected mayor, and Abraham Gouverneur, a Leislerian and the husband of the widow of Milborne, recorder. The Dock Ward returned Philip French and Robert Lurting, both anti-Leislerians, as alderman and assistant.

In the Out Ward, Martin Clock and Abraham Messier, and, in the North Ward, Jacob Boelen and Gerrit Onclenberg, all Leislerians, were elected to the same offices. These returns were not disputed. In the other wards the Leislerians also claimed to have gained the victory, but the contest was so close that they were apprehensive that the new mayor would refuse to receive their oaths, denying their election, and to meet this exigency, they determined to be sworn in by the retiring mayor, De Riemer, who was one of their party, which was accordingly done. Johannes de Peyster, alderman, and Abraham Brasier, assistant, of the East Ward ; David Provoost, alderman, and Peter William Roome, assistant, of the West Ward ; and Nicholas Roosevelt, alderman, and Hendrick Jallisen, assistant, of the South Ward, were the members elect of the disputed districts.

On the 14th of October, Mayor Noell took the oaths of office before the governor at the fort, then proceeded with the Common Council to Trinity Church to listen to the annual sermon, according to the usual custom. This done, he proceeded to the City Hall, and, having proclaimed his commission, proceeded to swear in the the members elect, but all refused to take the oaths except French and Lurting, alleging that they had been sworn in by the retiring mayor. On hearing this, he proceeded to swear in Brandt Schuyler, John Hutchins and William Morris as aldermen, and Johannes Jansen, Robert White, and Jeremiah Tuthill as assistants of the disputed wards. This proceeding caused so great an excitement, that Noell was finally compelled to dismiss

the assembly, without having sworn in the new city officials.

The city remained thus without a government until the 11th of November, when Noell again proceeded to the City Hall to swear in Schuyler, Hutchins, Morris and their assistants. The Leislerian members were already there in their places as members of the common council. Regardless of their protests, the mayor proceeded to swear in their antagonists, when the whole twenty took their seats together, each fully determined to share in the administration of the government. Finding that nothing could be done with so intractable an assembly, Noell ended by dismissing them all for a fortnight, and availed himself of the recess to appeal to the Supreme Court, which settled the matter by giving seats to Schuyler and Hutchins, and their assistants of the anti-Leislerian, and De Peyster and his assistant of the Leislerian party. The board thus stood equally divided, but the balance of power remained in the hands of the anti-Leislerians, the mayor having the casting vote. The affair occasioned the most intense excitement, and was one of the most turbulent elections ever witnessed in the city.

News soon arrived that Lord Cornbury had been appointed as Lord Bellamont's successor, and Bayard, anxious to gain him over to his party, forwarded addresses to him and to parliament, denouncing the Leislerians, and especially Nanfan, whose administration he vilified in the most odious terms. News of this proceeding coming to Nanfan's ears, he arrested and imprisoned Bayard, together with John Hutchins, one of the newly elected aldermen, who had taken an active part in procuring sig-



natures to the obnoxious addresses. The prisoners were tried by a special court, under the very act which Bayard himself had procured to secure the condemnation of Leisler. This act, which was the first passed by Sloughter's assembly, provided "that any person who should endeavor by any manner of way, or upon any pretence, by force of arms or otherwise, to disturb the peace, good and quiet of the province, should be esteemed rebels and traitors, and should incur the pains and penalties which the laws of England had provided for such offence."

As little fairness as had been shown in the trial of Leisler was now accorded to Bayard; who was indicted for rebellion and treason, for inciting the soldiers in the fort to rebellion, and for persuading them to sign libels against the existing government. The majority of the judges were Dutch, and were well known as his declared foes. Atwood, the chief-justice, pressed the charge in the most violent manner, and, despite all the efforts of the prisoner's friends and of the counsel, he was found guilty and sentenced to death. Hutchins was also tried and condemned. Thus far the cases of Bayard and Leisler were parallel; but the former received leniency which had not been accorded to the latter—a reprieve was granted him until the king's pleasure should be known. Suddenly, the arrival of Cornbury changed the aspect of affairs. Bayard was released and promoted to honor, the Leislerian party fell into disgrace, Atwood was forced to flee the country, and the new governor declared himself at the head of the anti-Leislerians.

## CHAPTER IX.

1702—1720.

Cornbury in New York—Public Improvements—First Negro Plot in the City—Administration of Robert Hunter.

IN May, 1702, Edward Hyde, Lord Cornbury, eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, arrived, charged with the administration of the government of New York and the Jerseys. These provinces had been divorced for a considerable time, but, difficulties having arisen between the proprietors of the latter, they had finally ceded their patents to Queen Anne as the easiest method of settling affairs and ridding themselves of a dignity which they had found to be an expensive luxury. Upon this retrocession, the queen placed both provinces under the command of Lord Cornbury, a near kinsman of her own, and they remained thus reunited until 1738, though each preserved a distinct legislative assembly. Cornbury was a reckless adventurer, profligate and unprincipled, who had fled from England to escape the demands of his creditors, and whose sole claim to this important command rested on his kindred to royalty. Eager to acquire wealth from his new subjects, and

wholly regardless of their wishes or interests, he soon completely alienated their affections and became the object of universal detestation. Cornbury had received a long list of instructions from the queen. By these, he was enjoined to rule the two provinces with impartiality, to grant liberty of conscience to all except papists, to consider Quakers eligible for offices of public trust and to receive their affirmations instead of oaths ; yet, while tolerating all religions, to endeavor to make the Church of England the established church of the land ; to keep the churches that were already built in repair, to build more as occasion required, and to furnish each minister with a house and glebe at the common charge ; to punish drunkenness, swearing, and vice of all kinds ; to encourage trade and traders, particularly the Royal African Company of England, and to recommend to the said Company to see that the colony had a constant and sufficient supply of merchantable negroes at moderate rates. He was also instructed to endeavor to get a law passed for restraining inhuman severity to *Christian* servants and slaves, and to make the willful murder of Indians and negroes an offence punishable with death. The spirit of these instructions conveys a fair idea of the state of popular feeling at this time in respect to slaves and slavery. These degraded beings were held in the most abject bondage, and the strictest laws were passed for restraining their liberty. Not more than four were allowed to assemble at a time, nor were they permitted to pass the city gates without the permission of their master. The use of weapons was not permitted them, they were not suffered to own either houses or



land, and their masters were forbidden to set them free under penalty of a heavy fine. As time wore on, their burdens grew still heavier. In 1709, a slave-market was erected on the site of the old block-house at the foot of Wall street slip, where all negroes or Indians who were to be hired were ordered to stand in readiness for bidders. In the following year, a city ordinance was passed, providing that any negro or Indian slave who should presume to appear in the streets after nightfall without a lantern with a lighted candle in it should be committed to jail, to remain there until released by the payment of a fine of eight shillings by his master, and as an equivalent, the authorities pledged themselves that the culprit should receive thirty-nine lashes at the public whipping-post, should his master desire. But the negroes did not submit tamely to these despotic regulations. From time to time, an outbreak warned the whites of the strength of the power which they were endeavoring to repress, and of the deadly peril which was brooding among them. Such an instance occurred in 1707 at Newtown, on Long Island, where a Mr. Hallet, with his wife and five children, was murdered one night in cold blood by two of his slaves. The murderers were seized, tried, condemned, and executed with the most horrible tortures. They confessed the crime, saying that they had committed it in revenge, because they had been forbidden to go out on Sunday. The punishments inflicted for this and similar deeds were terrible. The wretched criminals were chained to the stake and burned alive, broken on the wheel, or suspended to the branches of

trees and left there to perish. A negro suspected of a crime was tried at once under a special act of the Assembly by a court composed of three justices and five freeholders, and invested with authority to try, convict and sentence to immediate execution. An old newspaper now before us, of the date of January 28, 1733, records the case of a negro who was seized on Monday, tried on Tuesday, and burned on Thursday in the presence of a crowd of witnesses. Truly, we seem to be not very far off from the barbaric ages!

Upon his arrival, the new governor immediately attached himself to the anti-Leislerians, and openly avowed himself at the head of the party. Through his efforts, the first Assembly that met after his coming was composed chiefly of the same faction. Anxious to win a continuance of his favor, they voted him a revenue for seven years, increased his salary from six to twelve hundred pounds, and presented him with two thousand pounds to defray the expenses of his voyage. Nor were Mayor Noell and the corporation less profuse in their demonstrations of affection and fidelity. A public dinner was given in honor of his arrival; he was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box, and a congratulatory address was tendered him by the civic authorities. In honor of the opening administration, the members of his suite were also made freemen, together with the soldiers of the garrison, and all citizens who were too poor to purchase their freedom. At this time, the freedom of the city was not an empty name—it conveyed the right to trade, to vote and to be voted for, and to share in all other municipal privileges, and was

indeed more pregnant with meaning than is the present act of naturalization. A census of the inhabitants was ordered to be made, and the population was found to amount to 5,250.

Hitherto, there had been no free grammar school in New York. Various private schools had been set up from time to time under the supervision and with the permission of the government, and Ægidius Luyck had founded a flourishing classical school in the days of Stuyvesant, which had grown into a flourishing institution and attracted many pupils from the distant settlements. But, owing to the frequent changes in the government and the internal disorder of the city, this had been broken up; and though various individuals had essayed from time to time to play the pedagogue, their efforts had met with moderate success, and at this time education was at a very low ebb in the city. At length the corporation took the matter in hand, and, at a meeting held soon after Cornbury's arrival, resolved that there ought to be and must be a free grammar school in the city, and that, as there was no teacher to be had in New York who was capable of taking charge of one, steps should immediately be taken to procure one from England. A petition was accordingly addressed to the Bishop of London, entreating him to send them a native-born English teacher, of good learning, pious life and conversation, and a mild and even temper; and Lord Cornbury was urged to back this petition by his influence, and to recommend it to the notice of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; and likewise to appropriate to it part of the



proceeds of the King's Farm. This petition was repeatedly urged by the citizens upon the notice of the governor, but it was not until 1705 that the school was finally established, and Andrew Clarke appointed master.

Soon after the arrival of Lord Cornbury, a disease, strongly resembling the yellow fever, was imported from St. Thomas into the city. The infection spread rapidly, nearly every one attacked with it died in a few hours, and the epidemic was long remembered as "the great sickness of New York." The frightened inhabitants fled in terror from the infected city to the Jersey and Long Island shores. Lord Cornbury, with his council, also fled from the pestilence, and took up his quarters at Jamaica on Long Island. This village was under the control of the Presbyterians, who, a short time before, had erected a pretty little church, and had purchased a house and glebe for the use of their minister. This parsonage was decidedly the best house in the town, and, on hearing of the coming of the governor, Mr. Hubbard, the minister, removed with his family to a neighboring cottage, and courteously tendered it for his excellency's accommodation. The hospitality was accepted, and requited in a somewhat peculiar manner. Like Fletcher, Cornbury had for his aim the establishment of the Episcopal church in the province. The handful of Episcopalians in Jamaica had long looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of their Presbyterian neighbors; now, sure of receiving the protection of Cornbury, they determined on reaping the fruits of their labors. The church had been erected by a vote of the town, and no provision had been made for securing it

to the use of any particular denomination. Knowing this, and arming themselves with the acts of Fletcher's Assembly, the Episcopalians entered the church one Sunday between the hours of morning and afternoon service, and took possession of the building. A scene of violence ensued, both parties disputed possession of the church, the pews were torn out in the contest, and the struggle was only ended by the interference of the governor, who sustained the claims of Episcopal party. A long and tedious litigation followed, but the Episcopalians retained possession until 1728, though but two of the denomination had contributed a dollar towards the building of the edifice. Nor was this all; the sheriff seized upon the glebe, and leased it for the benefit of the Episcopal party; and as a crowning act of perfidy, Cornbury, on his return to New York, instead of restoring the parsonage to his hospitable host, basely surrendered it into the hands of the Episcopal clergyman, who occupied it henceforth as his place of residence.

It must certainly be admitted that, in encouraging the establishment of the Episcopal religion, Cornbury carried out his instructions to the very letter, and it was unfortunate for the popularity of the church that its earliest patrons in the province should have consisted of men of his stamp. In 1703, he induced the city authorities to donate a cemetery to Trinity Church; now the established church of the city. In the same year, the King's Farm, which had originally been the property of the Dutch West India Company, and which had been increased in 1671 by the purchase of a large tract of land from the heirs of Aneke Jans,

was presented by Cornbury unto Trinity Church. Thus was laid the foundation of the immense revenues which the church still continues to enjoy, and which place it in wealth as well as in antiquity, at the head of the Episcopal church in America. The schools were also placed under the control of the same denomination, and an ordinance was enacted, forbidding any person to teach school in the province who had not first received a license from the-Bishop of London.

About this time, war was proclaimed by England against France and Spain, and the Assembly that met in 1703, deeming it expedient to increase the fortifications, voted an appropriation of fifteen hundred pounds for the erection of two batteries at the Narrows, adding that it should be used for no other purpose whatever. This sum was raised by a poll-tax, the conditions of which were curious enough to be worth recording. Every member of the council was required to pay forty shillings ; an assembly man, twenty shillings ; a lawyer in practice, twenty shillings ; every man wearing a periwig, five shillings and sixpence ; a bachelor of twenty-five years and upwards, two shillings and three-pence ; every freeman between the ages of sixteen and sixty, ninepence ; and the owners of slaves one shilling for each. The required sum was raised in this manner ; but, regardless of the conditions on which it was given, the governor drew it from the treasury and applied it to his own use, refusing to account to the Assembly for its expenditure. Exasperated at such a gross violation of trust, the Assembly at once demanded a treasurer, and refused to make any further appropriations until one



should be appointed, declaring that they were Englishmen, and had a right to control the expenditure of their own money. "I know of no right that you have. "except such as the queen is pleased to allow you," was the curt reply of the governor, as he angrily dissolved the Assembly.

The new Assembly that was convened in 1705 was not much more pliable. Money was needed, for the war was still carried on, and the city was almost defenceless. A French privateer had already entered the harbor and terrified the inhabitants, and they had no security against other and more dangerous visitants; but they remembered that they had already paid for two batteries at the Narrows, the first stone of which was not yet laid, and they were loth to make another such investment of their money. Seeing the real need of fortifications, however, they at length voted three thousand pounds to be applied to their erection and to the maintenance of a company of scouts on the frontiers, but only on condition that it should be disbursed by a person of their own choosing. To this, Cornbury reluctantly consented as the only means of raising the money, then immediately prorogued the Assembly. In 1706, it was again convened, but, being more refractory than ever, was speedily dissolved by the governor.

The municipal authorities, awake to the danger of the city, joined in the demand for fortifications, and, on the appropriation of the money, summoned all the citizens to aid in the work of strengthening the town. The residents of the six city wards were ordered to work in turn upon the fortifications, either in person or by sub-

stitute, whenever summoned by the mayor. The town-crier went through the streets of each ward in turn, and, calling the inhabitants by the sound of a drum, proclaimed the time and place of rendezvous for the next morning's labor. The citizens repaired to the fortifications, armed with picks and shovels, and strengthened the palisades, repaired the half-ruined artillery-mounts, mounted the guns, and placed the city in a defensive posture. From two to four hundred men were employed daily upon the works; and the inhabitants were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to appear in arms at the first alarm to repel the French fleet that was hourly expected. But their fears were groundless—no attack was made on the city.

Meanwhile, the governor had spared nothing which might render him odious in the eyes of his people. Not content with his previous infringement of their civil and religious rights, he pushed his despotism so far as to forbid the Dutch congregation to open their church or to listen to their preacher. He imprisoned two Presbyterian ministers for preaching without his license, and practised the most shameless fraud and peculation in the discharge of his official duties. Not content with this, to render himself still more contemptible, he plunged into debaucheries and extravagances of every sort, parading the fort in the dress of a woman, and carousing and revelling in the most shameless manner. He was deeply involved in debt; but, protected as he was by the insignia of his office, none of his creditors dared to molest him. Wearied at length beyond endurance with this detestable tyranny, the citizens of New York

and New Jersey joined in a petition to the queen for his removal. It was but the repetition of the numerous complaints which had long been sounding from across the water ; and Anne, finding it impossible longer to turn a deaf ear to the prayers of the colonists, reluctantly yielded, and revoked her kinsman's commission. Hardly had she done this when his hungry creditors seized upon their prey, and threw him into the debtor's prison in the upper story of the new City Hall in Wall street, where he remained until the death of his father, the Earl of Clarendon, raised him from his cell to the peerage of Great Britain.

Having thus followed the profligate nobleman through his brief but dissolute career, let us take a retrospective view of the prominent events in municipal affairs during the time of his administration. It is not our purpose to record dry documents, or to catalogue city ordinances which would fill folios with but little interest to the general reader ; yet we wish to note the milestones in the progress of the city which may serve to indicate its steady and rapid growth.

We have already noted the large donations of municipal privileges by which the corporation ushered in the administration of Cornbury. At the same time, the rates for purchasing the freedom of the city were changed to twenty shillings for a merchant or trader, and six shillings for a mechanic. New ordinances were passed in respect to cleaning the streets—a matter in which the primitive New Yorkers seem to have experienced a foretaste of the trouble endured by their descendants. The previous ordinances having failed of effect, it was enacted in 1702



that all the inhabitants should sweep the dirt in heaps in front of their doors on Friday morning, and have it conveyed away and thrown into the river or elsewhere before Saturday night under penalty of six shillings. This, the cartmen were required to carry away at the rate of three cents per load, or six, if they loaded their carts themselves; and were subjected to heavy fines in case of a refusal. A pound was instituted for the keeping of stray cattle, and a pound-master appointed, who was to retain one-half of the fees as his due, and to pay the remaining half into the city treasury. The fees were fixed at ninepence for a horse, fourpence-halfpenny for neat cattle, and threepence for sheep and swine. It was also made lawful for any person to kill swine found running at large south of the fresh water. In 1706, a widow by the name of Rebecca Van Schaick received the appointment of city pound-keeper.

In the autumn succeeding Lord Cornbury's arrival, Philip French, a merchant, and one of the leaders of the anti-Leislerian party, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. French was the son-in-law of Frederick Philipse, the richest man in the province and one of Leisler's bitterest foes, and he warmly seconded the quarrel of his father. He had been among the most active in circulating the addresses which, during the administration of Nanfan, had so nearly cost Nicholas Bayard his life, and had been forced to flee to preserve his own liberty. On the arrival of Cornbury, the scale turned, and, from an outlaw, he came suddenly to the head of the municipal government. Before his term of office expired, he was forced to make a journey to Europe on business, and

resigned the charge of affairs into the hands of Sampson Broughton, the city recorder.

In 1703, William Peartree, a West India merchant and trader, was chosen mayor, and continued in the office for the ensuing four years. He was active and efficient, somewhat fond of military life, and a fitting magistrate to superintend the fortifications rendered necessary by the exigencies of war during his administration. He had a house and grounds on Beaver street, between New street and Broadway, where he resided for a long time, and died in 1713, leaving one daughter, who married William Smith, a New York merchant.

During the first year of his administration, the French Protestant church Du Saint-Esprit was built in Pine street by the Waldenses and Huguenots, many of whom had settled in New York and its vicinity. The Rev. James Laborie was the first pastor, and the church soon numbered a flourishing congregation. The Waldenses had a settlement at Staten Island; a large number had also settled in Brooklyn. The Huguenots had founded a settlement at New Rochelle in 1689 on lands purchased for them by Jacob Leisler; and, on Saturday night, after finishing their week's work, the zealous exiles would walk down to their church at Manhattan, and, spending the night with their brethren of New York, walk back to their distant settlement the next night after service, singing their hymns by the way, to be in time to commence their tasks on Monday morning. This church was one of the monuments of olden times which, resisting age, and the more destructive fire which swept away so many of our landmarks, continued to exist

until quite a recent date. The descendants of its people long congregated in Franklin street, but were finally crowded out by business, and removed to their present church in West 22d street.



French Church in Pine street, erected in 1704.

During the same year, a catechising school for negroes was opened by the Rev. William Vesey, the rector of Trinity Church—the first attempt made in the city towards providing any kind of instruction for this degraded people. It was from this clergyman that Vesey street derived its name. He remained in the city for several years, then returned to England to become the commissary of the Bishop of London. Church, Chapel and Rector streets also owe their names to the same clerical origin.

About the same time, Beekman's Swamp, the abode of the tanners of olden times and of the leather-dealers of to-day, was leased to Rip Van Dam, a member of the council, for twenty-one years at a yearly rent of twenty shillings. Of this swamp, more anon. Not many public improvements were made during Cornbury's administration ; he cared but little for the growth of the city, and



the occurrence of the war diverted the thoughts of the citizens from works of this kind to those of public defence.

In the autumn of 1705, a riot occurred which occasioned considerable excitement. Three English privateers brought a Spanish man-of-war of twenty guns as a prize into the harbor of New York. She had only been captured after a desperate conflict, and was heavily laden with a rich cargo. Elated by their victory, the privateersmen were roaming through the streets of the city, when they came by some accident into collision with the sheriff, with whom they had a violent quarrel. Exasperated by some words which incautiously escaped him, they surrounded his house and assaulted and beat back those who came to his rescue; then, encouraged by this success, and incensed by a rumor that the soldiers of the garrison had been called out to suppress them, they next attacked two army officers, and wounding one severely, stabbed Lieutenant Featherstonehaugh, the other, through the heart. The murder excited general alarm; the drum was beat to arms, and a detachment of soldiers, backed by a party of marines from the ships of war in the harbor, quickly charged upon the mutinous privateersmen, and, killing one and wounding several others, forced the whole party to surrender. Erasmus Wilkins, the murderer of the officer, was arrested, tried, convicted and executed.

In 1707, Ebenezer Wilson, a prominent merchant and politician of the city, was appointed mayor. During his administration, Water street was extended from Old Slip to John street. Broadway was also paved from Trinity church to the Bowling Green, and the residents permitted to plant trees before their houses. These pavements

were of cobble stones, the gutter curb being of wood. The gutters ran through the middle of the streets. Brick was universally used for sidewalks—flag-stones being as yet unknown to the city authorities. The posts for tying horses were also ordered to be removed from the streets. New and more stringent regulations were passed in respect to fires, the fire-wardens were directed to keep strict watch of all hearths and chimneys within the city and to see that the fire-buckets were hung up in their right places throughout the wards, and two hooks and eight ladders were purchased at the public expense for the use of the embryo fire-department.

The ferry lease, granted in 1699, having now expired, the ferry was leased again on similar conditions to James Harding, at a yearly rent of one hundred and eighty pounds sterling. The rates of ferriage remained the same. The lessee was required to keep a house of entertainment at the new brick ferry-house which had been built by the corporation on Long Island, and to keep the premises, consisting of a house, barn, well, and landing-bridge, in good repair. He was also required to keep a pound for cattle, and to keep two scows and two small boats constantly plying between the shores. These boats were to receive and discharge passengers and freight on Mondays and Thursdays at Countesses' Key,\* or the foot of Maiden Lane; on Tuesdays and Fridays, at Burger's Path,† or Hanover Square; and on Wednesdays and

\* So called from the Countess of Bellamont.

† This appellation originated in this wise. The land in the vicinity of Hanover Square and William street having been originally owned by Borger Joris, one of the early Dutch settlers, the latter street became known as Borger's, afterwards corrupted to Burger's Path.

Thursdays at the dock at Coenties Slip. The landing-place on the Long Island shore was a little below that of the present Fulton ferry.

Mayor Wilson retained his office for three years. Before the first had expired, news reached the city of the recall of Lord Cornbury. His future career we have already indicated. On the 18th of December, 1708, John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, who had been appointed the spring before as Cornbury's successor, arrived at New York, and was joyfully welcomed by the citizens. In April, 1709, he convened his first Assembly, of whom he demanded the grant of a permanent revenue and the payment of the governmental debts, together with a full examination of the public accounts, "that it might be known to all the world that the public debt was not contracted in his time." This last request was hailed by the colonists as a good omen of the just intentions of their new governor. But past experience had taught them the importance of retaining the control of the revenue in their own hands, as the only means whereby they could secure a real power in the government, and they were little disposed to grant the first demand of Lovelace. They offered to raise twenty-five hundred pounds for the expenses of the ensuing year, sixteen hundred of which were to be appropriated to the governor's salary, and the remaining nine hundred to the maintenance of the forts at New York, Albany, and Schenectady, together with the payment of printing bills and other contingent expenses. The conduct of Cornbury and his predecessors had taught them a useful lesson, and they were firmly resolved henceforth to grant



none but annual appropriations, and thus to make the salary of the governor dependent upon his good conduct from year to year. How well Lovelace would have relished this independent proceeding can never be known, for he died on the 5th of May, 1709, the same day on which the act was passed, leaving the government in the hands of the lieutenant-governor, Major Richard Ingoldsby, our old acquaintance in the affair of Leisler. He administered the government for eleven months, when the complaints of his subjects concerning his mismanagement of a hostile expedition which had been dispatched against Canada, caused his removal. Gerardus Beekman, the president of the council, assumed the direction of affairs during the short period that intervened before the arrival of the newly-appointed governor.

Robert Hunter arrived in the early part of the summer of 1710, and immediately assumed the direction of the government. He was a fair sample of the freaks of fortune. Born of humble Scotch parentage, he was apprenticed while yet a boy to the service of an apothecary. The embryo governor soon tired of the mortar and pestle, and it was not long before he ran away, and enlisted in the army as a common soldier. He was handsome, talented and ambitious, and possessed of an education far above his station; these qualities attracted the notice of his superiors, and procured him a speedy promotion. He soon became a favorite of the officers, preferment followed preferment in rapid succession, and ere many years had passed, the humble apothecary-boy had risen to the rank of a brigadier in the English army. His fine talents and graceful man-

ners won him the friendship of many of the distinguished literary men of the day, Addison and Swift among the rest, and the hand of an English heiress, Lady Hay. through whose influence he obtained the commission of lieutenant-governor of Virginia. While on his way to his new command, in 1707, he was captured by a French privateer and carried back a prisoner to Europe. But fortune, which seemed harsh to him in this single instance, was only reserving him for a higher destiny. After a short imprisonment, he was exchanged, and invested with the government of the provinces of New York and New Jersey. In education, mind and manners, he was superior to most of his predecessors; but he had received strict instructions to guard the claims of the crown against the demands of the people, and to repress the spirit of independence which had manifested itself so strongly of late in their legislative bodies.

With the new governor came three thousand Germans, natives of the Palatinate, who, driven from their homes by the inhuman commands of Louis XIV. at the instigation of Louvois, had besought the English government to give them homes in the New World. Ten thousand pounds sterling were appropriated by parliament to defray the expenses of the unfortunate exiles, who, in return, indentured themselves for a term of years to manufacture tar for the naval stores of Great Britain. This was the commencement of German immigration. A considerable number of the new-comers remained in New York, where they built the Lutheran church in Broadway on the site of the future Grace church soon after their arrival; some ascended the Hudson River

to Livingston's Manor, and commenced the cultivation of the tract of land now known as the German Flats, and by far the greater part migrated to Pennsylvania and laid the foundation of the German population which now forms so large an element in that State.

On his arrival, Hunter directly attached himself to the anti-Leislerian party, which, at this time as formerly, for the most part comprised the aristocracy of the city. His first council was composed of Gerardus Beekman, whom we have already mentioned as administering the government after the dismissal of Ingoldsby; Rip Van Dam, a Holland merchant and one of the wealthiest men of the city; Killian Van Rensselaer, of the family of the well-known patroon of Rensselaerswick; Judge Montpessou, an eminent lawyer, John Barbarie, one of the early Huguenot settlers, and Frederick Philipse, already known to us from his action in the revolution of Leisler in 1689.

Immediately on his arrival in New York, Hunter secured the support of Lewis Morris, one of the most influential land-owners in New York and New Jersey. He was the son of Richard Morris, an officer in Cromwell's army, who had emigrated to America soon after the retrocession of the province to the English, and purchased a manor ten miles square in the neighborhood of Harlem, to which he gave the name of Morrisania. Dying soon after, he left his only son to the care of his brother Lewis, who took up his residence on the estate in question, and at his death, made his nephew his sole heir. Lewis Morris\* was an adherent of the Leislerian

\* Richard Morris emigrated about 1670.



party, and he and his descendants long continued to exert a powerful influence on the affairs of the province.

The first act of Governor Hunter's administration was to join with the New England States in a project for the conquest of Canada. This had always been a favorite scheme of the English ; and the citizens of New York were especially interested in its success. Acadia had just been conquered by Francis Nicholson, the governor of Virginia, and its inhabitants expelled without striking a blow ; and the door seemed thus opened to an easy victory. The Assembly, on being convened, heartily sanctioned the proposed expedition, and appropriated ten thousand pounds towards defraying the expense. To raise the money, bills of credit were issued, and paper money was thus first introduced into New York. A large body of troops, raised from New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, assembled at Albany under the command of Nicholson, where they were joined by a reinforcement of eight hundred Iroquois. These were to march to attack Montreal, while the fleet and army which had been sent from England should at the same time assail Quebec. The city was in a state of intense excitement. The people were deeply interested in the enterprise, they saw themselves in fancy already masters of Canada, and eagerly awaited the news of the victory. They were doomed to disappointment.

Nothing but judicious management had been spared to secure the success of the expedition. A fleet of fifteen ships of war and forty transports, well manned and provided with all the necessary munitions, had been dispatched from England with instructions to touch at Bos-

ton for the Massachusetts reinforcements, then to sail at once to attack Quebec. But a month was wasted in Boston harbor in embarking the colonial troops and providing supplies, which, after all, were totally inadequate to the wants of the expedition. After this long delay, the ships set sail for the St. Lawrence ; but hardly had they arrived in the mouth of the river when the fleet became enveloped in a dense fog. The American pilots advised that the ships should lie to with their heads to the south, but the admiral obstinately refused to permit this, and commanded them to keep on their course to the northward. It was not long before they found themselves lost among the rocks and islands of the northern shore. The men-of-war escaped from the tortuous channels, but eight transports were driven on the rocky shoals, and went down, burying eight hundred and sixty men beneath the waters. Dismayed at the fruits of his own obstinacy, the admiral hastily put about and returned to Spanish River Bay, where he held a council of war, and, finding that they had but ten weeks' provisions, determined at once to abandon the expedition. On hearing of the misfortunes of the fleet, the land force returned disconsolate to the city, and the vision of the conquest of Canada, on which the colonists had expended so much hope and treasure, vanished in thin air from before their expectant eyes.

The ill success of this expedition cast a deep gloom over the city, and did not dispose the people to second the governor's plans for their future course of action. He had warmly urged the Assembly that had convened in the spring of 1711 to grant a permanent revenue for the

support of the government, pleading that such were the instructions of the queen, but this they persistently refused to do, and granted appropriations for a single year instead. The point was warmly contested by the governor and council, but neither party could be persuaded to yield.

The session of 1712 was equally stormy in its character. The Assembly repaired the fortifications and kept up the military force in compliance with the exigencies of the war, but steadily refused to grant anything more than an annual appropriation for the support of government. The state of affairs was gloomy enough. The Iroquois, who had hitherto been their fast friends, were growing distrustful; rumors were afloat of a projected attack by sea, and the recent failure of the Canadian expedition had weakened the faith of the people in their own resources. At this juncture, a new source of trouble arose. Ever since the introduction of slavery by the Dutch West India Company, the traffic in negroes had gone on continually increasing, till in numbers they began to rival the whites. In the midst of the general panic, the attention of the citizens was suddenly arrested by some mysterious movements on the part of the slaves. The danger to which they were hourly exposed from this host of oppressed and hitherto despised people, which had silently been growing up in their midst, now flashed upon them. Rumors circulated of an intended negro insurrection, some real or imaginary evidences of a concerted plot were discovered, and the whole city was seized with alarm. How much the real danger was magnified by the fears of the inhabitants can never be



known; certain it is that a riot occurred in which a house was burned and several white men were killed. A general arrest of negroes followed. Nineteen of the unfortunate wretches were tried and executed for their supposed complicity in the plot, and there the matter rested, to be revived again a few years after in a still more terrible aspect.

In the following year, the peace of Utrecht terminated the war, and brought peace and rest to the harassed colonists. By this treaty, France ceded the territory of Hudson Bay, together with Newfoundland and Acadia, to England; but, as the boundaries of these were not defined they became the source of fruitful dissensions, and were made the pretext for a continual frontier warfare as long as the Canadas remained in the hands of the French.

Meanwhile, the contest between the governor and the Assembly in respect to a permanent revenue had increased in bitterness. It was the fixed policy of the English government to weaken the power of the people and to strengthen that of the crown, and Hunter, though far more liberal and judicious than most of his predecessors, left no means untried to establish this end. What they had failed to accomplish by force, he effected by persuasion, and, having succeeded by the aid of his friend, Lewis Morris, in convening an Assembly favorable to his interests in 1715, he prevailed on them to grant a revenue for three years, and thus to render the officials for that time independent of the people. Previously to this, he had established a Court of Chancery, assuming the office of Chancellor himself, and appointing as regis-

ters, Frederick Philipse and Rip Van Dam, both members of his council. The Assembly protested loudly against this innovation, and the affair was referred to the Lords of Trade, who, ever obsequious to the interests of the crown, sustained the action of the governor, and decided that her majesty had an undoubted right to establish as many courts as she thought proper in her own dominions. Gratified at this victory, the governor made several important concessions to the people. He permitted the naturalization of the Dutch inhabitants, imposed taxes on British imports for the benefit of the province, and levied tonnage duties on foreign vessels. Lewis Morris was made chief justice in reward for his services, continuing, meanwhile, to retain his seat in the Assembly. In the following year, the city witnessed the arrival of two new-comers, destined to enact an important part in her future history. These were James Alexander, the father of Lord Stirling of Revolutionary memory, and William Smith, the father of the future chief-justice and historian of New York; both eminent lawyers, who soon carved their way to positions of honor and profit in their adopted city.

Despite Hunter's rigid observance of the instructions of his royal mistress, he was popular among his subjects, and seemingly disposed to further their interests when they did not conflict with those of the English government. But his administration was drawing to a close. His health soon after failed him, and he was ordered by his physicians to seek a warmer climate. Surrendering the government into the hands of Peter Schuyler, the eldest member of the council, the office of lieutenant-

governor being at that time vacant, he set sail for Europe on the 31st of July, 1719, bearing with him the sincere regards of his subjects. He afterwards sought and obtained the government of Jamaica.

Having thus followed Governor Hunter through his general career, in which the histories of the city and the province are too closely interwoven to be wholly divorced, let us take a retrospective view of municipal affairs during the seventeen years of his administration. He arrived at New York in the closing months of the term of office of Mayor Wilson. In 1710, Jacobus Van Cortlandt, son of the well known Oloffe Stevensen Van Cortlandt, and brother of the ex-mayor Stephanus Van Cortlandt, was appointed to the mayoralty. Mr. Van Cortlandt was a wealthy merchant, and a prominent member of the anti-Leislerian party, having already represented the city in Sloughter's Assembly of 1791; and was allied to several of the leading families of the city. In the year of his election to the Assembly, he married the daughter of the wealthy Frederick Philipse, with whom he received a large estate on the shores of the Hudson in the vicinity of Yonkers. This estate fell, at his death, into the hands of his son Frederick, who had married the daughter of Augustus Jay, the Huguenot ancestor of the celebrated John Jay of Revolutionary memory.\*

About the same time, a new market was established

\* Mr. Van Cortlandt died in 1739, leaving four children: Frederick, whom we have already mentioned; Margaret, who married Abraham de Peyster, son of the ex-mayor; Ann, who married John Chambers; and Mary, who married Peter Jay.

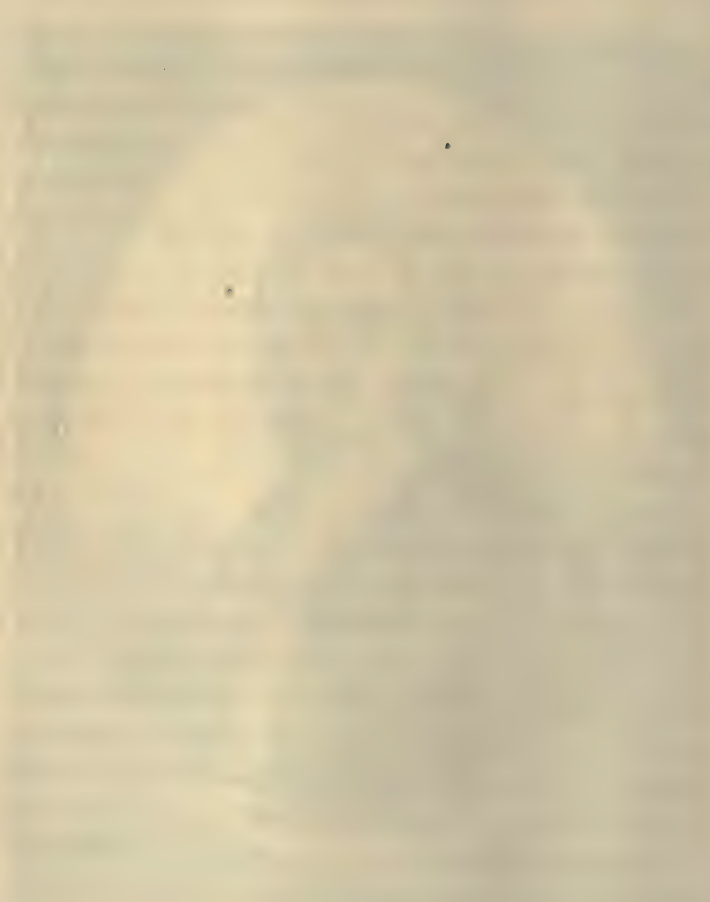




Augustus Jay,

Born at La Rochelle, 1665; died at New York, 1751.

*From the Portrait belonging to the Jay Family, at Bedford, Westchester County, N.Y.*



at the upper end of Broad street, between the City Hall and Exchange Place, and permission was given to the residents of the vicinity to erect stalls and sheds to suit their convenience under the direction of the clerk of the market. Country people were also permitted to sell meat at wholesale or retail as they pleased, subject to the same supervision; and bakers were required to brand their loaves with their initials, under penalty of forfeiture of the bread, and to conform strictly to the legal assize.

The laws relating to indentured apprentices were also amended. The term of apprenticeship was extended from four to seven years, at the expiration of which time, the master was bound to purchase for his apprentice the freedom of the city.

The winter of 1711 seems to mark the first appearance of rowdyism in New York. A gang of men and boys fell into the habit of amusing themselves by taking midnight rambles, and throwing stones on their way at the windows of the houses; and so annoying did this practice become, that the city authorities were finally obliged to offer a reward for the apprehension of the offenders. The evil was finally checked, and we find no repetition of it for several years to come.

In the spring of the same year, it was resolved that a meeting of the Common Council should be held at the City Hall at 9 A.M. on the first Friday in every month, and the treasurer was ordered to purchase eighteen rush-bottom chairs, and an oval table, for their accommodation. The municipal ordinances of the preceding year were rehearsed by their titles, and ordered to be



continued. The market-house at Wall street slip was already used as a public market-place for slaves—the first that had ever been instituted in the city. A record, dated the 1st of June of the same year, continues the widow of Andreas Donn, deceased, in the office of scavenger of Broad street for one year at a salary of eleven pounds sterling—a curious proof of the estimate of the sphere of woman by the city fathers of the olden time.

In 1711, Caleb Heathcote, who had long mingled actively in the politics of the province as one of the leaders of the anti-Leislerian party, and had served as a member of the council of Fletcher in 1692, and again of Cornbury in 1702, was elected mayor. Mr Heathcote was a merchant, son of the mayor of Chester in England, who, having been supplanted by his brother in the affections of his betrothed, had come to America to forget his disappointment in the excitement of new scenes. He took up his residence in the family of his uncle, George Heathcote, one of the wealthiest merchants of the city, who had emigrated from England in 1674, and soon became absorbed in the politics of the province. His brother, meanwhile, won a fortune in the mother-country, and became Sir Gilbert Heathcote, the founder and first president of the Bank of England, and Lord Mayor of London. Caleb learned to forget his perfidious love, and espoused Margaret Smith of Long Island, daughter of the ex-governor of Tangiers, familiarly styled "Tangier Smith" by his neighbors, the better to distinguish him from his scores of namesakes. He retained the mayoralty for three years, after which he retired to his estate at Mamaroneck and built



Portrait of Caleb Heathcote.

there the well-known Heathcote Hall, where he died in 1721, leaving two sons and four daughters to inherit his vast estates.

Little worthy of note in respect to municipal affairs occurred during his administration. In 1712, Broadway was levelled between Maiden Lane and the present Park, and speculators began to look forward to the time when these up-town lots would be of value. During the same year, the negro plot which we have already mentioned broke out, but was quickly suppressed by the citizens.

The number of the city watch was soon after increased

from four to six. The paupers were now beginning to be both numerous and troublesome, and it was proposed, instead of maintaining them by weekly pittances as had hitherto been done, to provide a house where they could be cared for at the public expense and be made to contribute somewhat towards their livelihood. This scheme, however, was not carried into effect until 1734, when a commodious house was erected on the commons, in the rear of the present City Hall, and well supplied with spinning-wheels, shoemakers' tools, and other implements of labor, to make it in some sort a self-sustaining institution. During the same year (1714) an application was made to the colonial government for permission to raise a yearly tax of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for the city treasury ; but the request was refused. A census taken at this time showed the city to contain five thousand four hundred and eighty inhabitants.

In 1716, John Johnston, a shipping merchant of the city was appointed mayor. Mr. Johnston was an active politician and a member of the governor's council during the last year of his mayoralty. He retained the office for five years. But few changes took place in the city during his administration. In the first year of his rule, the City Hall was graced by the first public clock ever put up in the city. This was a gift from Stephen De Lancey,\* who, having been paid fifty pounds for his services as representative in the Assembly, invested the sum in a clock, which he presented to the Corporation for the use of the city.

\* Originally from Caen in Normandy



In 1717, the Long Island ferry was leased for a term of five years commencing from the 5th of March, 1718, the landing-places remaining the same. A new ferry was also established, the landing-places on the New York shore being at Hanover Square, and at the Great Dock, near Broad street. This dock extended along Pearl street from Whitehall to Coenties Slip. The Broad street sewer flowed through it and emptied into the river.

In 1718, Gilbert Livingston, Thomas Grant, Patrick Mac Knight and John Nicolls purchased a piece of ground in Wall street, near the City Hall, for the site of a church in behalf of the Presbyterians of the city; and asked permission of the Corporation to hold religious service in the hall until their church should be finished. The request was granted, on condition that they should in no wise interfere with the courts. The structure was erected the following year, and was the first Presbyterian church ever built in New York.

In 1718, the first ropewalk was built along Broadway, between Barclay street and Park Place. These institutions afterwards became popular in New York and its vicinity, and formed the basis of a flourishing trade. About the same time, another boon was conferred upon this country by the introduction of the potato into America by a colony of Irish emigrants who had settled at Londonderry, in Maine. The culture was rapidly extended, and it was not long before the valuable esculent became naturalized among the farmers of Manhattan, and ranked among the choicest products of their soil.

During the thirteen months that intervened between

the departure of Hunter and the arrival of the new governor, the government of the province was administered by Peter Schuyler with great good sense and judgment. Schuyler was a veteran in public affairs ; he was popular among the Indians, to whom he had ever been a faithful friend, and his influence over them, joined with his counsels to the royal governors, had many times saved the infant settlements from destruction ; and he now showed himself as well fitted to rule as he had been to counsel. He cemented the league anew between the English and the Iroquois, which had well-nigh been broken during the late warfare, and exerted himself to the utmost to promote the peace and prosperity of the province.

In 1719, Jacobus Van Cortlandt was again appointed mayor. He held the office for but one year—long enough, however, to witness the installation of the new governor. On the 17th of September, 1720, William Burnet, the newly-appointed governor of New York and New Jersey, arrived at New York. Peter Schuyler immediatly resigned the direction of affairs, a new council was chosen, and Governor Burnet assumed the charge of the welfare of the province and city.

## CHAPTER X.

1720—1732.

**Affairs of the City under William Burnet—Suppression of the Circuitous Traffic—The Montgomerie Charter—New York in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.**

WILLIAM BURNET, the new governor, was the son of the celebrated Bishop Burnet and had served in England as comptroller of the customs previously to receiving this new appointment. He was a man of fine talents, polished manners, and comprehensive intellect, less avaricious than colonial governors were wont to be, and frank and outspoken almost to excess. Soon after his arrival, he married Miss Van Horne, the daughter of a leading merchant of the city, and thus identified his interests with those of his subjects. By the advice of Hunter, he forbore to dissolve the pliant Assembly which had been convened through the efforts of Morris, and the same body continued in existence for a period of eleven years. As a proof of their appreciation of this favor, the Assembly at once voted the governor a five years' revenue.

On his arrival in the province, Burnet at once attached himself to Morris, who continued his fast friend during





Portrait of Cadwallader Colden.

his administration. He also formed a friendship with James Alexander, whom we have already mentioned, and Cadwallader Colden, the surveyor-general and master in chancery of the province, who had settled in the city two years before, and who was destined to exert an important influence on its future history. Cadwallader Colden was a Scotch physician of fine talents and thorough education, who settled at Philadelphia soon after his graduation from the University of Edinburgh, and commenced the practice of medicine. He afterwards went to Europe, where he married and resided for a short time, then returned in 1716 to his practice in Philadelphia. In 1718, he removed to New York, where he obtained

an official appointment from his friend and countryman, Governor Hunter, and took up his permanent abode.

These three men, with Schuyler, Smith and Livingston, were now the leading spirits of the province. The council consisted of Peter Schuyler, Abraham de Peyster, Robert Walters, Gerardus Beekman, Rip Van Dam, Caleb Heathcote, John Barbarie, Frederick Philipse, John Johnston, Francis Harrison, Mr. Byerly and Mr. Clarke.

To give a clear idea of the events which signalized the administration of Burnet, we must glance briefly at the general position of affairs in the province. It was the fixed policy of the French government to gain control of the Indian trade, both along the northern frontier and in the regions of the Far West. This not only secured to them a lucrative traffic, but furthered their ultimate design of attaching the Indians to themselves, and, with their aid, rendering themselves masters of the province. For this end, Jesuit missionaries had long been mingling with the wandering tribes, seeking to secure them through conversion to the interests of France. Forsaking the comforts of civilized life, the devoted and adventurous disciples of Loyola penetrated the unknown regions of the West, and, skillfully ingratiating themselves with the sons of the forest, established missions where the foot of white man had never before trod, and laid open the inmost recesses of the wilderness to the march of civilization. In 1675, La Salle had founded Fort Frontenac at the entrance of the Ontario; then, with Tonti and Hennepin, had pushed his explorations to the distant regions of the Mississippi. The missionaries and traders

followed in the path thus opened to them by Jesuitical enterprise, and the Indian territory was soon everywhere traversed by the indefatigable emissaries of the French government. In the beginning of Burnet's administration, the Chevalier de Joncaire, himself a Jesuit and a man of noble birth and fine talents, who, having been made captive by the Senecas, had won their favor and been adopted into their tribe, established a permanent trading-post at Fort Frontenac, from which he designed to command the region of the Mississippi through the medium of the western traders.

As the goods sold by the French traders were mostly of English manufacture, and purchased in the city of New York, the merchants were well satisfied with an arrangement which enabled them to dispose of large quantities of goods with very little risk or trouble to themselves. But Burnet, who had studied the position of affairs attentively before his departure from England, comprehended the ultimate result of this dangerous policy, and saw clearly that the safety of the province depended on establishing a line of English trading-posts along the northern frontier, and thus counteracting the designs of the French government. Through the influence of Lewis Morris, he prevailed upon the first Assembly that convened after his arrival to put an end to the circuitous traffic by passing a bill prohibiting all sales of goods to the French, under penalty of the forfeiture of the articles, with an additional fine of one hundred pounds. This bill was warmly opposed by the merchants interested in the traffic, who, thinking only of the present, viewed it as a death-blow to their lucrative



trade. They complained loudly of the governor's conduct to the Board of Trade, and it was only through the earnest efforts of Cadwallader Colden, who warmly espoused the new policy, that this important measure was finally sustained.

In 1722, Governor Burnet commenced the erection of a trading-post at Oswego, and from this may be dated the foundation of that profitable fur traffic which formed the basis of so many colossal fortunes. This opening of a new path in commerce wrought a revolution in the aims and lives of the young men of the city. These youths, instead of remaining, as formerly, behind their fathers' counters or entering the beaten track of the West India trade, now provided themselves with a stock of guns and blankets, and set out with a trusty servant in a bark canoe to explore the pathless wilderness. Here they roamed for months in the primeval forests, forced at every step to turn aside to avoid some deadly reptile or fierce beast of prey, or to guard against the wiles of an insidious foe, ever on the alert to entrap them in some snare, and to purchase their goods at the expense of their lives. Forced to depend for their subsistence on the quickness of their eye and the sureness of their aim, to journey by day through thicket and marsh, over cataract and rapid, to sleep at night with no other canopy than the stars and sky, and to be constantly on their guard against the unseen danger which was lurking everywhere about them, this forest education called forth all their resources of courage and sagacity, and they came from the trial with muscles of iron, nerves of steel, and a hand and eye that never flinched before

the most deadly peril. No fiction of romance can surpass the adventurous career of these daring travellers who thus pursued the golden fleece in the wilds of America; and those who came forth from this school of danger were well fitted to play their part in the approaching tragedies of the French and Indian war and the drama of the coming Revolution.

In the same year of the establishment of the Oswego trading-post, a congress composed of the governors of New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, with deputies from the other colonies, assembled at Albany to consult together in respect to the war. This congress framed a memorial to the English government, urging the erection of the projected line of trading-posts as the only means of thwarting the policy of the French and securing the safety of the English provinces. No attention was paid to their request, and the scheme that would have protected the colony from the future ravages of the French and Indians was at length reluctantly abandoned by the disappointed governor.

Meanwhile, the usual bickerings had continued to exist between the governor and the Assembly. This body, so friendly to him on his arrival, had in part been alienated by his recent policy. The merchants engaged in the circuitous trade spared no pains to assail him in public and private, and a powerful opposition was thus excited against him. A dispute in which he became involved in 1724 with Stephen De Lancey, a wealthy merchant and a patron of the French Huguenot church in Pine street, increased the difficulty. A portion of the congregation, headed by Mr. De Lancey, becoming dis-

satisfied with the Rev. Louis Rou, the pastor of the church, dismissed him on the charge that he had flagged in his duty, and had introduced innovations into the church discipline. M. Rou and his friends appealed from this decision to the governor and council, who sustained them in opposition to the party of De Lancey, and decided that the malcontents had no right to dismiss their minister. The affair caused great excitement; indignant memorials were published on both sides, and the opposition party which had been raised against the governor by the suppression of the French trade, received new accessions from day to day. Soon after, De Lancey was elected as member of the Assembly, when Burnet refused to administer the oaths to him, alleging that he was not a subject of the crown. De Lancey, who, though born in France, had left it before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, insisted that he had received a patent of denization in England under the hand and seal of James II., and the Assembly sustained his claims against the governor.

The five years' revenue granted on the arrival of Burnet having expired, the Assembly refused to renew it for a longer term than three years. This was the same Assembly that had been elected under the auspices of Hunter, but its character and disposition had widely changed. Several of the best friends of the governor had died, and their places had been filled by new members; the suppression of the circuitous trade had alienated many more, and the once phant Assembly had grown harsh and unyielding. Burnet at length dissolved the body; but the new Assembly that convened in 1727



proved still more refractory. This was made up mostly of the friends of the French trade, men whose interests were directly affected by its suppression, and who were chiefly anxious to procure a repeal of the obnoxious act and thus to thwart the policy of Burnet. The continuance of the Court of Chancery, instituted by Hunter, also gave rise to general dissatisfaction, which was greatly increased by his assumption of the chancellorship. After a short session, he dissolved them as incorrigible. But their efforts did not stop here ; his commission expiring soon after, on the death of George I., they represented to the ministry that the interests of the province demanded a new governor. Their arguments were listened to ; Burnet was transferred against his wishes to the government of Massachusetts, and John Montgomerie was appointed his successor. In 1729, the obnoxious act was repealed, the circuitous trade again established, and the ulterior designs of the French government thus aided unwittingly by the merchants of New York.

Burnet was a man of fine talents, but his was the misfortune of not being understood. Had he been ably seconded in the schemes which he sought to execute, he would have saved the province from the horrors of future warfare and insured its peace and prosperity. Of a different stamp from his rapacious predecessors, he spared neither time nor money in the fulfillment of his projects for the public good. The trading-post at Oswego was built in part from his private fortune—a debt which was never repaid by the English government—and he left the province poorer than he had entered it. He was of literary tastes, polished manners and a genial tempera-

ment, and, but for the unhappy dissensions engendered by his system of policy, would have been one of the most popular of the colonial governors. Under his auspices, the era of journalism was first commenced in the city by the *New York Gazette*, published in 1725 by William Bradford, the government printer. This was a half-sheet paper, and was printed once a week. It was increased to four pages during the following year.

We will now glance at the progress of the city during the past eight years. The changes in this time had neither been marked nor numerous. The city had increased in population to nearly eight thousand inhabitants, and the vacant lots were gradually becoming filled up and peopled. In the first year of Burnet's administration, Robert Walters, a Holland merchant, who had long filled a prominent position in the city, was chosen mayor. He was also a member of the council both of Burnet and Montgomerie; was a devoted adherent of the Leislerian party, and a popular man among the democracy. He retained the office of mayor for five years. Little worthy of note occurred during his administration, the principal event of which was the publication of Bradford's newspaper in 1725, of which we have already spoken. Various municipal ordinances concerning the restriction of negroes, etc. were enacted, but they were but modifications of those which we have already noticed.

In 1725, Johannes Jansen, a merchant of Holland origin, was appointed mayor. He retained the office for but one year, when he was succeeded by Robert Lurting, a shipping merchant, who had long been actively

engaged in politics, and had acted as alderman for several years. He retained the office until his death in 1735.

On the 15th of April, 1728, John Montgomerie arrived as governor and chancellor of New York and New Jersey. Montgomerie had been groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince of Wales, now George II. Though bred a soldier, he was of a yielding and indolent temperament, and his antecedents had not certainly been calculated to fit him for the important command which was now intrusted to him. He came charged to carry out the policy of the late governors, and to sustain the Court of Chancery; but he shrank from the task, and only assumed the chancellorship when specially commanded; and then under protest and avowedly as a matter of form. The citizens gave him a cordial welcome. On the day after his arrival, the mayor and corporation presented him the freedom of the city in a gold box; and at their first session, the Assembly granted him the five years' revenue which they had so persistently refused to the late governor. Affairs glided on smoothly enough during his administration, the principal event in it being the grant of an amended city charter in 1730. By this charter, the limits of the city were made to comprehend four hundred feet below low-water mark on the Hudson River from Minetta Brook or Bestavers Killitje southward to the fort, thence the same number of feet beyond low-water mark round the fort and along the East River as far as the north side of Corlear's Hook, the west side of Pearl street being reserved for the use of the fort. The sole power of establishing ferries about the island, with all the profits accruing therefrom, was



granted to the corporation, the rates of ferriage to be fixed by the governor and council or by an act of the Assembly. A grant and confirmation was also given them of the lands held by them on Long Island, including the ferry, ferry-house and appurtenances. The market-houses, docks, slips and wharves with all the profits arising from them were granted to the city. The appointment of subordinate officers was given to the mayor, with the advice and consent of the common council. Provision was made for a court of common pleas to be held on every Tuesday in the year by the mayor or his deputy, with two or more aldermen, power being given them to adjourn the same for a period not exceeding twenty-eight days. Authority was given to the mayor or recorder, with a majority of the aldermen and assistants, to meet and make or repeal such by-laws and ordinances as they might deem fit—such ordinances to continue in force a twelvemonth unless repealed. Provision was made for a new division of the city into seven wards, the limits to be hereafter determined by the common council, each ward to choose the usual number of officers annually, with such a number of constables as the common council might direct, and to be the sole judge of the election and qualifications of its own officers. The mayor, recorder and aldermen were constituted justices of the peace for the city and county of New York, with power to hear and determine all pleas of forty shillings and under, and to nominate and appoint proper officers for that court. The mayor, recorder and three or more of the aldermen were invested with power to administer oaths to freemen and

officers of the city, and to make as many freemen as they should see fit ; also to hold general quarter sessions for the city and county, the mayor, recorder and eldest alderman constituting the quorum. Power was given to the corporation to erect necessary public buildings and to appoint the proper officers ; also, to sue for their lawful dues and demands in the name of their chamberlain. The petition of the common council that the offices of mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner and town-clerk might henceforth be elective was refused by the governor after some consideration, and these officials continued as heretofore to be appointed by the governor and council. The mayor was appointed clerk of the market for the time being. The jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at King's Bridge, thence to run down by the mainland to the point within the shortest distance from Long Island, including Great and Little Barn Island ; thence, crossing to low-water mark on the Long Island shore, to extend down by the same mark to Red Hook ; thence to run on a straight line to the lower end of the southernmost Oyster Island ; thence to extend northerly along the west side of the three Oyster Islands up the Hudson to Spiking Devil or Spuyten Devil Creek, and thence along low-water mark to King's Bridge, the place of beginning. The grant of all the waste and unappropriated lands of the island, which had been made to the city by the Dongan charter of 1686, was again confirmed by the new charter. The wharves along the shores were required to be made forty feet broad, both for the greater convenience of trade, and to fit them for the erection of batteries, the government reserving the

right of planting these in case of necessity. The quit-rent was fixed at ten shillings over and above the former quit-rents. Such was the substance of the conditions of the Montgomerie charter.\*

In the first year of Montgomerie's administration, a Jewish cemetery was first established in the city. This was bounded by Chatham, Oliver, Henry and Catherine streets, and was given in 1729 by Noe Willey of London to his three sons, merchants in New York, to be held as a burial-place for the Jewish nation forever. But the eye of the old Hebrew could not pierce into futurity; the trust was violated many years ago, and warehouses now cover the site once destined as a final resting-place for the Jewish Rabbis. Several years previously, a Jewish synagogue had been erected in Mill street.

The city was gradually extending its limits, and the powder-house which had been built a few years before on the Commons began to be considered as an unsafe place of deposit for the powder which was stored there. A new magazine was accordingly determined on, and after some deliberation, the corporation selected a pretty little island in the Fresh Water Pond as the most available location, and erected a storehouse there in 1728 for the safe keeping of the explosive material.

The Garden street church having become full to overflowing, a portion of the congregation determined to colonize, and, in 1726, purchased a lot of ground on the corner of Nassau and Liberty, then Crown street, and commenced the erection of the Middle Dutch church.

\* This was based on the Dongan Charter.



But ere long the undertaking came to a full stop for want of funds, and, in 1729, the congregation applied to the governor for a license to make a collection in aid of its completion. This was granted; the money was soon raised, and the church was finished and opened in the course of the same year. It was at first without a gallery; the pulpit was on the east side, and two doors opened on the west. For the first thirty years, the services were performed exclusively in the Dutch language, after which the English service was used half the time, much to the dissatisfaction of the sires of the congregation. In 1776, the pews were torn out and used for fuel, while the church became the prison-house of three thousand Americans. When no longer desired for this purpose, it was converted into a riding-school for the British cavalry, and the walls which had so often reëchoed the fervent prayers of the pious dominies now rang with the caracolling of steeds and the jests of the soldiery. Adjoining it, in Liberty street, stood the old sugar-house, built in 1689 in the days of Leisler, and also



Old Sugar House in Liberty Street, the Prison House of the Revolution.



*To the Honourable*  
**RIP VAN DAM. Esq**  
*PRESIDENT of His Majesty's Council for the PROVINCE of NEW YORK*  
*This View of the New Dutch Church is most humbly*  
*Dedicated by your Honour's most Obedient Serv<sup>t</sup> W<sup>m</sup> Burges*

Middle Dutch Church in Olden Time.





transformed into a prison for the patriots. After the close of the war, both buildings returned to their original use. The sugar-house was levelled in 1840 before the march of modern improvements; the church long continued the general post-office of the city of New York.

Soon after the erection of the Middle Dutch church, it was proposed to extend the city on the west side by rescuing Greenwich and Washington streets from the waters; and they were ordered to be surveyed and laid out above the Battery along the lines of high and low-water mark; the high-water mark to be the centre of one street, and the low-water mark, the centre of the other. It was also determined to establish three new slips, one opposite Morris street, another opposite Exchange Place, and a third opposite Rector street. The streets, however, were not built upon until several years after. A line of stages was established between New York and Philadelphia, to run once a fortnight during the winter months, and proposals were issued for a foot post to Albany.

In 1729, a library of 1,622 volumes, which had been bequeathed by the Rev. John Millington, Rector of Newington, England, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was presented by them to the city for a public library. To these was added a collection presented in 1700 by the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain of Lord Bellamont, and the whole was opened to the public under the supervision of the latter gentleman as "the Corporation Library." But the librarian died soon after, and the books were neglected and almost forgotten until 1754, when a number of public-spirited citizens organized themselves into a body and founded

the Society Library, obtaining permission from the Common Council to add the Corporation Library to their collection and to deposit their books in the City Hall. Here the library continued to increase and prosper. In 1772, a charter was granted it by George III. under the name of the New York Society Library, and under the new impetus given it by this incorporation, it flourished till all thoughts of literary enterprise were banished by the general stagnation of the Revolution. The city fell into the hands of the British and the library into the hands of the British soldiery; and, in the scenes of vandalism which followed, the choice and valuable collection which had been gathered with so much care, was scattered, mutilated and almost totally destroyed. For fourteen years, the library was neglected by its founders in the excitement of the struggle for liberty; then, in 1783, when peace was finally declared, the scattered elements of the society reunited, and, reviving their charter, once more commenced the collection of books. In 1793, a library building was erected in Nassau street, which was at that time considered one of the architectural lions of the city. But the collection soon outgrew its new quarters, and, removing temporarily into the Mechanics' Society building in Chambers street, continued there until the completion of the new library on the corner of Broadway and Leonard streets in 1840. Hardly was it established here when the upward rush of business forced it again to vacate this and to seek a new resting-place in the upper part of the town. For a time, it established itself in the Bible House in Astor Place, then removed, in 1857, to its new edifice in University Place between

Twelfth and Thirteenth street, which seems spacious enough for all present exigencies. Such was the rise and progress of the first public library of New York.

But we must return from our present surroundings to the days of olden time. At this period, markets were notable institutions. They were established at the foot of almost every street along the East River. Several market-places were to be found in the heart of the city, the upper end of Broad street was a public stand for country wagons, and a market occupied the centre of Broadway, opposite Liberty street. In 1732, another market-house was erected at the foot of Fulton street on the North River side for the accommodation of countrymen from Jersey.

Changes were also wrought in the lower part of the city. We have before noticed the erection of a battery on the rocks near Whitehall slip. This name originated in a large house on the corner of Whitehall and State streets, erected by Petrus Stuyvesant during his administration, and known to the people of that day as "the Stuyvesant Huys." It afterwards fell into the hands of Governor Dongan, who christened it "the White Hall." This subsequently became the Custom House of the city. Adjoining this was the store in which Jacob Leisler had transacted business during his lifetime, and from which that part of Whitehall between State and Pearl streets had at one time been known as Leisler street. Opposite Whitehall street, in the block bounded by Whitehall, Pearl, Moore and State streets, was an open space known as "the Strand," and used as a market-place for country-wagons. In 1732, this space, having grown too val-



uable to be used for such a purpose, was divided into seven lots and sold at auction at prices ranging from one hundred and fifty-six to two hundred and seventy-nine pounds sterling. In the same year, the vacant space in front of the fort which had hitherto been used for a market-place, parade-ground, and similar purposes, was leased to Frederick Philipse, John Chambers, and John Roosevelt, for ten years, at a yearly rent of a peppercorn, to be used as a bowling-green. Soon after, Pearl street, the ancient cow-path, which led from the settlement to the common pasture, and along the line of which houses had sprung up without regard to mathematical squares and angles, was regulated, so far as regulation was possible, and established as a public road.

"The Commons," of which we have spoken before, consisted originally of nearly a square piece of ground, bounded on the east and west by Nassau street and Broadway, and on the north and south by Chambers and Ann streets. Through this passed the post-road, the present Chatham street, cutting off a triangle on the east side, a part of which was used for public amusements and was known as "the Vineyard." The present Park was a level plain, so level indeed that it came to be known as "the Vlackte," or "Flat;" a name which still lives in the memory of our oldest inhabitants. For many years, this was the place of public execution, the gallows standing near the present Hall of Records.

North of this lay the Fresh Water Pond, with its neighboring district of the Collect or Kalch-Hook. This name, which finally came to be applied to the pond

itself, was originally given by the Dutch settlers to a point of land on the shores of the pond of about forty-eight acres in extent, the site of an old Indian village. The Fresh Water Pond was one of those traditional ponds which are found in every village, reputed to have no bottom—a reputation which it failed to sustain against the researches of modern times. The pond was, indeed, very deep; deep enough, in fact, to have floated the largest ships in the navy. Its waters were filled with roach and sunfish, and to preserve these, the city authorities passed an ordinance in 1734, forbidding any person to fish in it with nets, or in any other way than angling. But the beautiful pond has passed away, and the spot where its sparkling waters once played is now filled by the “Halls of Justice” with their gloomy prison cells.

Below the Commons, on the east side of the city, was “the Swamp,” in the vicinity of Ferry street, a low ground, covered with tangled briers. This tract was sold in 1734 for two hundred pounds to Jacobus Roosevelt, who laid out the ground into fifty lots and established several tanneries on it. This was indicative of its future destiny, for it has ever since remained the seat of the leather business of New York.

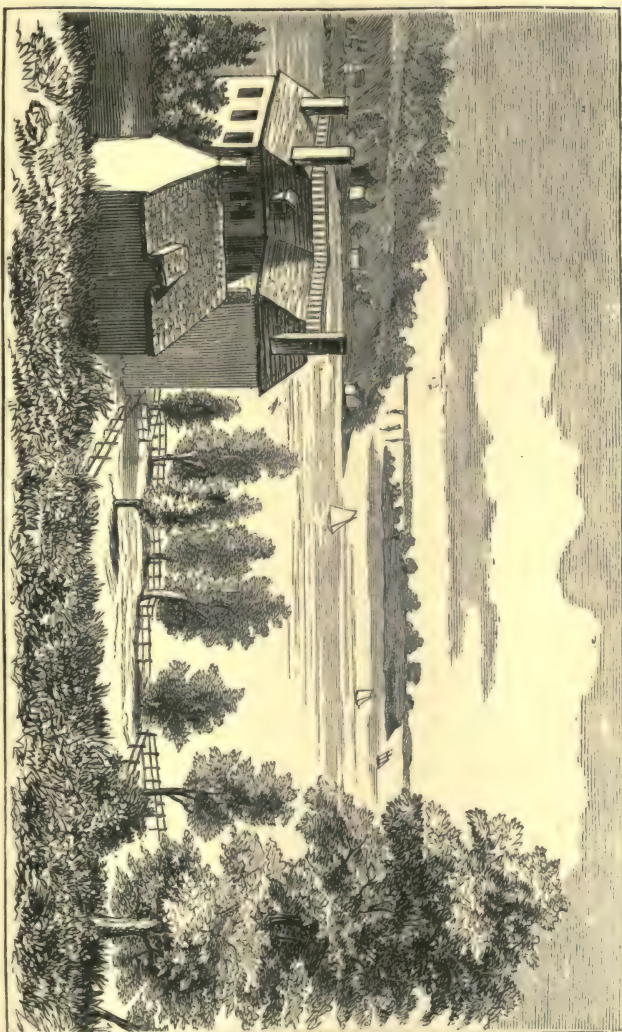
South of this region lay two estates known as the “Shoemakers’ Land,” and “Vandercliff’s orchard,” the first of which we have already described. The Vandercliff farm, which was bounded on the east and west by the East River and the Shoemakers’ Land, and on the north and south by Beekman street and Maiden Lane, was originally owned by Hendrick Rycker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirck Vandercliff. The new proprietor continued to

reside on it until his death, after which it was divided into lots, which were sold at prices ranging from twenty to thirty pounds each. This tract became classic ground in the days of the Revolution, under the more euphonious name of Golden Hill. Cliff street still preserves a part of the ancient title.

Along the Bowery road lay Steenwyck's orchard, Heerman's orchard, and the well-known Stuyvesant "bouwerie," whence it derived its name. Near the latter, in the neighborhood of the present Grammercy Park, was "Crummashie Hill." Above this, lay the Zant-berg hills, with Minetta brook, winding its way through the marshy valley on the other side to its outlet in the North River; and still further to the north, in the vicinity of Thirty-sixth street and Fifth Avenue, was the Ingleuberg, or Beacon Hill, the Murray Hill of modern times, which commanded a view of the whole island.

On the lands of Nicholas Bayard, in the vicinity of Grand and Centre streets rose Bayard's Mount, afterwards known as Mount Pleasant and Bunker's Hill. From this, the Crown Point road stretched along the line of Grand street to Crown Point or Corlear's Hook, once the farm of Jacobus Van Corlaer, passing over Jones' Hill, at the junction of Grand and Division streets. Near the Collect rose the Potters' Hill, at the foot of which flowed the Ould Kill, conveying the waters of the pond through the marshy Wolfert's Valley, to their outlet in the East River. This valley derived its name from its original proprietor, Jacob Wolfertsen Van Couwenhoven. A bridge was thrown across the stream, near the junction





Old Rutgers Mansion, on the shore of the East River.



of Roosevelt and Chatham streets, for the accommodation of travellers. This creek, with the Fresh Water Pond and the great Lispenard Meadows at the north-west, formed a chain of waters quite across the island.

On the west side of Broadway above Trinity Church was the King's Arms Tavern, the principal inn of the city, and the head-quarters of the anti-Leislerian party. Its grounds were extensive, running down to the river and stretching a considerable distance along Broadway. North of this were the estates of Van Cortlandt and Dey, and above these the old King's Farm, which had originally been the property of the Dutch West India Company, then, falling, in 1664, into the hands of the English captors, had been increased by the purchase of the estate of Aneke Jans, and had afterwards been presented to Trinity Church by Queen Anne. In 1720, the southern part of this farm was surveyed and laid out into streets which were named in honor of the various church dignitaries. At this time, Broadway extended no further than its junction with Chatham street.

In 1731, the city was divided into seven wards in conformity with the provisions of the Montgomerie charter. In the same year, the first steps were taken towards organizing a Fire Department on a permanent basis. Hitherto, the means for extinguishing fires had been of the most primitive kind—a few leather buckets, a couple of fire-hooks and poles, and seven or eight ladders constituting the sum total. In the early part of the eighteenth century, fire engines were successfully introduced into England, and in 1731, the corporation of New York resolved to import two for the use of the city.



This was accordingly done, and a room in the City Hall was fitted up for their reception. In 1736, an engine-house was built in Broad street, and a contract made with Jacobus Turk to keep the engines clean and in good order for the sum of ten pounds per annum. In 1737, a Fire Department was organized and twenty-five members enrolled, who, in consideration of their services, were excused from performing military duty or from serving as constables, jurors, or surveyors of highways.

On the 1st of July, 1731, Governor Montgomerie died, after a peaceful administration of two years, and was succeeded by Rip Van Dam, the eldest member of the council. Mr. Van Dam was of Holland origin, his father having settled in the city in the days of Stuyvesant. He was engaged in commerce, like most of the leading men of the time, and carried on an extensive foreign trade; and had been for several years a member of the council when called to the head of affairs by the sudden death of the governor. Little occurred worthy of note during the thirteen months of his administration. At the end of that time, Colonel William Cosby arrived as his successor.

## CHAPTER XI.

1732—1741.

### The Zenger Trial.

THE citizens gained as little by the change in the government as did the frogs in the fable by parting with King Log. Unlike the yielding and good-natured Montgomerie, Cosby was testy, despotic, and rapacious withal. A short time previously, when governor of Minorca, he had been detected in a fraudulent transaction, the odium of which had caused his recall. But he had served the interests of the colonists while in England by opposing an obnoxious sugar bill proposed by the Board of Trade—an act which disposed them to receive him as a friend. Under the influence of this feeling, the Assembly that was in session at his arrival, cheerfully granted him a revenue for six years, and presented him with seven hundred and fifty pounds as a token of gratitude for his opposition to the obnoxious bill. But the smallness of the sum incensed the governor. "Why did they not add the shillings and pence?" asked he tauntingly of Morris, who was one of the council.

The first act of Cosby after his arrival in the province

was to produce a royal order, prescribing an equal division of the salary, emoluments and perquisites of the office since the time of his appointment, between himself and Rip Van Dam. Van Dam declared his willingness to comply with the order, and to divide the salary he had received, which was a little less than two thousand pounds; but only on condition that Cosby should also divide the six thousand pounds which he had received as perquisites before reaching the province. Indignant at the evident partiality to English favorites, the mass of the people supported him in this position. It was obvious that if the English government could take a fairly earned salary from the hands of an official and share it with one who had done nothing to deserve it, there was very little security for the rights of colonial subjects. The citizens were growing weary of the rapacity of English adventurers; they saw that the interests of the colonies were wholly disregarded by the home government, and that they were chiefly valued as a means whereby to repair the fortunes of spendthrift noblemen; and, incensed beyond measure at this last act of tyranny, they took a bold stand which shadowed forth their coming resistance.

The council was at this time composed of Messrs. Clark, Harrison, Horsmanden, Kennedy, Colden, Lane, De Lancey, Cortlandt, Philipse and Livingston. Robert Morris was chief justice of the Supreme Court, and James De Lancey and Adolphus Philipse second and third judges. James De Lancey was the son of the Huguenot, Stephen De Lancey, whom we have already seen figuring prominently in public affairs. He had



been appointed by Governor Montgomerie to fill the place in the council rendered vacant by the death of John Barbarie, and it was not long before he was numbered among the leading men of the province. Adolphus Philipse was the son of Frederick Philipse of Leislerian notoriety. Both were attached to the anti-Leislerian or conservative faction, in opposition to Morris, who was a warm adherent of the democratic party.

To recover the half of the salary which he claimed, Cosby instituted proceedings against Van Dam before the judges of the Supreme Court as barons of the Exchequer; a position in which they were entitled to act by their commission. As Cosby himself was chancellor *ex officio*, and De Lancey and Philipse were known as his intimate friends, William Smith and James Alexander, who acted as Van Dam's counsel, excepted to the jurisdiction of the court in the case, and endeavored to institute a suit at common law. Their plea was supported by Chief Justice Morris, but was overruled by De Lancey and Philipse, and these two constituting a majority, the cause of Van Dam was declared lost, and he was ordered to pay half of his salary to the governor. Morris published his opinion, upon which Cosby removed him from his office, and appointed De Lancey chief justice in his stead, without asking the advice of the council. Van Dam and several others were also suspended, and Cosby gained an apparent triumph.

This high-handed proceeding aroused the indignation of the people, and murmurs of discontent pervaded the city. "I have great interest in England," said the

governor, carelessly, when some of these reached his ears. Yet this did not prevent him from sending a justification of his conduct to the Board of Trade, urging the necessity of arbitrary measures in order to preserve the king's prerogative, and accusing the people of being tainted with "Boston principles."

The people, though defeated, were not disposed to be silent. The contemptible meanness of the whole affair had excited their merriment as well as their indignation, and squibs, lampoons and satirical ballads hailed without mercy upon the aristocratic party. In their train followed the first newspaper controversy ever carried on in New York. We have already mentioned the publication of the *New York Gazette*, by William Bradford, the government printer. This, deriving its support from the government, naturally espoused the cause of Cosby. While the suit against Van Dam was in progress, John Peter Zenger, a printer by trade, and collector of the city taxes, set up a new paper called the *New York Weekly Journal*,\* which at once became the vehicle of the opposition. The columns of the new journal were filled from week to week with able and caustic articles, satirizing the proceedings of the Court of Exchequer, and assailing the acts of the government party. No one was spared; the governor, council and Assembly were alike made to feel the sharp lash of the critic; the

\* This was the second newspaper published in New York, and was first issued on the 5th of November, 1733. Zenger was originally a Palatine orphan, and was apprenticed to Bradford at ten years of age. He published the Journal until his death in 1746, after which it was continued by his widow, Catherine Zenger, till December, 1748, when she resigned the publication to her son, John Zenger. It was discontinued in 1752, after an existence of nineteen years.

permanent revenue, the Court of Chancery, the system of taxation, and all the other colonial grievances were taken up and fearlessly discussed, and the attack was carried on in a satirical vein, well calculated to enrage the victims beyond expression. The authorship of these articles was generally attributed to the defeated councillors, William Smith and James Alexander. The people were delighted with the wit and pungency of these missiles, but they were not relished quite so well by the governor and council, who deemed them incendiary productions, and as such, demanded the punishment of the author. At a meeting of the council on the 2d of November, 1734, four numbers of the obnoxious paper containing the alleged libels were ordered to be burnt at the pillory by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the mayor and aldermen. Robert Lurting was at this time mayor of the city. On the presentation of the order at the quarter sessions, the aldermen protested against it, and the court refused to suffer it to be entered; Francis Harrison, the recorder, alone attempting to justify it by precedents drawn from the English courts. They even forbade the hangman to execute the order; and his place was supplied by a negro slave of the sheriff. The papers were burned in the presence of Harrison and a few of the partisans of the governor, the magistrates unanimously refusing to witness the ceremony.

A few days after, Zenger was arrested, on the charge of publishing seditious libels, thrown into prison, and denied the use of pen, ink and paper. The jails at this time, and indeed as late as 1760, were all under the



roof of the City Hall, in Wall street; this building, therefore, served as the prison of Zenger. His friends procured a habeas corpus and insisted on his being admitted to bail, when he was ordered by the court to give bail for four hundred pounds, with two additional sureties of two hundred pounds each. This was impossible—he swore that, excepting the tools of his trade, he was not worth forty pounds in the world, and the oath procured his recommittal to prison. In the meantime, he continued to edit his paper, giving directions to his assistants through a chink in the door. His adversaries replied through the columns of *Bradford's Gazette*, and still more effectually, through the decrees of the courts which they held at their disposal.

The grand-jury having refused to find an indictment against the prisoner, on the 28th of January, 1735, the attorney-general filed an information against him for a false, scandalous, seditious and malicious libel. Smith and Alexander were retained as his counsel. They began by taking exceptions to the commissions of Chief Justice De Lancy and Judge Philipse, because these commissions ran during pleasure instead of during good behavior in conformity with the usual formula, and had been granted by the governor without the advice or consent of his council. The court refused to listen to the plea, and to punish the audacity of the counsel for framing it, ordered their names to be struck from the list of attorneys.

At this time, there were but three lawyers of eminence in the city—Smith, Alexander, and Murray; and the latter of these being retained by the government party.

Zenger was thus left destitute of any able counsel. This was exactly what the court had wished and foreseen. Determined to thwart this ingeniously concerted intrigue, his friends secretly engaged the services of the venerable Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia, then eighty years of age, but in full possession of his faculties, and one of the most distinguished barristers of the day. Hamilton was imbued with the liberal principles that were fast springing up on the soil of America, and had shown himself earnest in opposing the despotic tyranny which England was beginning openly to exert over her colonial possessions. A more able or eloquent advocate could scarcely have been found, and the scheme which had been designed by the enemies of Zenger to insure his ruin, ultimately proved the means of his salvation.

On the 4th of August, 1735, the court assembled in the City Hall for the trial of the prisoner. The courtroom was crowded to excess, and the unexpected appearance of the eloquent Hamilton as counsel for Zenger filled the opposition party with astonishment and dismay. The trial came on in the Supreme Court, De Lancey acting as chief justice, Philipse as second judge, and Bradley as attorney-general. John Chambers, who had been appointed by the court as counsel for the prisoner, pleaded "not guilty" in behalf of his client, and obtained a struck jury composed of Thomas Hunt, foreman, Stanley Holmes, Edward Mann, John Bell, Harmanus Rutgers, Samuel Weaver, Egbert Van Borson, Andries Marschalk, Abraham Ketteltas, Benjamin Hildreth, Hercules Wendover and John Goelet. As this trial possesses peculiar interest to our readers as being the dawn of the Revolu-

tion in the city of New York, and the first vindication of the freedom of the press in America, we will transcribe the alleged libels in full, that they may the better comprehend the force of the arguments and the position of affairs. The libels complained of read as follows :

“ Your appearance in print at last gives a pleasure to  
“ many, though most wish you had come fairly into the  
“ open field, and not appeared behind retrenchments  
“ made up of the supposed laws against libelling ; these  
“ retrenchments, gentlemen, may soon be shown to you  
“ and all men to be very weak, and to have neither law  
“ nor reason for their foundation, so cannot long stand  
“ you in stead ; therefore you had much better as yet  
“ leave them, and come to what the people of this city  
“ and province think on the points in question. They  
“ think as matters now stand that their liberties and  
“ properties are precarious, and that slavery is like to be  
“ entailed on them and their posterity if some past things  
“ be not amended, and this they collect from many past  
“ proceedings.”

“ One of our neighbors of New Jersey being in com-  
“ pany, observing the strangers of New York full of  
“ complaints, endeavored to persuade them to remove  
“ into Jersey ; to which it was replied, that would  
“ be leaping out of the frying-pan into the fire ; ‘ for,’  
“ says he, ‘ we both are under the same governor, and  
“ your Assembly have shown with a witness what is to be  
“ expected from them.’ One that was then moving from  
“ New York to Pennsylvania, to which place it is reported  
“ several considerable men are removing, expressed in  
“ very moving terms much concern for the circumstances



“of New York, and seemed to think them very much  
“owing to the influence that some men had in the admin-  
“istration, said he was now going from them, and was  
“not to be hurt by any measures they should take ; but  
“could not help having some concern for the welfare of  
“his countrymen, and should be glad to hear that the  
“Assembly would exert themselves as became them, by  
“showing that they have the interest of the country  
“more at heart than the gratification of the private views  
“of any of their members, or being at all affected by the  
“smiles or frowns of a governor ; both of which ought  
“equally to be despised when the interest of their coun-  
“try is at stake. ‘You,’ says he, ‘complain of the lawyers,  
“but I think that the law itself is at an end. We see  
“men’s deeds destroyed ; judges arbitrarily displaced ;  
“new courts erected without consent of the legislature,  
“by which it seems to me, trials by juries are taken away  
“whenever a governor pleases, men of known estates  
“denied their votes, contrary to the received practice of  
“the best expositor of any law. Who is there in that  
“province that can call anything his own, or enjoy any  
“liberty longer than those in the administration will  
“condescend to let them do it, for which reason I left  
“it, as I believe more will.’”

Hamilton boldly admitted the publication of these articles. “Then the verdict must be for the king !” exclaimed Bradley, triumphantly. Hamilton quietly reminded him that printing and libelling were not synonymous terms, and was proceeding to prove the truth of the charges contained in the alleged libels, when he was interrupted by the attorney-general, on the plea

that the truth of a libel could not be taken in evidence. "What is a libel?" asked Hamilton in reply. "What the legal authorities declare it to be," returned Bradley. "Whether the person defamed be a private man, or a magistrate, whether living or dead, whether the libel be true or false, or the party against whom it is made be of good or evil fame, it is nevertheless a libel, and as such, must be dealt with according to law; for in a settled state of government, every person has a right to redress for all grievances done him. As to its publication, the law has taken such great care of men's reputations that if one maliciously repeats it or sings it in the presence of another, or delivers a copy of it over to defame or scandalize the party, he is to be punished as the publisher of a libel. It is likewise evident that it is an offence against the law of God, for Paul himself has said, 'I wist not, brethren, that he was the high-priest; for it is written, thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.'"

Continuing at length in the same strain of argument, he went on to demonstrate that Zenger had been guilty of a gross offence against God and man in attacking by words and innuendoes the sacred person of royalty through its representative, the governor, and quoted precedents to show that, whether true or false, a libel remained the same in the eye of the law. Despite the indignant protests of Hamilton, the court sustained the sage conclusions of the attorney-general, and decided that a libel was all the more dangerous for being true. After some brilliant sparring between the eloquent advocate, and Bradley and De Lancey, in which the two lat-

ter gentlemen were decidedly worsted, Chambers proceeded to address the jury in behalf of his client. Hamilton followed in a brilliant speech, ridiculing with biting sarcasm the decision of the court that truth only made a libel the more dangerous; and insisting that the jury were the judges both of the law and the fact, he adjured them to protect their own liberties, now threatened in the person of the persecuted Zenger. He quoted the precedent of the Quakers in London, who, having been shut out of their own meeting-house, preached to three hundred of their persuasion in the streets, and were afterwards indicted for disturbing the peace by gathering together a tumultuous assembly. In this case, the fact of the meeting being confessed, the court had charged the jury to convict the prisoners; but the jury had asserted their right to judge of the character of the assembly, and finding it neither tumultuous nor unlawful, had returned a verdict of "not guilty." After urging the evident analogy of this case to that of his client, "It is very plain," said he, "that the jury are by law at liberty (without any affront to the judgment of the court) to find both the law and the fact in our case. And may I not, too, be allowed to say that, by a little countenance, almost anything which a man writes may, with the help of that useful term of art, called an innuendo, be construed to be a libel, according to Mr. Attorney's definition of it; that whether the words are spoken of a person of public character, or of a private man, whether dead or living, good or bad, true or false, all make a libel, for, according to Mr. Attorney, after a man hears a writing read, or reads or repeats



“ it, or laughs at it, they all are punishable. It is true,  
“ Mr. Attorney is so good as to allow, after the party  
“ knows it to be a libel ; but he is not so kind as to take  
“ the man’s word for it.

“ If a libel is understood in the large and unlimited  
“ sense urged by Mr. Attorney, there is scarce a writing  
“ I know that may not be called a libel, or scarce any per-  
“ son safe from being called to account as a libeller ; for  
“ Moses, meek as he was, libelled Cain, and who is it that  
“ has not libelled the devil ; for, according to Mr. Attorney,  
“ it is no justification to say that one has a bad name.  
“ Echard has libelled our good King William. Burnet  
“ has libelled among others, King Charles and King  
“ James, and Rapin has libelled them all. How must a  
“ man speak or write, or what must he hear, read, or sing,  
“ or when must he laugh, so as to be secure from being  
“ taken up as a libeller. I sincerely believe that were  
“ some persons to go through the streets of New York  
“ now-a-days and read a part of the Bible, if it were  
“ not known to be such, Mr. Attorney, with the help of  
“ his innuendoes, would easily turn it to be a libel. As  
“ for instance, the sixteenth verse of the ninth chapter of  
“ Isaiah : ‘ The leaders of the people (innuendo, the gov-  
“ ernor and council of New York) cause them (innuendo,  
“ the people of this province) to err, and they (meaning  
“ the people of this province) are destroyed (innuendo,  
“ are deceived into the loss of their liberty), which is the  
“ worst kind of destruction.’ Or, if some person should  
“ publicly repeat, in a manner not pleasing to his betters,  
“ the tenth and eleventh verses of the fifty-fifth chapter  
“ of the same book, then Mr. Attorney would have a

“ large field to display his skill in the artful application  
“ of his innuendoes. The words are, ‘ His watchmen are  
“ all blind, they are ignorant ; yea, they are greedy  
“ dogs, that can never have enough.’ But to make  
“ them a libel, no more is wanting than the aid of his  
“ skill in the right adapting of his innuendoes. As for  
“ instance, ‘ His watchmen (innuendo, the governor, coun-  
“ cil, and Assembly) are blind ; they are ignorant  
“ (innuendo, will not see the dangerous designs of his  
“ excellency) ; yea they (meaning the governor and  
“ council) are greedy dogs which can never have enough  
“ (innuendo, of riches and power).’ ”

After dwelling on the fact that, laughable as these illustrations might be, they were strictly analogous to the charges against his client, and urging the jury to judge for themselves of the truth or falsehood of Zenger’s articles and to render their verdict accordingly, the eloquent barrister thus concluded his remarks : “ I am truly  
“ unequal to such an undertaking on many accounts.  
“ And you see I labor under the weight of many years,  
“ and am borne down by many infirmities of body ; yet,  
“ old and weak as I am, I should think it my duty, if  
“ required, to go to the utmost part of the land, where  
“ my service could be of any use in assisting to quench  
“ the flame of prosecutions upon informations set on foot  
“ by the government to deprive a people of the right of  
“ remonstrating (and complaining too) against the arbitrary attempts of men in power. Men who injure and  
“ oppress the people under their administration provoke  
“ them to cry out and complain, and then make that  
“ very complaint the foundation for new oppressions and

“prosecutions. I wish I could say there were no  
“instances of this kind. But to conclude, the question  
“before the Court and you, gentlemen of the jury, is  
“not of small or private concern ; it is not the cause of  
“a poor printer, nor of New York alone which you are  
“now trying. No ! it may, in its consequences, affect  
“every freeman that lives under the British gov-  
“ernment upon the main of America. It is the best  
“cause ; it is the cause of liberty ; and I make no doubt  
“but your upright conduct this day will not only entitle  
“you to the love and esteem of your fellow citizens ; but  
“every man who prefers freedom to a life of slavery,  
“will bless and honor you as men who have baffled the  
“attempts of tyranny, and, by an impartial and incorrupt  
“verdict, have laid a noble foundation for securing to  
“ourselves, our posterity, and our neighbors, that to  
“which nature and the laws of our country have given  
“us a right—the liberty of both exposing and opposing  
“arbitrary power in these parts of the world at least by  
“speaking and writing truth.”

The orator concluded amidst a burst of applause. Every eye in the court-room glistened with admiration, and every heart forgot the dead letter of the law in the living inspiration of truth and patriotism. Wholly borne down by this torrent of eloquence, Bradley attempted but a brief reply, and De Lancey vainly charged the jury that they were judges of the fact but not of the law, and that the truth of the libel was a question beyond their jurisdiction. Reason and common sense prevailed for once over technicalities ; the jury withdrew, and returned after a few minutes' deliberation, with the



unanimous verdict of "not guilty." The court-room rung with huzzas which the disappointed judges vainly endeavored to suppress, and Hamilton was borne from the hall by the exultant crowd to a splendid entertainment prepared for his reception. The next day, a public dinner was given him by the whole city, at which the corporation presented him with the freedom of the city in token of their appreciation of his defence of the rights of the people and the freedom of the press. A magnificent gold box, in which to inclose the certificate, was also purchased by private subscription and presented to him on the part of the citizens. On this was engraved the arms of the city, encircled with the words, "DEMERSÆ LEGES TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—HÆC TANDEM "EMERGUNT;" within a flying garter, "NON NUMMIS, "VIRTUTE PARATUR;" and on the front, "ITA CUIQUE "EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT." The entertainment over, Mr. Hamilton was escorted to the wharf by a crowd of citizens, and entered the barge to return to Philadelphia under a triumphant salute of cannon.

Thus ended the celebrated Zenger trial, which established the freedom of the press, and planted the seeds which germinated among the people and sprung up, like the sown dragon's teeth, a host of armed warriors. But its result was chiefly due to the brilliant defence of its eloquent advocate; and the daring political principles, for the first time in America fearlessly avowed in it, and as fearlessly maintained by an independent jury in the face of an interested court and an arbitrary governor, formed a precedent for resistance to oppression which ripened at last into the American Revolution.

The corporation, however, did not persist in their independence, but obsequiously courted the favor of the governor by waiting on his brother, Major Alexander Cosby, and his son-in-law, Thomas Freeman, on their arrival in the province, and, presenting them with the freedom of the city in silver boxes, besides offering them the most fulsome adulation. The veneration for nobility was still existing in the minds of the citizens, and of the officials most especially ; and they let slip no opportunity of manifesting it when it was not in direct opposition to their rights or interests. Soon after the arrival of Cosby and Freeman, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the youngest son of the Duke of Grafton, visited the governor. Hardly had he landed, when the corporation waited on him in a body, and, congratulating him on his safe arrival and thanking him for having honored New York with his presence, presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box. The mention of this occurrence is the most important record found upon the minutes of 1732. The same record also informs us that, while fourteen pounds eight shillings was paid for this box, but ten pounds could be afforded for the quarter's salary of the public schoolmaster. This same Lord Augustus Fitzroy afterwards became the hero of a romantic episode. Being a youth of a susceptible temperament, he soon fell in love with the governor's daughter. By the standard of society, the match was beneath him, and though her parents probably encouraged it in secret, they dared not give their consent openly. A clergyman was secretly introduced into the fort, and the marriage ceremony performed without license. The affair gave great dis-

pleasure to the friends of the young nobleman, who accused Cosby of having inveigled him into an unequal marriage, and the union proved an unhappy one in many respects.

The check which Cosby had received in the Zenger affair did not hinder him from further attempts against the liberties of the people. He refused to dissolve the Assembly, contrary to their own wishes and the petition of the citizens, ordered a re-survey of the old grants and patents in the hope of deriving a revenue from the fees, and destroyed valuable documents which had been intrusted to him by the corporation of Albany, and which were obstacles in the way of his acquisitions. On the 10th of March, 1736, his rapacity was suddenly checked by his death. But, retaining his animosity to the last, he called the members of his council together in his chamber, and suspended Rip Van Dam, his former antagonist, who, as the eldest member, was legally his successor.

Upon the announcement of Cosby's decease, the council assembled, and for the first time proclaiming the suspension of Van Dam, proceeded to administer the oaths of office to George Clarke, the next in council. The declaration of this fact was the signal for new dissensions. As the eldest member of the council, Van Dam was entitled to administer the government, and, knowing himself to be popular, he demanded it as his right, claiming the suspension to be invalid. The people, headed by Morris, who had just arrived from England, whither he had gone for the purpose of effecting the removal of Cosby, rallied round their favorite, and exhibited such



unmistakable signs of hostility that Clarke hastily retreated into the fort, and summoned the military to his aid. Terrified at the threatening state of affairs, he sent to Morris to ask his advice. "If you don't hang them, they will hang you," was the significant reply. But he did not need to have recourse to such desperate measures, for, on the 14th of October, dispatches arrived from England which confirmed him in his authority and commissioned him to act as lieutenant-governor.

Clarke, though born in England, had long been a resident of the colony. He was politic and sagacious, comprehending the spirit of the people and the best methods of winning popularity. Knowing that he could only hope to hold the office until the appointment of a new governor, and anxious in the meantime to secure a princely fortune, his chief aim was to act in such a manner as to ingratiate himself with both parties. His first act was to dissolve the Assembly, and to restore Smith and Alexander to the bar. Lewis Morris had previously been appointed governor of New Jersey, now again divorced from New York.

A new Assembly, consisting in great part of the popular party, met in the summer of 1737, and many important bills were passed during their first session. But, despite the insinuating policy of the new lieutenant-governor, they firmly refused to grant a revenue for a longer time than one year, and this resolution was strictly adhered to in future. One of the most significant incidents in this session, as marking the popular prejudices of the times, was an act disfranchising the Jews in the

province. This fanatical proceeding was owing chiefly to the efforts of William Smith, the lawyer, who has already figured so prominently in our pages.

We will now glance at the progress of the city during the administration of the late governor. In 1734, the first poor-house, of which we have already made mention, was erected in the Commons on the site of the future "Old Alms-house." The building was forty-six feet long, twenty-four feet wide and two stories high, with a cellar, and was furnished with implements of labor for the use of the inmates. The churchwardens were appointed as overseers of the poor, and all paupers were required to work under penalty of receiving moderate correction. Parish children were to be taught there to read, write and cast accounts, and to be employed in some useful labor ; and as the building was also a house of correction, it was used as a sort of calaboose for unruly slaves, their masters having permission to send them thither for punishment. A large vegetable garden was laid out about the house, which was cultivated by the inmates, and the produce devoted to the use of the institution. In the same year, Cortlandt street was first surveyed and opened.

In 1735, Robert Lurting died, after having discharged the duties of the mayoralty for nine years, and Paul Richard was appointed in his stead. Mr. Richard was a merchant of French extraction, his grandfather having emigrated from France to New York in the early days of the English conquest. He retained the office for three years. The first event of importance during his administration was the laying of the first stone of the battery

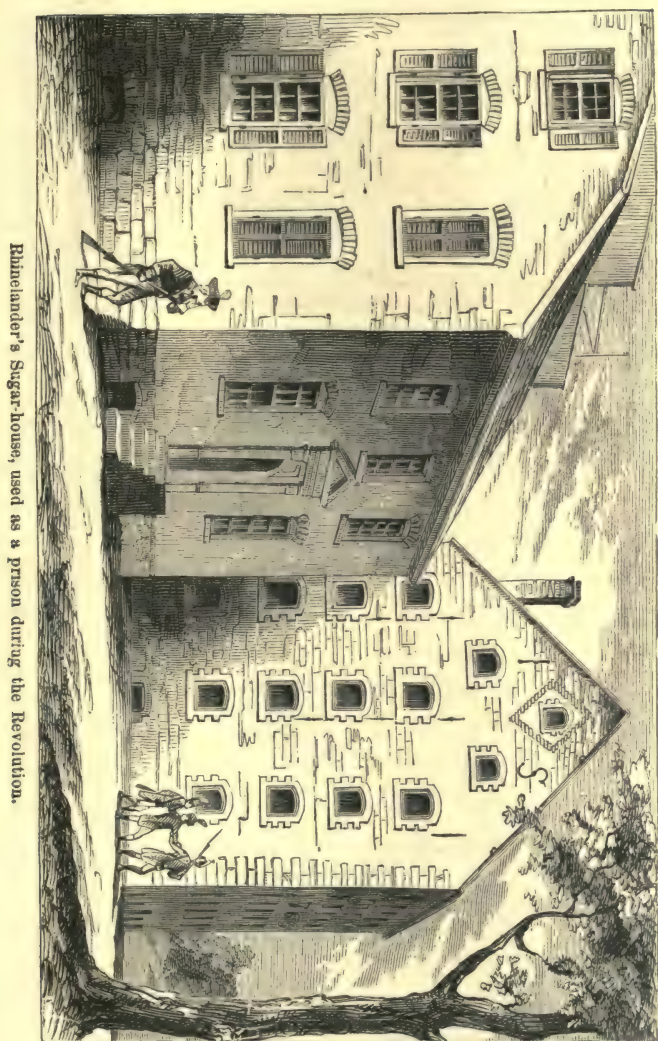


Old Ferry House, Corner of Broad and Garden Streets.

upon the platform of the Whitehall rocks, a little to the east of the Copsey Battery. This was performed with great ceremony, the stone being laid by Governor Cosby, in the midst of great rejoicings. But an untoward event occurred to mar the festivity—a cannon burst in firing a salute, killing John Syms, the high sheriff, Miss Cortlandt, daughter of the councillor, and a son-in-law of Alderman De Riemer. The new works were christened George Augustus' Royal Battery. During the same year, the city watch was increased to ten men and two constables, and additional precautions were taken to prevent fires and to provide for the public safety.

In 1737, Water street, which had received its name the previous year, was extended from Fulton street to Peek slip, a distance of four hundred feet. Trinity church was also enlarged, for the last time, on the north and south sides, making it seventy-two feet in width and a hundred and forty-six feet in length, including the

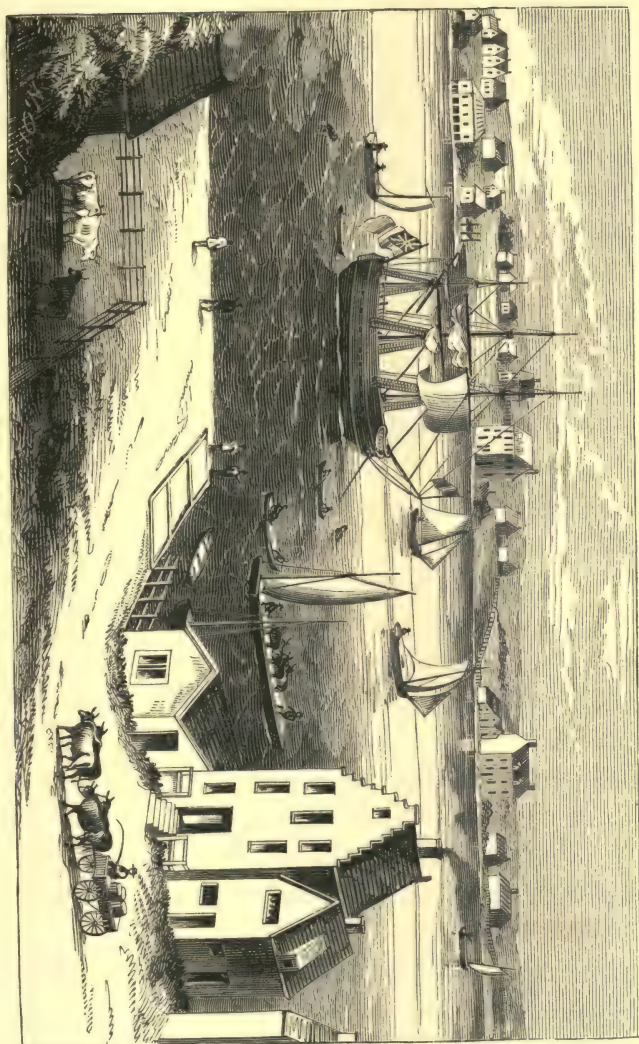




Rhinelander's Sugar-house, used as a prison during the Revolution.



Old Brooklyn Ferry-house of 1746.







tower and chancel. The spire was one hundred and eighty feet high. In 1739, its churchyard was enlarged, and Rector street was opened to the city.

In 1738, a sort of quarantine was established at Bedlow's Island. The smallpox was raging in South Carolina as it had raged in New York seven or eight years before, and the citizens, alarmed at the danger, entreated that all suspected vessels should anchor at Bedlow's Island nor be suffered to discharge their cargoes until they had first been visited and examined by physicians. This was accordingly done, and the panic soon ceased.

In 1739, Mayor Richard was succeeded by John Cruger, a well-known merchant of the city, who had been engaged in his early youth in the slave-trade, on the coast of Africa ; and afterwards, abandoning this pursuit, had settled in the city as a merchant and entered likewise into public affairs. He continued in the mayoralty for five years. During the first year of his administration, a large market-house was erected in Broadway, opposite Liberty street. Markets were now among the most flourishing institutions of the city, and were under the strict supervision of the municipal authorities, the mayor himself usually officiating as clerk. During this year, William Sharpas, the town-clerk, died, having served the corporation in that capacity for a term of forty-seven years.

The winter of 1740-1 was remembered for many years as "the Hard Winter." The intense cold continued from the middle of November to the close of March. The snow was six feet on a level, the Hudson was frozen

at New York, and great suffering was felt among the poor. But the severity of the season was a trifle in comparison with the cloud of terror and cruelty which was now hovering in the horizon of New York. The evil which the people had so long been cherishing in their midst was now about to recoil upon them with consequences which would long be remembered with horror. The negro plot—that counterpart of the Salem witchcraft—was on the eve of its development; the details we reserve for another chapter.



## CHAPTER XII.

1741—1753.

### The Negro Plot of 1741.

THE negro plot of the city of New York will long continue to be classed in the foremost rank of popular delusions, even exceeding in its progress and its fearful *dénoûment*, the celebrated Popish Plot concocted by Titus Oates. At this distance, it is difficult to ascertain how many grains of truth were mingled with the mass of prejudice, or to discover the wild schemes which may have sprung up in the brains of the oppressed and excitable negroes, but certain it is that nothing can justify the wholesale panic of a civilized community, or the indiscriminate imprisonment and execution of scores of ignorant beings without friends or counsel, on no other evidence than the incoherencies of a few wretches more degraded than they, supported by the horror of a terror-struck imagination. We shall endeavor to follow the development of this singular plot clearly and simply, leaving the reader to draw his own inference from the facts and to determine how much credence should be given the testimony.

At this time, New York contained about ten thousand inhabitants, nearly one-fifth of whom were negro slaves. Since the first introduction of slavery into the province in the days of Wilhelm Kieft, it had increased and flourished to an alarming extent. Every householder who could afford it was surrounded by negroes, who were contemptuously designated as "the black seed of Cain," and deprived, not only of their liberty, but also of the commonest rights of humanity. We have already adverted to some of the laws established from time to time in respect to these unfortunate beings. These ordinances were of the most stringent character. "All blacks were slaves," says a late historian, "and slaves could not be witnesses against a freeman. They were incapable of buying anything, even the minutest necessary of life; they were punishable by master or mistress to any extent short of life and limb; as often as three of them were found together, they were punished with forty lashes on the bare back; and the same legal liability attended the walking with a club outside the master's grounds without a permit. Two justices might inflict any punishment short of death or amputation for a blow or the smallest assault upon a Christian or a Jew." Such was the spirit of the laws of the times. It had been the constant policy, both of the Dutch and English governments, to encourage the importation of slaves as much as possible; the leading merchants of the city were engaged in the traffic, which was regarded by the public as strictly honorable, and, at the time of which we speak, New York was literally swarming with negroes, and presented all the features of a future Southern

city, with its calaboose on the Commons and its market-place at the foot of Wall street. The people were not blind to the possible danger from this oppressed yet powerful host that was silently gathering in their midst, and the slightest suspicious movement on the part of the negroes was sufficient to excite their distrust and alarm. Since the supposed plot of 1712, of which we have already spoken, a growing fear of the slaves had pervaded the city, and the most stringent measures had been adopted to prevent their assemblages and to keep them under strict surveillance. But it was difficult to restrain the thieving propensities of the negroes ; petty thefts were constantly committed, and it was one of these that first paved the way to the real or supposed discovery of a plot to murder the inhabitants and take possession of the city.

On the 14th of March, 1741, some goods and silver were stolen from the house of a merchant named Robert Hogg, on the corner of Broad and Mill or South William streets. The police immediately set to work to discover the thieves, and suspicion having fallen upon John Hughson, the keeper of a low negro tavern on the shores of the North River, his house was searched, but to no effect. Soon after, an indentured servant girl of Hughson's, by the name of Mary Burton, told a neighbor that the goods were really hidden in the house, but that Hughson would kill her if he knew that she had said so. This rumor soon came to the ears of the authorities, who at once arrested Mary Burton and lodged her in the city jail, promising her her freedom if she would confess all that she knew about the matter.



On the 4th of March, the Court met at the City Hall, and John Hughson, his wife, Mary Burton, and an Irish-woman of depraved character, commonly known as Peggy Carey, but whose real name was Margaret Sorubiero, who was also an inmate of Hughson's house, were brought before them. Mary Burton testified that a negro named Cæsar, belonging to John Varick, had left goods and money in the keeping of Peggy, a part of which had been concealed by Hughson. This, Peggy obstinately denied, but Hughson admitted that he had concealed some pieces of linen and silver. Cæsar and another negro named Prince Amboyman were at once arrested and committed to prison, both denying the robbery. Some of the stolen goods were discovered under the kitchen-floor of the house of Cæsar's master, and restored to the owner, and here the matter rested. Not a word was said during the trial of any plot or conspiracy.

Affairs stood in this wise, when, about noon on the 18th of March, the governor's house, in the fort next the King's Chapel,\* then occupied by Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, was discovered to be on fire. All efforts to save it were in vain ; it was burned to the ground, together with the chapel, the secretary's office, the stables and the barracks. The conflagration was at the time attributed to the carelessness of a plumber who had left fire in a gutter between the house and the chapel, and it was so reported by the governor to the legislature. A week after, the chimney of Captain Warren's house near the fort took fire, but the flames were soon extinguished with

\* The old church in the fort, built by Wilhelm Kieft.

little damage. A few days after, a fire broke out in the storehouse of Mr. Van Zandt, which, at the time, was attributed to the carelessness of a smoker.

Three days after, the hay in a cow-stable near the house of Mr. Quick was discovered to be on fire. The alarm was given and the flames were soon suppressed. While returning to their homes, the people were called by a fifth alarm to the house of Mr. Thompson, where it was said that fire had been placed in a kitchen-loft where a negro usually slept. The next day, coals were discovered under the stables of John Murray in Broadway. The following morning, a fire broke out in the house of Sergeant Burns, opposite the fort ; and a few hours after, the roof of Mr. Hilton's house, near the Fly Market, was discovered to be on fire. Both were extinguished without much damage, but the rapid recurrence of so many fires alarmed the inhabitants, and a rumor was soon circulated that the negroes had plotted to burn the city. For some days past, the slaves had been objects of suspicion ; this suspicion now ripened into certainty. A short time before, a Spanish vessel, manned in part by blacks, had been brought into port as a prize, and the negroes condemned to be sold as slaves at auction. The exasperated Africans, who had hitherto been freemen, murmured loudly at this harsh usage, and rashly let fall threats which were now recalled as words of ominous import. One of these negroes had been bought by Mr. Sarly, the next neighbor to Mr. Hilton, whose house had been fired. On being questioned about the matter, his answers were deemed evasive, and suspicions were at once excited against himself and his companions. "The

"Spanish negroes! the Spanish negroes! take up the Spanish negroes!" was the general cry; and the unfortunate wretches were at once arrested and thrown into prison, together with Quack, a negro of Mr. Walters, who had been heard to mutter some incoherent words about the fire.

The magistrates met the same afternoon to consult about the matter, and while they were still in session, another fire broke out in the roof of Colonel Philipse's storehouse. The alarm became universal; the negroes were seized indiscriminately and thrown into prison; among them, many who had just helped to extinguish the fire. People and magistrates were alike panic struck, and the rumor gained general credence, that the negroes had plotted to burn the city, massacre the inhabitants, and effect a general revolution.

On the 11th of April, 1741, the Common Council assembled, and offered a reward of one hundred pounds and a full pardon to any conspirator who would reveal his knowledge of the plot with the names of the incendiaries. Many of the terrified citizens removed with their household goods and valuables from what they began to deem a doomed city, paying exorbitant prices for vehicles and assistance. The city was searched for strangers and suspicious persons, but none were found, and the negroes were examined without effect. Cuff Philipse,\* who had been among those arrested, was proved to have been among the most active in extinguishing the fire at his master's house, yet he was held

\* The negroes were familiarly called by the surnames of their masters.



in prison to await further developments, and some things being found in the possession of Robin Chambers and his wife which were judged unbecoming their condition as slaves, they were thrown into prison and the articles delivered to the mayor.

On the 21st of April, 1741, the Supreme Court assembled for the especial purpose of investigating the matter, Judges Philipse and Horsmanden being present. The grand jury was composed of Robert Watts, foreman, Jeremiah Latouche, Joseph Read, Anthony Rutgers, John Cruger, jr., John McEvers, Adonijah Schuyler, Abraham de Peyster, John Merrit, David Provoost, Abraham Ketteltas, Henry Beekman, Rene Hett, David Van Horne, Winant Van Zandt, George Spencer and Thomas Duncan. The proclamation of pardon and reward was read to Mary Burton, who deposed that Cæsar and Prince brought the stolen goods to the house, and that Hughson, his wife and Peggy received them. She said, too, that Cæsar, Prince and Cuff Philipse used frequently to meet at Hughson's, and talk about burning first the fort and then the whole city, and that Hughson and his wife promised to assist them. When this was done, Hughson was to be governor, and Cuff king. Then Cuff used to say that some people had too much and others too little; that his old master had a great deal now, but that the time was coming when he would have less, and Cuff more; that they would set fire to the town in the night, and, when the whites came to extinguish it, would kill and destroy them. She swore, moreover, that she had never seen any white person in company when they talked of burning the town, save

her master and mistress with Peggy. All this story of a plot conceived by a poor tavern-keeper and his wife with a few ignorant negroes for the destruction of a city of ten thousand inhabitants was received with eager avidity by the credulous magistrates, and Mary Burton became at once the heroine of the day.

The jury next examined Peggy Carey, promising her pardon and reward if she would make a full confession, but she persistently denied all knowledge of the fires, and said that, if she should accuse any one of any such thing, she must slander innocent persons and blacken her own soul. She was convicted of having received and secreted the stolen goods, and sentenced to death with Prince and Cæsar. The daughter of Hughson with one of his slaves were also committed as being implicated in the conspiracy.

Terrified at the prospect of a speedy death, the wretched Peggy endeavored to avert her fate by grasping the means of rescue which had before been offered her, and begged for a second examination; and, this being granted her, confessed that meetings of negroes had been held in the last December at the house of John Romme, a tavern-keeper near the new Battery, of the same stamp with Hughson, at which she had been present; and that Romme had told them that if they would set fire to the city, massacre the inhabitants and bring the plunder to him, he would carry them to a strange country and give them all their liberty. This confession was so evidently vamped up to save herself from the gallows that even the magistrates hesitated to believe it. Yet Cuff Philipse, Brash Jay, Curaçoa Dick,

Cæsar Pintard, Patrick English, Jack Beasted and Cato Moore, all of whom she had named in her confession, were brought before her and identified as conspirators. Romme absconded, but his wife was arrested and committed to prison ; and the accused were locked up for further examination. Upon this, the terrified negroes began to criminate each other, hoping thereby to save themselves from the fate that awaited them. But these efforts availed them nothing, any more than did the confession of the miserable Peggy, who was executed at last, vainly denying with her dying breath her former confessions. In the meantime, several fires had occurred at Hackensack, and two negroes, suspected of being the incendiaries, were condemned and burnt at the stake, though not a particle of evidence was found against them.

On Monday, the 11th of May, Cæsar and Prince, the first victims of the negro plot, were hung on a gallows erected on the little island in the Fresh Water Pond, denying to the last all knowledge of the conspiracy, though they admitted that they had really stolen the goods.

Hughson and his wife were tried and found guilty, and, with Peggy Carey, were hanged on a gibbet erected on the East River shore, near the corner of Cherry and Catharine streets. Every artifice was used to extract from the prisoners an admission of their guilt, and even to inveigle the daughter of Hughson into criminating her father and mother. Their examination elicited the new fact from Mary Burton that she had seen a negro give Hughson twelve pounds to buy guns



which he had purchased and secreted under the garret floor of his house. The floor was taken up, but the guns could neither be traced nor found ; yet this failed to shake the belief of the credulous magistrates, who still continued to accept her testimony.

Cuff Philipse and Quack were next brought to trial, a negro boy named Sawney appearing as witness against them. This boy was at first arrested and brought before the magistrates, when he denied all knowledge of the conspiracy. He was told in reply that if he would tell the truth, he would not be hanged. To tell the truth had now come to be generally understood to mean the confession of a plot for burning the town. Urged on by his fears, he acted on the hint, and said that Quack had tried to persuade him to set the fort on fire ; and that Cuff had said that he would set fire to one house, Curaçoa Dick to another, and so on. A negro named Fortune was arrested and examined, who testified that Quack had told him that Sawney had confessed to him that it was he who had set fire to the governor's house. The next day, Sawney was called up and again examined, when he confessed that he had been frightened into a promise to burn the Slip market, that he had seen some of the houses fired by the negroes, and that he and the rest had been sworn to secrecy. On these accusations, the negroes were tried for their lives ; all the lawyers in the city being arrayed on the side of the prosecution. Bradley was still attorney-general ; and Murray, Alexander, Smith, Chambers, Nichols, Lodge and Jameson made up the balance of the New York attorneys. These voluntarily offered to attend the trials

by turns ; leaving the negroes as destitute of counsel as they were of friends. Ignorant of the forms of law, and terrified at the prospect of their impending danger, it is not strange that their bewildered and contradictory statements were construed by their learned adversaries into evidences of their guilt. Quack and Cuffee were found guilty, and sentenced to be burned at the stake on the 30th of May.

On the day appointed, the fagots were piled in a grassy valley in the neighborhood of the present Five Points, and the wretched victims led out to execution. The spot was thronged with impatient spectators, eager to witness the terrible tragedy. Terrified and trembling, the poor wretches gladly availed themselves of their last chance for life, and, on being questioned by their masters, confessed that the plot had originated with Hughson, that Quack's wife was the person who had set fire to the fort, he having been chosen for the task by the confederated negroes, and that Mary Burton had spoken the truth and could name many more conspirators if she pleased. As a reward, they were reprieved until the further pleasure of the governor should be known. But the impatient populace, which had come out for a spectacle, would not so easily be balked of its prey. Ominous mutterings resounded round the pile with threats of evil import, and the sheriff was ordered to proceed with his duty. Terrified by these menaces, he dared not attempt to take the prisoners back to the jail ; and the execution went on. Despite their forced confessions, the terrible pile was lighted, and the wretched negroes perished in the flames, knowing that,

with their last breath, they had doomed their fellows to share their fate in vain.

On the 6th of June, seven other negroes, named Jack, Cook, Robin, Cæsar, Cuffee, Cuffee and Jamaica, were tried and found guilty on the dying evidence of Quack and Cuffee, with the stories of Mary Burton and the negro boy, Sawney. All were executed the next day with the exception of Jack, who saved his life by promising further disclosures. These disclosures implicated fourteen others, one of whom, to save his life, confessed and accused still more.

On the 11th of June, Francis, one of the Spanish negroes, Albany, and Curaçoa Dick were sentenced to be burned at the stake. Ben and Quack were condemned to the same fate five days after. Three others were at the same time sentenced to be hanged, and five of the Spanish negroes were also convicted.

On the 19th of June, the governor issued a proclamation of pardon to all who would confess and reveal the names of their accomplices before the ensuing 1st of July. Upon this, the accusations multiplied rapidly. Mary Burton, who had at first denied that any white man save Hughson had been implicated in the plot, now suddenly remembered that John Ury, a reputed Catholic priest and a schoolmaster in the city, had also been concerned in it. His religion was proof presumptive of his guilt in the minds of the populace, and he was at once arrested and indicted, first, on the charge of having counselled Quack to set fire to the governor's house in the fort; secondly, that, being a Catholic priest, he had come into the province and remained there seven



months, contrary to a law passed in the eleventh year of the reign of William III., condemning every Popish priest and Jesuit to death who should henceforth be found within the limits of the province. The evidence received against this unhappy man can only find its parallel in the annals of the Salem witchcraft. The tide of popular prejudice against the negroes was turned into a new channel, and the rumor of a Popish plot added fresh zest to the spirit of persecution. Ury was accused of being an emissary of the Jesuits, deputed to stir up the negroes to an insurrection. Sarah Hughson, who had been coaxed and threatened into becoming the tool of her parents' executioners, and had been pardoned from a sentence of death in order that she might give evidence against Ury, deposed that she had seen him make a ring with chalk upon the floor of her father's house, and, ranging all the negroes present around it, stand in the middle with a cross in his hand and swear them to secrecy ; and that she had seen him baptize them and forgive them their sins. This story was confirmed by the testimony of Mary Burton ; and William Kane, a soldier belonging to the fort, deposed that Ury had endeavored to convert him to the Catholic faith. A confectioner by the name of Elias Desbrosses testified that Ury had at one time inquired of him for wafers. It was also proved that he could read Latin, and that a joiner, the father of one of his pupils, had made a desk for him, which the active imagination of his judges construed into an altar. It was in vain for him to declare that he was a non-juring clergyman of the Church of England, to prove by reliable witnesses that he had

never associated with the negroes, and to disclaim all knowledge of Hughson and his family ; his judges had determined on his sentence in advance, and he was condemned to be hanged on the 29th of August.

The arrest of Ury was the signal for the implication of others of the whites. It was a true foreshadowing of the Reign of Terror. Every one feared his neighbor, and hastened to be the first to accuse, lest he himself should be accused and thrown into prison. Fresh victims were daily seized, and those with whom the jails were already full to overflowing were transported or hanged with scarcely the form of a trial in order to make room for the new comers. So rapid was the increase that the judges feared that the numbers might breed an infection, and devised short methods of ridding themselves of the prisoners, sometimes by pardoning, but as often by hanging them. From the 11th of May to the 29th of August, one hundred and fifty-four negroes were committed to prison, fourteen of whom were burnt at the stake, eighteen hanged, seventy-one transported and the rest pardoned or discharged for the want of sufficient evidence. In the same time, twenty-four whites were committed to prison, four of whom were executed.

The tragedy would probably have continued much longer, had not Mary Burton, grown bolder by success, began to implicate persons of consequence. This at once aroused the fears of the influential citizens, who had been the foremost when only the negroes were in question, and put a stop to all further proceedings. The fearful catalogue of victims closed on the 29th of August with the execution of John Ury. The 24th of

September was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving for the escape of the citizens from destruction ; Mary Burton received the hundred pounds that had been promised her as the price of blood, and the city fell back into a feeling of security. Whether this plot ever had the shadow of an existence except in the disordered imaginations of the citizens can never with certainty be known. Daniel Horsmanden, at that time recorder, and one of the judges of the Supreme Court, attempts in a history of the conspiracy to demonstrate its existence and to justify the acts of the judges in the matter. But the witnesses were persons of the vilest character, the evidence was contradictory, inconsistent, and extorted under the fear of death, and no real testimony was adduced that could satisfy any man in the possession of a clear head and a sound judgment. Terror was really the strongest evidence, and the fear of the Jesuits the conclusive proof. The law passed in 1700 for hanging every Catholic priest who voluntarily came within the province still disgraced the statute-book, while the feeling of intolerance which had prompted it remained as bitter and unyielding as ever.

The French church in Pine street was rebuilt during this year. The following year was marked by the breaking out of a malignant epidemic, strongly resembling the yellow fever in type, which carried off over two hundred persons. This was the second disease of the kind that had appeared in the city.

In 1743, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was superseded by Admiral George Clinton, a younger son of the Earl of Lincoln. and the father of the Sir Henry Clinton who



afterwards figured so conspicuously in the city during the Revolution. Clinton arrived at New York on the 22d of September, with his wife and family, and published his commission on the same day at the City Hall. He was received by the corporation with the usual congratulatory address and the freedom of the city in a gold box, made by Charles Le Roux, the city goldsmith, at a cost of twenty pounds. Clinton was of an easy and indolent temperament, anxious above all to improve his fortunes, and not averse to popularity. On his arrival, he at once took Chief-Justice De Lancey into his confidence, and, under his guidance, for some time, things went on smoothly. The Assembly voted him a liberal revenue for the first year, while he, in turn, assented to all the bills presented to him; among which was one limiting the existence of this and all future Assemblies to a period of seven years. The third intercolonial war breaking out at the same time, the Assembly voted money to aid in carrying it on, and new expeditions were organized for the conquest of Canada. It was not long before Clinton became estranged from his first friend, De Lancey, and formed an alliance with Cadwallader Colden instead. This was the signal for the commencement of hostilities. Heading the opposition party, the late favorite, who was allied either by blood or friendship to most of the leading men of the province, stirred up a fierce contest between the governor and the Assembly, which harassed the remainder of his administration and finally compelled him to withdraw from the province.

In 1744, Stephen Bayard, a descendant of Nicholas Bayard of Leislerian memory, was appointed mayor



Portrait of Sir George Clinton.



Portrait of Lady Clinton.





During the first year of his administration, steps were taken towards founding a college in the city. It was time, indeed, for, engaged in commercial and political affairs, the citizens had neglected the interests of education. The few collegians in the province had been educated in England or at the eastern colleges ; while most of the youth went directly from the grammar-school to the counting-room. Smith and De Lancey were the only collegians on the bench or at the bar ; and there were but few to be found elsewhere. To remedy this remissness, it was resolved to raise £2,250 by lottery—the usual means of effecting such an object—for the foundation of a college. The enterprise was at once commenced, though it was not until ten years after that the money was raised, and the corner-stone of King's, afterwards Columbia College laid by the governor. The management of the proposed institution soon became a subject of contention between the Episcopalian and Presbyterian parties, now the two great factions of the day, the former of which was headed by James De Lancey, and the latter by Philip Livingston. In this, the Episcopalians gained the mastery, and the college long remained under the control of that denomination.

In 1747, Edward Holland was appointed mayor. He continued in the mayoralty until his death in 1756. In the first year of his administration, the Presbyterian church in Wall street, which had been erected during the administration of Hunter, was rebuilt. During the same year, the Common Council ordered fifty copies of "An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen" to be published at their expense at a cost of four pounds in order to

encourage works of this kind—one of the first cases of this sort on record. In the course of the next two years, Beekman and the contiguous streets were regulated, Ferry street was ceded to the city, Beekman, Dey and Thames streets were paved, Pearl street was dug down near Peck Slip and regulated from Franklin Square to Chatham street, and John street was paved and regulated. In 1751, a Moravian chapel was built in Fulton street. The following year, the first Merchant's Exchange was erected at the foot of Broad street, and St. George's chapel was built by Trinity Church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman streets, and was consecrated on the 1st of July by the Rev. Mr. Barclay. This long remained in good preservation, and was well known to the down-town residents as one of the few



St. George's Chapel in Beekman street, erected in 1752.

landmarks of the olden time. It was still a much frequented place of worship when its centenary celebration took place with great *éclat*. A few years afterward, the ancient church, with its quaint old chandeliers and aisles flagged with gray stone, fell before the hammer of the demolisher to make room for the stately warehouses that now occupy its site. It was partially destroyed by fire in 1814, but was soon after repaired and opened again for service. Washington was a frequent attendant of this church during his residence in the city in the early part of the Revolution.

In 1748, Clinton revived the scheme of making the governors independent of the Assembly by means of a permanent revenue, and urged the latter to favor his designs by granting him a five years' appropriation, threatening them with the vengeance of the king in case of refusal. They did refuse it, nevertheless, and all the persuasions and menaces of the governor, backed by the royal authority, failed to move them from the stand which they had taken. Another incident occurred about the same time which widened the breach between the people and the royal governors, and prepared them for a final separation. All colonial vessels were at this time required to lower their flags in token of respect when passing his majesty's ships of war. A captain by the name of Ricketts, on returning one night with his wife and family from New York to Elizabethtown, inadvertently neglected this token of homage when passing the Greyhound, which lay anchored in the harbor. The captain of the latter immediately fired a shot, of which the party in the boat took no notice, not dreaming that they



were concerned in the matter. The shot was immediately followed by another, which struck the nurse, killing her instantly. The news of this outrage aroused the citizens; the captain was instantly arrested and brought to shore, and the governor petitioned to bring him to trial; but Clinton coolly disclaimed all jurisdiction in the matter, saying that his commission gave him no power over any of the ships of war, and that the offender could only be proceeded against in England. The people were exasperated almost to madness; but there was no redress; they were forced to be silent.

In the meantime, the conduct of Clinton had alienated Colden, who had gone over to the party of the opposition, and Smith, Alexander and Johnson alone remained as his chief supporters. Under the leadership of De Lancey, the Assembly grew more and more refractory, and, after repeated efforts to obtain his demands, growing weary of the contest, the governor at length prorogued them. Finding that his power in the province was gone, and worn with the struggle against a powerful opposition, Clinton at last dispatched his resignation to England, and Sir Danvers Osborne was appointed in his stead.

The new governor arrived on the 7th of September, 1753, charged with instructions to maintain the royal prerogative, and to demand of the Assembly a permanent revenue to be disbursed by the governor alone, with the advice and consent of his council. Three days after, he took the oaths of office, and published his commission at the City Hall. The people welcomed him with shouts and huzzas, mingled with deep invectives against



Kier's College. Erected in 1756.





Clinton, who walked by his side. This expression of feeling wounded him deeply. "I expect the same treatment before I leave the province," said he. On his return to the council chamber, the corporation met him with a bold address, expressing their hope that he would be as averse to countenancing as they should be to brooking any infringement upon their civil or religious liberties. A splendid entertainment, however, was given by the city in honor of the new governor; bells were rung, cannon fired, and the whole town illuminated; yet it was whispered that this was due more to the appointment of De Lancey—now the idol of the people—as lieutenant-governor, than to the accession of Sir Danvers Osborne.

On the morning of the 12th, the new governor convened the council and laid his instructions before them. "The Assembly will never yield obedience," said they. "Is this true?" said he, turning to William Smith, who stood by his side. "Most emphatically so," answered the chief-justice in reply. "Then what am I come here for!" exclaimed he, gloomily, bowing his head on the window-sill and covering his face with his hands.

The next morning the whole city was in commotion. The body of Sir Danvers Osborne had been found suspended by a handkerchief from the garden-wall of John Murray's house in Broadway, where he had lodged since his arrival in the city. The unfortunate man had been deranged and had even attempted his life before his departure from England. The loss of a beloved wife had unsettled his reason, and his friends, hoping to work a cure by constant occupation and a change of scene, had procured him this post and sent him to New York

to assume the government. But the fractiousness of the people over whom he had been sent to rule had proved too much for his enfeebled brain, and, seeing the impossibility of enforcing his instructions without becoming as odious as his predecessor, he had retired to his chamber after his stormy interview with the council, burned his papers, set his affairs in order, and deliberately put an end to his life. His remains were buried in Trinity church, the obsequies being performed with some reluctance by the rector, who protested that the burial service was forbidden by the rubric to those who had died by their own hands. This objection, however, was overruled by the council, who declared that insanity was equivalent to disease, and that the governor had as much right to Christian burial as though he had died of a fever; and the body of the unfortunate Sir Danvers Osborne was at last permitted to repose in consecrated ground. The government devolved upon James De Lancey, now grown a favorite with a large portion of the people.

## CHAPTER XIII.

1753—1763.

New York Previous to the Revolution.

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR JAMES DE LANCEY now assumed the direction of affairs. His accession was hailed with delight by the people, to whom he had endeared himself by heading the party opposed to the "permanent revenue" scheme of the royal governors. Strangely enough, the parties had changed sides. The ex-royalist faction—aristocratic, as it was satirically termed by its opponents—comprising most of the wealthy and influential citizens, De Lancey, Van Rensselaer, Colden, Philipse, Heathcote, and many more, was now openly ranged on the side of the popular rights, while Smith, Livingston and Alexander, once the leaders of the people, had gone over to the other side, and had been foremost in the councils of the late governor. Under these circumstances, De Lancey found himself in an embarrassing position. The royal instructions bequeathed to him by Sir Danvers Osborne directed him to insist on a permanent revenue and absolutely to refuse to sign all annual



appropriations, while he was pledged as the leader of the popular party to a policy diametrically opposed to this proceeding. He extricated himself from this difficulty with seeming inconsistency, but wisely in truth ; while, on one hand, he fulfilled his oaths of office by urging the Assembly to conform to the royal instructions, on the other, he pressed the claims of the people upon the notice of the home government, and was eventually instrumental in obtaining the desired concession.

After a series of bloody campaigns, in which the chief advantage on the side of the English had been the brilliant conquest of Louisburg, the third intercolonial war had been terminated in 1748 by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which, much to the discontent of the colonists, restored to France all the newly-acquired territory. But this peace was of short duration. The Canadians soon recommenced their aggressions upon the frontier settlements, and on the 19th of June, 1754, a congress of deputies from the several provinces met at Albany to concert measures for the common safety. Over this assembly, De Lancey presided. The alliance with the Iroquois was strengthened by presents and speeches, and plans were projected for mutual defence. The chief feature of this congress was, however, a plan for the union of the colonies, which was drawn up and presented by Benjamin Franklin. This proposal, though opposed by De Lancey, was adopted by the convention. It was not, however, adapted to the times ; the people opposed it as giving too much power to the king, and the king, as giving too much liberty to the people ; thus, pleasing neither, it was never carried into effect ; yet it sug-

gested the idea of a confederated power which finally matured into the Federal Union.

On the 31st of October, 1754, De Lancey signed and sealed the charter of the projected college, though, owing to internal dissensions in the management, it was not delivered until the following May. Doctor Johnson, the Episcopal minister at Stratford, Connecticut, had already been invited to fill the president's chair of the institution, and Mr. Whittlesey, the Presbyterian minister at New Haven, was chosen as vice-president. By the provisions of the charter, however, none but Episcopalians were made eligible as presidents—a regulation which occasioned much ill-feeling among the dissenters. The Presbyterians, headed by the Livingstons, used every effort to break down the college, and the city journals joined in the controversy. These had somewhat changed in character since the Zenger trial. William Bradford had died in the city in 1752, at an advanced age, and the *Weekly Journal* of Zenger had been discontinued in the same year. In January, 1743, James Parker, an apprentice of Bradford, had commenced a new weekly called the *New York Gazette or Weekly Postboy*, and this speculation proving successful, had published a monthly styled the *American Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, in October of the same year. The *Weekly Mercury*, the government organ, was published by Hugh Gainé at his office opposite the Old Slip Market. These falling into the hands of the Episcopalian party, the Presbyterians established a new journal in 1753, called the *Independent Reflector*, in which their side of the college controversy was fully argued. The Episcopalians, however, pre-

vailed, thanks to the influence of their leader, De Lancey, and long retained control of the institution. The disputes were preparatory to the founding of the college; the corner-stone of the building being laid in 1756 by the new governor, Sir Charles Hardy.

In April, 1754, a scheme for the foundation of a public library was first projected, and a considerable amount being soon raised by subscription, trustees were appointed for the ensuing year. These trustees were James De Lancey, James Alexander, John Chambers, John Watts, William Walton, Rev. Henry Barclay, Benjamin Nicolls, Robert R. Livingston, William Livingston, William P. Smith, and Mr. Williams. The following autumn, the first books arrived, and were deposited in the City Hall with those belonging to the Corporation Library. The further progress of this first City Library—the embryo of the present Society Library—we have sketched elsewhere.

In 1754, the “Walton House,” at that time the palace of the city, was built in Pearl street by William Walton, a merchant and son-in-law of De Lancey, who had amassed a fortune by successful ventures in foreign trade. This house was elegantly fitted up in the fashion of the times, and furnished luxuriously; and the fame of its splendor extended to England, and was quoted there as a proof of the mad extravagance of the colonists, and their ability to support unlimited taxation. The house was built of yellow Holland brick, with five windows in front, and a tiled roof, encircled with balustrades. The garden extended down to the river. At a later date, it was the scene of the marriage of Citizen Genet, the Minister of France, to the daughter of Governor Clin-



ton. It still stands, stripped of its primitive splendor, the lower story transformed into warehouses, and the upper part into an emigrant boarding-house. In the



The Walton House, in 1867.

following year, a ferry was first established between New York and Staten Island, which now possessed a considerable population. During the same year, Peck Slip was opened and paved.

War having again been declared between England and France, the fortifications were strengthened, volunteers enlisted, and a thousand stand of arms ordered for the defence of the city in the event of an invasion. On the 2d of September, Sir Charles Hardy, the newly-appointed governor, arrived in the city, and was proclaimed the next day at the City Hall with the usual ceremonies. Hardy was a sailor, an admiral in the English navy, and knew far better how to steer a ship than to guide the affairs of a turbulent province. Fortunately, he was conscious of this fact himself, and frankly expressed it with sailor-like bluntness. "Gentlemen," said he to a group of the New York lawyers, "I can't pretend to say that I understand the law. My knowledge relates to the sea—that is my sphere. If you want to know when the wind and tide suit for going down to Sandy Hook, I can tell you that." Such is the confession of incapacity which Chief-Justice Smith attributes to the royal governor. But a knowledge of the science of government was deemed altogether superfluous in these officials by the English Court; and even Pitt, the so-called friend of America, afterwards said in Parliament, "There is not a company of foot that has served in America out of which you may not pick a man of sufficient knowledge and experience to make a governor of a colony there." Such was the estimation in which the intellect of the colonial subjects was held by the mother country.

Sir Charles Hardy having assumed the nominal direction of affairs, De Lancey resumed his seat as chief-justice; but, wisely recognizing his own incapacity, Hardy







Entrance Hall of the Walton House in olden times.



Sitting Room of the Walton House in olden times.





left him in actual command of the province, and enacted the part of a lay figure in the government. This insipid mode of life soon wearied the active sailor, and he entreated to be restored to his former command. After some delay, his request was granted ; the post of rear-admiral was conferred upon him, and he sailed from New York for the capture of Louisburg, leaving the government again in the hands of De Lancey.

In the first year of Hardy's administration, the city had been deprived of its chief magistrate by death, and John Cruger, the son of the former mayor of that name, had been appointed to fill his place. It was not long before he became involved in difficulty with the royal officials. At this time, the French and Indian war was raging in the province, and Lord Loudon, the commander-in-chief of the American forces, sent a thousand of his troops to New York with directions to the city authorities to find quarters for them among the inhabitants. This order they regarded as an infraction of their rights, and quartering the soldiers in the barracks in Chambers street, they left the officers to take care of themselves. The incensed general hastened to New York, and ordered them at once to find free quarters for his officers, saying that such was both the law and the custom, and that, if they did not instantly comply, he would bring thither all the troops in North America and billet them himself upon the inhabitants. This outrageous demand, though opposed by De Lancey, was supported by the governor. The indignant citizens refused to obey, the corporation neither dared nor wished to enforce them, and the matter was finally settled by providing for the officers by private

subscription. But the demand once made, was repeatedly renewed, and was one of the chief grievances that urged the people on to the struggle for independence.

The war, meanwhile, went on with unabated vigor, and large bodies of militia marched from New York to aid in the defence of the English forts and the conquest of Canada. Spurred on by the inhuman massacre of Fort William Henry, the colonists spared neither blood nor treasure in avenging their murdered countrymen. Louisburg, Frontenac, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Niagara and Quebec fell successively into their hands, and the capture of Montreal in 1760 finally concluded a disastrous war and secured to England the conquest of Canada.

In the meantime, the province had again been left without a ruler. On the morning of the 30th of July, 1760, Lieutenant-Governor De Lancey was found by one of his children expiring in his study.\* He had dined the day before at Staten Island with a company of friends, then had crossed the bay in the evening, and rode out to his country-seat, where he had retired to his library to repose in his arm-chair, as he was often forced to do from a chronic asthma. His remains were escorted the next day by a large concourse of citizens from his house on the east side of the Bowery, a little above Grand street, to Trinity Church, where he was interred in the middle aisle, the funeral services being performed by the Rev. Henry Barclay. Mr. De Lancey was a statesman of marked ability, and his persistent support of the

\* He was the great grandfather of Bishop DeLancey of New York.

system of annual appropriations—finally conceded during the administration of Hardy—won for him a deserved popularity.

The government now devolved upon Cadwallader Colden, the former protégé of Hunter, at this time seventy-three years of age. The new governor had long been actively engaged in public affairs, and was known to possess literary and political talent of no common order. But he assumed the reins of government at a critical period, and wrecked his popularity by taking oaths which compelled him to sacrifice the rights of his countrymen upon the shrine of official duty.

Soon after his accession, an affair occurred which tended to increase the feeling of bitterness which was rapidly springing up in the hearts of the colonists against the mother country. The system of impressment was now in vogue, and the captains of the British men-of-war claimed the right to board colonial vessels and take thence the men required to complete their quota; or failing in this, to land and kidnap citizens to serve in the British navy. These outrages excited the indignation of the citizens almost beyond forbearance; but such were the laws; there was no alternative but to obey. In the August following the death of De Lancey, a merchant vessel arrived from Lisbon, and a man-of-war lying in the harbor immediately sent a boat on board to demand some of her men. On seeing the movements of the English sailors, the crew seized the captain and officers and confined them below, and, taking possession of the ship, refused to suffer the intruders to come on board. The captain called to them from the cabin win-



dow that he and his officers were prisoners, and therefore unable to obey; but, without heeding his position, they at once opened a fire upon the offending merchantman, killing one man and wounding several others. The affair caused much excitement, yet it was but a sample of the constantly recurring outrages perpetrated upon the colonial traders.

In October of the same year, General Amherst, the conqueror of Canada, visited the city and was received with enthusiasm. A public entertainment was given in his honor, the freedom of the city in a gold box was presented to him by the corporation, and an address, couched in the most flattering terms, was tendered him in behalf of the citizens. Salutes were fired, colors were displayed, and the whole city was illuminated in honor of the successful termination of the long-continued conflict which, for so many years, had drained the energies of the harassed colonies.

Early in the following year, news reached the province of the death of George II., and the consequent accession of George III. to the throne of England. The city was hung in mourning, and funeral sermons preached in all the churches for the departed; then, one week after, salutes were fired and illuminations made in honor of his successor.

The winter proved one of intense severity. The Narrows were frozen over, and men and horses crossed on the ice. When spring opened, the work of public improvement went on, and streets were regulated and paved, wells dug, and other improvements made for the benefit of the city. Fulton, then Partition street, was

one of these ; and though it had long had a partial existence, it was now for the first time graded and paved, and classed among the legitimate streets of the city. A theatre was also opened in Beekman street under the auspices of Colden, but the Assembly frowned on this as detrimental to good morals, and the mayor attempted to obtain the passage of a law prohibiting all dramatic performances within the precincts of the city. Failing in this, the corporation turned their attention to the amusement of raffling, which had grown quite common among the boys and negroes, and interdicted it with all similar games of chance, under penalty of a fine of three pounds, half to be paid to the churchwardens and half to the informer. A variety of municipal ordinances, regulating weights and measures, markets and docks were also passed, indicative of the constantly increasing prosperity of the city.

In October, 1761, a governor's commission arrived from England for General Robert Monckton, who was then commanding the forces on Staten Island. Monckton was a careless young soldier, devoted to his profession, and somewhat profligate withal, but his appointment was not distasteful to the people, many of whom were enemies to Colden. On the 26th, he published his commission at the City Hall, declaring that, as for instructions, he had none, and hoped never to have any ; an announcement especially pleasing to the citizens, to whom the word was a signal for rebellion. On the 30th, the usual freedom of the city, with the accompanying gold box, was presented to the governor by the corporation, and graciously received. The new Assembly, who

detested Colden, gave Monckton a warm reception, and his administration opened auspiciously.

Affairs now seemed to be gliding on smoothly and everything promised peace and prosperity. After a long and tiresome contest, the English government had conceded to the colonies many of the representative rights which they demanded, the permanent revenue was no longer insisted on, the citizens were permitted for the most part to tax themselves, and the province was steadily growing in importance. The main aggressions still continued, for the governors disclaimed all jurisdiction over the waters, and the naval officers were petty sovereigns in their own right, forcing all colonial vessels to lower their flags in token of homage, boarding them and impressing their men, and firing on them at the slightest provocation. But the citizens had faith in the future redressal of all these grievances; despite their mutinous demonstrations, their loyalty still remained unshaken, and a separation from the mother-country was a treason of which even the boldest had not dared to dream. The rights of English subjects—the same which were enjoyed by their fellow-countrymen on the other side of the water under a limited monarchy—were all that they claimed, and had these been judiciously conceded, England might long have continued to wear America as the brightest jewel in her crown. The city had increased to some fourteen thousand inhabitants, its streets were constantly encroaching on the waste land, public edifices were springing up here and there, and the spirit of commercial enterprise was fast gaining ground, despite the harsh restrictions imposed upon colonial



commerce by the arbitrary Board of Trade. Grievances enough were still existing, yet the political horizon was calmer than it had been for many years. It was a deceitful calm; the thunders of the coming tempest were gathering in the distance, and preparing to burst with blighting force upon the doomed city.

Not many days after his accession, Monckton received orders to repair with his forces to the Island of Martinique; and he accordingly set sail on the 15th of November, leaving Colden again in command at New York. The expedition proved successful, the island was captured with scarce a show of resistance, and Monckton soon returned to his government.

During this year, the old plan of lighting the streets by lanterns suspended from the windows was definitely abandoned, and public lamps and lamp-posts were erected in the principal streets which were lighted at the public expense. Laws were passed, regulating the prices of provisions, some of which are worthy of being quoted as affording an idea of the standard of the times. Beef was sold at fourpence-halfpenny per pound; pork, at fivepence-halfpenny; veal, from fourpence-halfpenny to sixpence; butter at fifteen pence per pound, and milk at six coppers per quart. An assize of bread had been established from the earliest times, varying every two or three months in proportion to the rise or fall of flour; at this time a loaf of one pound twelve ounces sold for four coppers.

In 1763, Dr. Johnson, the first president of King's College, tendered his resignation, and Dr. Cooper was chosen in his stead. Soon after, a bequest of twelve

hundred volumes was made to the institution by Dr. Bristow of England, which, added to a collection which had been bequeathed to it in 1757 by Joseph Murray, formed the foundation for a substantial library. The graduates at this year's commencement were Messrs. Cuyler, Depeyster, Livingston, Hoffman, Wilkins, Bayard, Verplanck, Marston, and Watts ; all names which have grown old in the history of the city. In the May commencement of the following year, held at St. George's Chapel, John Jay, then a youth of nineteen, won his maiden honors, and first became a candidate for the public favor in a dissertation on the blessings of peace—a theme prophetic of his future career.

In the following month, Sandy Hook lighthouse was lighted for the first time. About the same time, a ferry was established between Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, and Miesier's Dock, just opposite on the New York shore ; a convenience which had long been needed, and which proved a great accommodation to the people of New Jersey. Another ferry was also established between Staten Island and Bergen. Considerable improvement, indeed, had been made in travelling arrangements ; a mail went regularly twice a week from New York to Philadelphia, and packet-boats and stages plied between the same places, making the journey in the space of three days. These packet-boats run from the Battery to Perth Amboy, where a stage-wagon received the goods and passengers and conveyed them to Burlington. Here they were again transferred to a packet-boat, and thus at length reached the place of their destination. The journey was also frequently performed

by crossing the bay in a scow to Staten Island, and thence to the Jersey shore, then taking the inland route across the intermediate rivers to the Quaker City. Another route was now established by the way of Paulus Hook, whence travellers made their way over the Jersey marshes to the Hackensack River, and blowing a horn, which hung against a tree, summoned a ferryman to carry them across the stream ; then, journeying in short stages to the Passaic, the Raritan, the Delaware, and the Schuylkill, were ferried across in the same primitive manner, and arrived in three days at Philadelphia. Such were the simple modes of travelling in the olden time.

In 1766, the Methodist denomination was first organized in the city by Philip Embury and others, and in 1767 the first church of this sect was erected upon the site of the present one in John, near Nassau street, and, like it, christened Wesley Chapel. Several new streets were opened and regulated about the same time, among others, Cliff street and Park place. For the better prevention of fires, an ordinance was passed directing that all the roofs in the city should be covered with slate or tiles. For some years, however, tiles alone were used, the first building roofed with slate being, it is said, the City Hotel in Broadway, erected about 1794.

A riot of the British soldiers about this time occasioned some excitement in the city. These worthies conceived the sudden freak of setting the prisoners free, and marching to the new jail, now the Hall of Records, they broke open the door and demanded the keys of the keeper. These being refused them, they fired through



the door, grazing the ear of Major Rogers, one of their officers who had been imprisoned for debt and whose release was really the chief object of their attack ; then, forcing the door, they told the prisoners that they were at liberty, and attempted to carry off their major in triumph. The prisoners not seeming disposed to quit the jail, the soldiers attempted to drive them out by force, and were only stopped by the arrival of the city militia, who had been summoned in haste to the scene of the combat. The riot was soon quelled and some of the offenders arrested, who declared, upon trial, that they had been instigated by Rogers ; the affair, however, was passed lightly by, like most of the offences of the British soldiery.

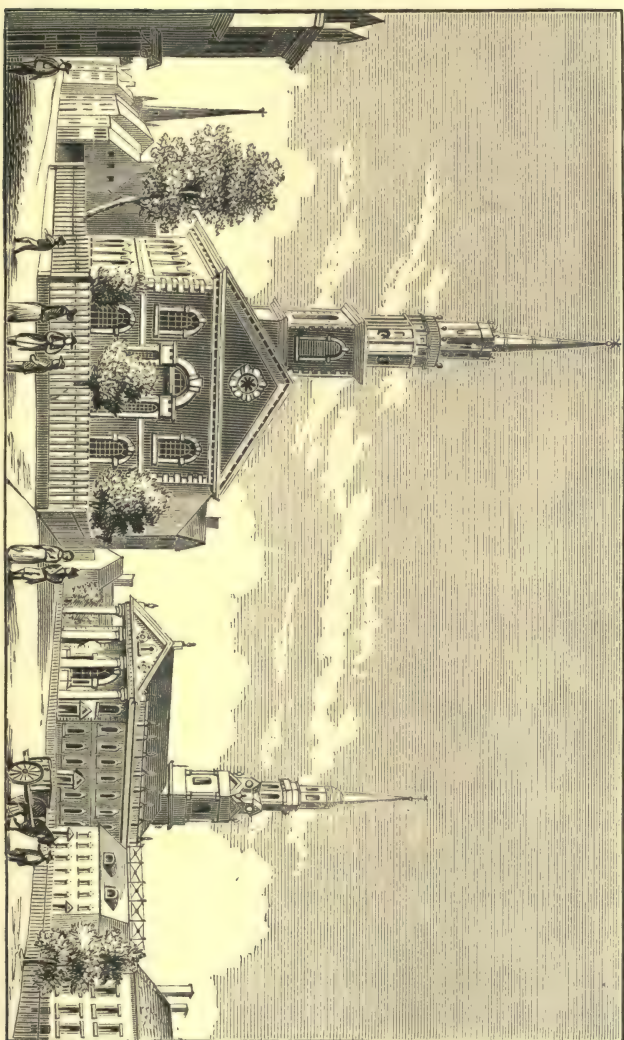
But we have anticipated events. The deceitful calm of 1762 became strangely troubled ere the end of the year, and in 1763, the clouds gathered thickly in the horizon, foreboding the coming tempest. Towards the close of the last-named year, Monckton abandoned the government for more congenial pursuits, and returned to England, leaving Cadwallader Colden again at the head of affairs. The sequel of his administration is too important to be introduced at the close of a chapter.



Methodist Church in John Street in older times.







Brick Church in Beekman Street, first opened for service in 1768.



## CHAPTER XIV.

1763—1769.

Passage of the Stamp Act—Organization of the Sons of Liberty—First Colonial Congress in the City of New York—Non-Importation Agreement of the Merchants—Repeal of the Stamp Act—The Liberty Pole—Tax on Tea.

CADWALLADER COLDEN had truly taken the helm of public affairs in the face of a gathering tempest. The contest between Great Britain and the colonies was fast drawing on. The people were daily growing more bitter against their rulers, while the latter grew more persistent in enforcing their rigorous policy. While the colonies had been poor and struggling for existence, Great Britain had been fully contented to let them alone. New Amsterdam, indeed, had owed somewhat to the care of its Holland patrons, but the pioneers of the British colonies had been driven out like Ishmaelites into the wilderness to contend with a rigorous climate and a savage foe, with no other aid than their own scanty resources, backed by indomitable perseverance and courage. But no sooner had the Dutch settlement grown, through the industry of its founders, into a rich and flourishing province, than England contrived by



mingled force and intrigue to wrest it from the hands of its rightful owners ; then, consolidating the colonies and establishing over them a government of her own, she wrung from them a rich revenue in the shape of imposts and taxes, and compelled them to support and to be ruled by adventurers of her own choosing, whose sole interest in public affairs lay in the amount of money that could be extorted under divers pretexts from the purses of the people.

The truth is that Great Britain contemptuously regarded the colonists as rich barbarians, the chief end of whose existence was to furnish an ample revenue to the mother-country. Their interests were wholly disregarded in the government councils, and the restrictions imposed on them were rigorous in the extreme. The English parliament claimed the right of regulating the trade of the colonies, and, under cover of this pretext, levied heavy duties upon imports, ostensibly for the purpose of defraying custom-house expenses, and, at the same time, sedulously suppressed all attempts at home manufactures. By a series of navigation acts, the colonists were forbidden to trade with any foreign country, or to export to England any merchandise of their own in any but English vessels. The country was full of iron, but not an axe or a hammer could be manufactured by the inhabitants without violating the law. Beaver was abundant, but to limit its manufacture, no hatter was permitted to have more than two apprentices, and not a hat could be sold from one colony to another. Of the wool which was sheared in such abundance from the flocks, not a yard of cloth could be manufactured except

for private use, nor a pound exported from one town to another ; but the raw material must all be sent to England to be manufactured there, then to come back as imported cloths, laden with heavy duties. Imposts were also levied upon sugar, molasses, and all articles of foreign luxury imported into the colonies, and America was, in fact, regarded only as a place from which to raise money.

Notwithstanding, the colonists had patiently submitted to this manifest injustice. They had evaded the payment of the duties by living frugally and dispensing with the luxuries which could only be obtained at such a cost. They had accepted the royal governors, profligate and imbecile as they often were, and had contented themselves with opposing their unjust exactions. In the French and Indian wars, they had acted nobly, and by lavish expenditure of their blood and treasure, had secured to England the possession of a rich and long-coveted territory. These wars, which had added such lustre to the crown of Great Britain, and had secured the broad lands of Canada to her domain, had cost the colonies thirty thousand of their bravest soldiers, and left them burdened with a debt of thirteen millions of pounds. But, insatiable in her desires, in return for this, she required still more. The country which had been able to contribute so largely in the intercolonial wars, had not, she thought, been taxed to the utmost, and, in order to wring from it a still larger revenue, new means were proposed by the British ministry for establishing a system of parliamentary taxation—a right which the colonists had ever persistently denied.

In 1763, it was proposed by Lord Grenville, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to raise a permanent revenue from the colonies by direct taxation ; to be accomplished by taxing various articles of foreign produce, and by establishing stamp duties in the Anglo-American possessions. It was also proposed to maintain a standing army of ten thousand men, ostensibly for the defence of the colonies, but in reality to overawe them and coerce them to obedience. The following year, Lord Grenville became prime-minister, and these schemes were brought before the notice of parliament. It was immediately decided that the mother country had an undoubted right to tax her colonies, and, though the passage of the stamp act was delayed for a season, a sugar act was passed at once, which, while it lessened the duties formerly imposed upon sugar and molasses, levied new taxes on articles hitherto free, and gave increased power to the admiralty courts and the royal collectors of customs.

The news of these proceedings fell like a thunderbolt upon the colonists, and they rose to a man in open opposition to this new tyranny. Meetings were held throughout all the colonies, and petitions forwarded to the parliament, protesting against the proposed stamp duties and praying for the repeal of the recent sugar act. New York was foremost in these demonstrations. On the 18th of March, 1764, the Assembly adopted and forwarded a memorial to the ministry, protesting against this invasion of their rights. But this document was couched in terms so decided that no member of the sycophantic parliament was found bold enough to present it,



and the daring province was afterwards forced to pay the penalty for this and other acts of audacity in the total suspension of legislative power. The petitions of the sister colonies, feebler in tone, were received and considered, then rejected by parliament; and on the 22d of March, 1765, the celebrated Stamp Act was finally passed. By the provisions of this act, all legal and mercantile documents and contracts, newspapers, pamphlets, almanacs, etc., were required to be written or printed on stamped paper, upon which a duty was imposed, and which was to be sold only by agents appointed by the British government.

The news of these arbitrary enactments reached New York early in April, where it was received with the deepest indignation. Copies of the Stamp Act with a death's head affixed were hawked about the streets under the title of "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." The citizens assembled, and resolved that no stamped paper should be used among them. On the 21st of September, a new paper, called the *Constitutional Courant*, made its appearance, bearing for its device a snake divided into eight pieces, with the motto, "Join or Die," and the device was caught up and repeated from one end of the country to the other.\*

\* The appearance of this paper, which was circulated largely in the city, excited great commotion, and efforts were made by the governor and council to discover the author and printer, but without success. It was a half sheet of medium size, with the imprint, "Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the sign of the Bribe Refused, or "Constitution Hill, North America, and containing matters interesting to *Liberty*, "and in nowise repugnant to loyalty," and was dated Saturday, September 21, 1765. The device occupied the centre of the title. It was really printed at Parker's printing house in Burlington, N. J., by William Goddard, the fictitious Andrew Marvel.

Nor was this the first demonstration of the spirit of the citizens. In the preceding spring, they had given his majesty's officers some preliminary lessons which should have warned them of the temper of the men with whom they had to deal. The system of impressment was still in vogue, and the naval officers regarded American sailors as lawful prey. In April, 1764, the ship *Prince George* arrived from Bristol, and the sailors, seeing the *Garland* man-of-war lying in the harbor, took possession of the ship and steered up the bay. No sooner were they perceived by the *Garland*, than a boat was dispatched to board the vessel and bring back some new recruits for his majesty's service. The sailors were armed and in readiness for their visitors, who were beaten off with little difficulty. Seeing the defeat of his men, the captain of the *Garland* opened a fire on the merchantman, and sent another boat's crew to the assistance of the first, but the sailors triumphantly pursued their way, and brought their vessel safely into the harbor, while their discomfited assailants returned to the man-of-war, vowing revenge on the audacious rebels.

Aggressions of this sort, in truth, were frequent, and one, which occurred in the ensuing July, aroused the populace to a public demonstration. Four fishermen who supplied the New York markets were seized by a press-gang, and carried aboard a tender from Halifax, then lying in the harbor. The next morning, the captain came on shore in his barge, but no sooner had the boat touched the shore, than it was seized by the people, who

bore it off in triumph to their rallying-place, the Commons. The terrified officer offered at once to release the fishermen, and, going to the Coffee-House, hastily wrote an order for their release. Armed with this paper, a party of the Sons of Liberty repaired to the tender and soon returned in triumph with the prisoners ; but, in the meantime, the people had burnt the barge. The city magistrates, who had vainly endeavored to restrain the populace, met in the afternoon to take cognizance of the affair, but no one knew anything of the authors of the mischief. The magistrates did not press the investigation, and the affair ended satisfactorily to all but the unlucky captain of the tender. Yet the British ministry failed to profit by these lessons, and in the face of such marked and spirited demonstrations, dared to pass an act which could not fail to root out all lingering affection for the mother country from the hearts of the colonists. and estrange them from her forever.

The 1st of November was the day appointed for the Stamp Act to take effect. The stamps were to be prepared in England, then sent to agents in the colonies accredited by parliament to receive them. James McEvers was appointed Stamp Distributor for New York. These agents at once became objects of distrust to the people, who were resolved that this distribution never should take place. The association of the Sons of Liberty, founded in the stirring days of the Zenger trial by William Smith, William Livingston and John Morin Scott, for the protection of popular rights, threatened by the attempt of Cosby to make the judges and council subservient to the crown by issuing their commissions "dur-



"ing the pleasure of the king," instead of "during good behavior" as before, now revived, and circulated its principles by means of colporteurs and auxiliary associations throughout the entire middle and eastern colonies. Of this association, Isaac Sears, John Lamb, Alexander McDougall, Marinus Willett, Gershom Mott, Francis Lewis, Hugh Hughes, William Wiley, Thomas Robinson, Flores Bancker, and Edward Laight were the leaders, all men of tried patriotism and stanch courage. Through their London correspondent, Nicholas Ray, they received intelligence of the movements of the British parliament, and thwarted them by every means in their power. The Assemblies, on their part, projected a general union of the colonies for mutual protection, and summoned a congress of delegates from the several provinces to meet at New York on the 7th of October, 1765, to consult together in respect to the proposed confederation.

On the day appointed, the first colonial congress, consisting of twenty-eight delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, assembled for deliberation in the City Hall in Wall street. The Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina having adjourned before the adoption of the measure, no deputation was in attendance from either of these colonies, though they sympathized warmly with the objects of the meeting. Robert R. Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingston, William Bayard, and Leonard Lispenard composed the New York delegation. Previously to the meeting, a deputation waited on Lieutenant-Governor

Colden to solicit his sympathy and aid. "Your congress is unconstitutional, unprecedented and unlawful, "and I shall give you no countenance," was his sole reply, as he ordered the fortifications to be strengthened, and everything to be put in readiness for the reception of the stamps.

Nothing daunted by this harsh repulse, the congress commenced their deliberations. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen president. The session lasted three weeks, during which time a declaration of rights was adopted, embodying the claims and grievances of the colonies. First enunciating the principle that taxation without representation was tyranny, the daring colonists went on to prove, that, as distance rendered this representation impossible to them in the English parliament, this right was vested only in the colonial legislatures; and therefore that the Stamp Act, with all others of its kind, was a tyrannical grievance which at once must be abolished. A respectful address to the king and a memorial to both houses of parliament was drawn up and signed by most of the members.

The papers of the day, both royalist and democratic, were filled with inflammatory articles. Handbills were circulated among the people by the Sons of Liberty, and the *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post Boy*, now published by John Holt,\* became the vehicle of the

\* At this time, three papers were issued in the city; the *New York Gazette, or Weekly Post Boy*, established by James Parker upon the discontinuance of Bradford's paper in January, 1742-3. and now published by John Holt; the *New York Mercury*, first issued in August, 1752, by Hugh Gaine; and the *New York Gazette*, published in February, 1759, by William Weyman. In November of the following year, Parker resumed the publication of the *Gazette and Post Boy*, and continued

popular party. On the morning of the 31st of October, the day before that on which the obnoxious act was to take effect, the last-named journal made its appearance in mourning, headed by the following prologue :

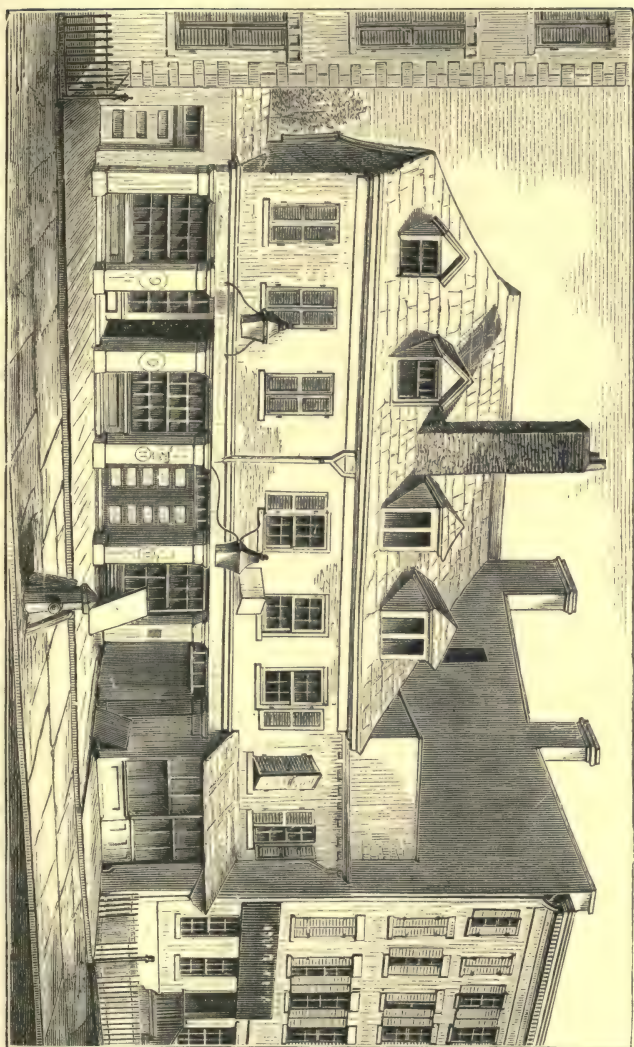
“A Funeral Lamentation on the  
DEATH OF LIBERTY,  
Who finally Expires on this  
31st of October, in the year of our Lord MDCCLXV.,  
And of our Slavery  
I.”

The discourse which followed was worthy of the opening. In the evening, the merchants of the city who were engaged in the importation of English goods met at Burns' Coffee House, late the Atlantic Gardens, and adopted the following resolutions :

1. To import no goods from England until the Stamp Act be repealed.
2. To countermand all orders already sent for spring goods.
3. To sell no goods from England on commission.

it until his death in 1770; while Holt issued a new paper under the title of the *New York Journal, or General Advertiser*, which remained the organ of the Liberty Party until the capture of the city in 1776. Holt then removed to Esopus, where he set up his press; then, upon the burning of the village in October, 1777, he transferred it to Poughkeepsie, where he continued its publication until the close of the war. In the autumn of 1783, it was again printed in the city of New York under the title of the *Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal Revived*. Upon the death of Holt, in the following year, the paper was continued by his widow and Eleazer Oswald until January, 1787, when it passed into the hands of Thomas Greenleaf, who merged it into two papers—a weekly, entitled *Greenleaf's New York Journal and Patriotic Register*, and a daily, with the title of the *New York Journal and Daily Patriotic Register*, afterwards the *Argus, or Greenleaf's New Daily Advertiser*. Such was the origin of the first daily paper of New York.





Burns' Coffee House, in which the first non-importation agreement of the colonies was signed on the 31st of October, 1765, by the merchants of the City of New York.



4. To abide by these resolutions until they shall be rescinded at a general meeting called for the purpose.

These resolutions were signed by more than two hundred merchants. The retailers, on their part, bound themselves to buy no goods of any person that should be shipped after the first day of January unless the Stamp Act should be repealed. To the merchants of New York city belongs the credit of having been the first to sacrifice their commercial interests to the cause of liberty. At the same meeting, a non-importation association was organized, and a committee appointed, consisting of John Lamb, Isaac Sears, William Wiley, Gershom Mott and Thomas Robinson—all prominent members of the Sons of Liberty—to correspond with the other colonies with a view to the universal adoption of similar measures. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered for the detection of any villain who should presume to make use of the stamped paper, on which the law required that every valid instrument should be drawn—marriage licenses, business contracts, shipping clearances and legal documents of all kinds.

On the 23d of October, 1765, while the congress was still in session, the stamps arrived from England in a ship commanded by Captain Davis, but the accredited stamp distributor was nowhere to be found; and, not daring to retain them on board his own ship, the captain transferred them to a man-of-war lying in the harbor. Fearing the fury of the excited populace, McEvers, a few days before, had resigned his commission to the lieutenant-governor. "McEvers is intimidated, but I am not afraid, and the stamps shall be delivered in



"due time," said Colden, as he ordered them to be brought on shore and deposited in the fort for safety. But so great was the fear inspired by the people that no official dared touch the papers, and after some delay they were finally conveyed by Captain Davis to the governor's house in Fort George ; and on the 31st of October, while the patriots were threatening vengeance on all who should dare to distribute the papers, Colden took oaths to carry the Stamp Act into effect.

No sooner had the stamps been landed than handbills appeared as if by magic in the streets, forbidding any one at his peril to make use of the obnoxious paper. In the evening, the citizens assembled in large numbers and marched to the fort, where they were ordered by the governor to disperse. Without heeding his command, they fell into line and marched in silence through the principal streets of the city—a funeral cortége, mourning their lost liberty—then separated at midnight and returned quietly to their homes.

The next day was the dreaded first of November—the day on which the British parliament had decreed that the Stamp Act should take effect. In the course of the day, more of the mysterious placards appeared in the streets, but the day wore away without other demonstration than the appearance from time to time of more of the mysterious handbills, posted by an unknown hand. The grand celebration of the festival was deferred until evening. Soon after sunset, two organized companies, composed in great part of the Sons of Liberty, appeared in the streets. The first of these repaired directly to the Commons where they proceeded

to erect a gallows, on which was suspended an effigy of Cadwallader Colden, with a stamped paper in his hand, a drum at his back, and a label on his breast bearing the inscription, *The Rebel Drummer* of 1745.\* By his side hung an effigy of the devil with a boot in his hand, designed as a satire upon the Earl of Bute, at whose instigation they had the charity to believe that he had acted. The other party, meanwhile, proceeded to the fort, carrying an effigy of Colden, seated in a chair, and attended by torch-bearers. The procession was followed by a crowd of citizens. They broke open the stable of the lieutenant-governor, and, taking out his chariot, placed the effigy in it, then returned in triumph to rejoin their comrades, who were just raising their gallows to take up their march to the city. Both companies immediately mingled into one, the strictest orders were given that not a word should be spoken or a stone thrown, and the long procession set out for the fort, where they found the soldiers drawn up on the ramparts ready to receive them, and the muzzles of the cannon aimed directly at their ranks. But, notwithstanding this threatening demonstration, Gage, who was then the British commander, prudently restrained his troops from firing, well knowing that their first volley would be followed by the instant destruction of the fort. The rioters knocked at the gate for admission, which, of course, was denied them ; then, proceeding to the Bowling Green, they tore down the wooden palisades about it, and kindling a fire,

\* Colden had served as a drummer in 1745 in the army of the Pretender, hence the allusion.

burned carriage, gallows, effigies and devil. Hitherto the proceedings had been conducted with the utmost decorum. But the fury of the populace could be restrained no longer, and, despite the remonstrances of the more moderate of the Sons of Liberty, an excited party broke loose from their companions, and, proceeding to Vauxhall, on the corner of Warren and Greenwich streets, at that time occupied by Major James of the British army, a stanch friend of the Stamp Act, who had incensed the people by some insolent expressions, broke open the house, rifled it of its rich furniture, kindled another bonfire and consumed the whole in the flames. Not an article was spared, with the exception of the royal colors, which were borne away as a trophy by the party—pictures, mathematical instruments, books, curtains, carpets and furniture—all were involved in the general ruin. Major James was afterwards indemnified for his losses by the corporation, but, regarding the act in the light of a just punishment, they refused the same satisfaction to Colden.

The next evening, the people assembled again upon the Commons, and determined to march to the fort and to demand the delivery of the stamped paper. But before this resolution could be carried into effect, Colden wisely determined to withdraw from the contest, and issued a bulletin declaring that he would have nothing at all to do with the stamps, but would leave them to Sir Henry Moore, the new governor, now hourly expected, to dispose of them as he pleased upon his arrival. In the next issue of the *Gazette and Post Boy* appeared the following notice :



"The governor acquainted Judge Livingston, the mayor, Mr. Beverly Robinson and Mr. John Stevens this morning, being Monday the 4th of November, that he would not issue nor suffer to be issued any of the stamps now in Fort George.

(Signed)

"ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,

"JOHN CRUGER,

"BEVERLY ROBINSON,

"JOHN STEVENS."

The following notice also appeared without signatures :

"The freemen, freeholders and inhabitants of this city, being satisfied that the stamps are not to be issued, are determined to keep the peace of the city, at all events, except that they should have other cause of complaint."

But this anonymous communication failed to express the sentiments of the people. On the following evening, pursuant to a call issued a few days before, an armed body of citizens assembled on the Commons, resolved to storm the fort and obtain forcible possession of the papers. Alarmed at this demonstration, the governor, who had been fruitlessly negotiating with Captain Kennedy of the ship of war Coventry, then lying in the harbor, to receive the stamps on board his vessel, consented to yield, and delivered them from the fort gate to the mayor and corporation, who had previously demanded them at his

hands, promising to be accountable for their safe-keeping, accompanied with a letter which we transcribe entire :

“ FORT GEORGE, Nov. 5th, 1765.

“ Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation : In  
“ consequence of your earnest request, and engaging to  
“ make good all such sums as might be raised by the  
“ destruction of the stamps sent over for the use of this  
“ province that shall be lost, destroyed, or carried out of  
“ the province, and in consequence of the unanimous  
“ advice of his majesty’s council, and the concurrence of  
“ the commander-in-chief of the king’s forces, and to  
“ prevent the effusion of blood and the calamities of a  
“ civil war which might ensue from my withholding  
“ them from you, I now deliver to you the packages of  
“ stamped paper and parchments that were deposited in  
“ my hands in this his majesty’s fort ; and I doubt not  
“ that you will take the charge and care of them con-  
“ formably to your engagement to me.

“ I am, with great regard, gentlemen,

“ Your most ob’dt humble servant,

“ CADWALLADER COLDEN.”

The mayor and corporation received the stamps amid the huzzas of the people, returning to the governor the following receipt :

“ Received from the Honorable Cadwallader Colden,  
“ Esq., his majesty’s lieutenant-general and commander-  
“ in-chief of the province of New York, seven packages  
“ containing stamped papers and parchments, all marked

“ ‘No. 1, James McEvers, I. M. E., New York,’ which  
“ we promise, in behalf of the corporation of the city of  
“ New York, to take charge and care of, and to be  
“ accountable in case they shall be destroyed or carried  
“ out of the province. Witness our hands.

(Witness)

“ JOHN CRUGER, Mayor,

“ L. F. CAREY,

“ Major to the 60th Reg’t.

“ JAMES FARQUAHAR.”

The formalities of the transfer having thus been concluded amid the ironical cheers of the multitude, the Sons of Liberty escorted the civic authorities to the City Hall, and, after seeing the stamps deposited there in safety, quietly dispersed. It was not long before a new outrage roused them to action. Previously to the delivery of the papers, the cannon in the king’s yard and on Copsey’s battery had been spiked, as was alleged, by the orders of Colden, to prevent the people from making use of them in case of an attack upon the fort. It was never clearly proved that the governor was guilty of this charge, but the majority of the people were fully persuaded of it at the time, and loudly expressed their indignation. A petition was even addressed to the Assembly, entreating them to deduct the amount of damages from the governor’s salary ; but the request, which came from an unknown source, was at once rejected, and a reward was offered for the discovery of the writers. The excitement, however, continued for some time, the citizens inveighed bitterly against Colden as the author of the mischief, and even burned his



effigy, seated on a spiked cannon, one night on the Commons.

The Committee of Correspondence that had been appointed on the 31st of October wasted no time in idleness, but at once addressed circulars to the merchants of the sister-cities, inviting them to join in the non-intercourse agreement as the best method of frustrating the designs of Great Britain. These unhesitatingly answered to their summons, and the suspension of trade soon became universal. To lessen the inconveniences felt by the citizens, a fair was opened a little below the Exchange for the sale of articles of home manufacture, and the citizens soon learned to appreciate the internal resources of their own country, and to sacrifice foreign luxuries on the shrine of patriotism. To wear silks and broadcloths was accounted a disgrace, the wealthiest and most fashionable appeared clad in the homespun linsey-woolsey, and the grand-dames cheerfully exchanged the once indispensable tea and coffee for decoctions made from the fragrant wild herbs of the American soil. Documents continued to be written and newspapers printed on unstamped paper, and betrothed couples, dispensing with the now hateful licenses, were proclaimed in church by bans as in olden time.

Nor was this all ; the Committee of Correspondence, impressed with the idea that union was power, framed articles of confederation banding the colonies together in resistance to the Stamp Act, and providing for the assembling of a general congress to concert measures for future action in case the British ministry should persist in enforcing it. These articles were sent to the eastern

and southern colonies for their concurrence, by whom they were at once unanimously adopted.

On the 11th of November, the corporation tendered an address to General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, congratulating him upon the restoration of the city to tranquillity and its preservation from the horrors of a civil war, and imputing the result to his prudence in not heightening the spirit of discontent already so prevalent in the colonies, by firing on the citizens on the night of the riot. In truth, whether from prudence or otherwise, a remarkable spirit of forbearance had been manifested, for the guns of the fort had been turned upon the rioters during the whole of the proceedings on the Bowling Green, and, with the aid of the ships of war then lying in the harbor, nothing would have been easier than to have accomplished the destruction of the city. It is true that the act would have called forth a terrible retribution ; but that was in the future, while the chances for an easy capture lay close at hand. Gage curtly replied to this bold address, that the spirit which so lately had been shown among them had been carried almost to open rebellion, and recommended them to show their respect to his majesty less in words than in deeds, and to use their best efforts to calm the madness of the people, and to bring them back to a sense of the duty which they owed their superiors. The two parties were now generally distinguished as Whigs and Tories, names originally imported from England ; but the New York patriots still continued to retain their favorite appellation of Sons of Liberty.

About this time, the ship *Minerva*, Captain Tillet,

arrived in the harbor, bringing a second shipment of stamps and a new stamp distributor in the person of Peter De Lancey, jr., who had been appointed in the stead of the recreant McEvers. With her also came the newly-appointed governor, Sir Henry Moore, who at once won the affections of the people by declaring that he would have nothing at all to do with the obnoxious papers. The stamps were deposited with the rest in the City Hall, and a Committee of the Sons of Liberty waited on De Lancey, and warned him that his wisest course would be to resign. De Lancey yielded with a good grace to the necessity, and, protesting that, when he received the appointment, he was ignorant of the objections of the people, resigned his commission and published a disclaimer in the papers of the day. A formal renunciation was also exacted of McEvers, and the city was thus freed from these dreaded officials. But the Sons of Liberty went even further; on learning that Zachary Hood, one of the stamp distributors for Maryland, had fled for protection to Governor Colden, and had taken shelter at Flushing, on Long Island, they sent a deputation to compel him to resign, and to abjure his office publicly by oath—a service for which they afterwards received the grateful thanks of their Maryland brethren.

Delighted with the favorable disposition evinced by the new governor, the civic authorities gave him a cordial reception, and the Sons of Liberty held a grand mass meeting in the Commons, now the rallying-place of liberty, where they erected a pyramid and kindled bonfires in his honor. They had previously tendered him a congratulatory address, which had been received



with favor. In fact, everything augured well for the good intentions of the new governor. Anxious to conciliate his subjects, he ordered the fortifications which had been commenced by Colden at the fort and the battery to be discontinued, and declared that he did not intend to meddle with the enforcement of the Stamp Act. The Assembly, which met on the day of his arrival, confirmed the action of their committee in the colonial congress, and adopted resolutions of the same import.

About the same time, the ship *Hope*, commanded by Captain Christian Jacobson, arrived from London, and the fact was chronicled with the comment that Captain Jacobson was the first who had had the honor of refusing to bring stamps to America.

On the 25th of November, the merchants met again at their usual place of rendezvous, and resolved to continue their non-importation agreement, despite the deadly blow which it inflicted on their interests. A committee was also appointed to frame an address to be presented to the Assembly, complaining of the restrictions on trade, and especially protesting against the appeal from the decision of juries, which Colden had sedulously endeavored to introduce.

The vigilant Sons of Liberty, meanwhile, had received information that stamps were yet on board the *Minerva*, designed for the sister colony of Connecticut. A call was issued at once for the gathering of the brotherhood, and at midnight on the 26th, the vessel was boarded, but no papers were found. They had been transferred to another vessel. Gaining a clew to this fact from their brethren of Philadelphia, the patriots kept a lookout for

the suspicious craft, and as soon as she hove in sight, boarded and searched her. This time, the search was not in vain. Ten packages of stamps were discovered by the self-appointed custom-house officers, which were taken up to the ship-yards at the foot of Catharine street and burned there. Soon after, it was discovered by the indefatigable Sons of Liberty that a merchant of the city by the name of Lewis Pintard had sent a bond to Philadelphia written on stamped paper. The vender of the stamp was immediately sought out, his house searched, and the stamped paper which was found there committed to the flames. Mr. Pintard screened himself from their vengeance by taking an oath that he was ignorant at the time of its transmission that the bond had been written on stamped paper. These energetic measures elicited the approbation of the other colonies, and encomiums were lavished by the members of the sister cities on the gallant conduct of the patriots of New York.

About the middle of December, Captain Blow arrived from Quebec, bringing with him a stamped pass from General Murray, the governor of Canada. This was the first piece of stamped paper that had appeared in the city. It was immediately posted up at Burns' Coffee-House, the general rendezvous of the Sons of Liberty, and gazed at by the dejected citizens as the epitaph of their freedom. In the evening, a procession of patriots paraded the streets of the city, bearing a gallows on which were suspended three effigies—that of Lord Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act; of Lord Colville, who had endeavored to enforce it by stopping colonial vessels; and of General Murray, who had signed the first

piece of stamped paper that had made its way into the city of New York. The march ended, the effigies were taken to the Commons and burned there.

Not less energetic were the demonstrations of the other colonies in respect to the odious Stamp Act. Seeing the determined attitude of the people, the ministry at length determined to recede, and repealed it on the 20th of February, 1766. On the 20th of May, the news reached New York, where it was received with the greatest enthusiasm. On the following day, the people assembled on the Commons, and manifested their delight by every possible demonstration. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and a public dinner given by the civic authorities. In the evening, bonfires were kindled in the fields, and the whole city was illuminated in honor of the triumph of liberty.

Not content with this, the patriots assembled again on the Commons on the 4th of June—the king's birthday—for a second celebration, and Moore, hoping thus to strengthen their loyalty, politically encouraged them in their rejoicings. An ox was roasted, and twenty-five barrels of strong beer were provided, with a hogshead of rum, and the necessary ingredients to convert the whole into punch. A pole was erected, about which were piled twenty-five cords of wood, with twelve blazing tar-barrels suspended at the top, while at another part of the Commons, twenty-five cannon fired a salute, to the sound of which the royal standard was raised amid the shouts and huzzas of the excited populace. But the crowning event of the day was the erection of a pole or mast inscribed, "The King, Pitt, and Liberty"—a Liberty-Pole which served as the rallying-



point for many a sharp contest during the succeeding years, and which came to stand for a principle almost as dear to the New Yorkers as that of personal taxation.

The repeal of the Stamp Act served, in the first flush of victory, to cover a multitude of sins. But it was not long before the colonists looked more closely at the conditions which surrounded it. In the first place, the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies was distinctly asserted, even by Pitt, the so-called champion of American liberty. Yet, despite this, a large meeting of the citizens assembled at Burns' Coffee House, on the 23d of June, and petitioned the Assembly to erect a statue in honor of William Pitt. The request was granted. It was also determined to erect an equestrian statue of George III. on the Bowling Green, and a hundred pounds were appropriated for the purchase of a service of plate for John Sargent, in token of the faithful services which he had rendered in England as agent of the colonies. The statue of Pitt was of marble, and was set up in Wall street on the 7th of September, 1770. The statesman was represented in a Roman toga, with a half-open scroll in his right hand, on which were the words, *Articuli Magnæ Chartæ Libertatum*. The left hand was extended, as if in the act of delivering an oration. The pedestal bore the inscription: "This Statue of the  
"Right Honorable William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, was  
"erected as a public testimony of the grateful sense the  
"colony of New York retains of the many eminent services he rendered to America, particularly in promoting the repeal of the Stamp Act, Anno Domini 1770." It did not long retain its place. After the occupation

of the city by the British in 1776, the head and right hand were struck off by the soldiery, in revenge for the insults before offered by the Americans to the statue of George III. The headless trunk remained standing until after the evacuation in 1783, when it was removed to the Bridewell Yard. It was thence transferred to the yard of the Arsenal near the Collect, and finally found its way to the corner of Franklin street and West Broadway, where its headless trunk was long displayed in front of the basement entrance of the Museum Hotel.

Nor did the leaden equestrian statue of George III., which was erected on the Bowling Green in front of Fort George on the 21st of August, 1770, amid the noise of artillery and the huzzas of the people, meet a better fate. In July, 1776, the night after the Declaration was read to the New York troops, the horse and rider was thrown from its pedestal and dragged through the streets by the indignant patriots; then run into bullets for the use of the Revolutionary soldiers. The pedestal of the statue remained standing for some time longer, and was finally removed a few years after the close of the war.\*

We have already mentioned the erection of a Liberty

\* This statue has a curious history. Erected during the outburst of loyalty that followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, upon the reception in New York of the news of the Declaration of Independence, it was dragged from its pedestal by a band of patriots headed by Belden, and sent, hewed in pieces, to Litchfield, then the residence of Oliver Wolcott, the patriot governor of Connecticut, by whose wife and daughters it was run into bullets, of which the Whigs of the surrounding country were invited to come and take freely. In their hands, they did good service, killing four hundred British soldiers during the subsequent invasion of Connecticut by Governor Tryon. Forty-two thousand bullets were made from the statue. The saddle-cloth was sunk in a marsh opposite the house of Wolcott, where it was discovered a few years since by accident and ex-

Pole on the Commons, on the 4th of June, 1766. This formed the pretext for a series of outrages which kept the city in a perpetual ferment, and goaded on the people to open civil war. The British soldiers detailed for the *protection* of the city were at that time quartered in the barracks standing on the line of Chambers street, and were thus brought in daily contact with the people. Enraged at some triumphant expressions of the Sons of Liberty, on the 10th of August, a party belonging to the 28th Regiment cut down the Liberty Pole which had been erected on the king's birthday. The next day, the citizens assembled on the Commons, and were preparing to erect another in its stead, when they were attacked by an armed party of soldiers and forced to disperse. Several of their number were seriously wounded, among whom were Isaac Sears and John Berrien, both prominent members of the Sons of Liberty. The citizens complained loudly of this outrage, and Theophilus Hardenbrook and Peter Vandervoort made affidavits before the mayor, charging the soldiers with having, without provocation, commenced the assault. But the conduct of the soldiers was approved by their officers, and their commander, Major Arthur Brown, coolly told the mayor that the whole charge was an utter falsehood, and, though the affidavits were sustained by abundant testimony, refused to punish or even reprimand the offenders. The Liberty Pole was set up again by the

hured, and, after passing through various hands, was purchased by Mr. Riley of the Museum Hotel, where it remained for some years with the statue of Pitt, but was finally broken and destroyed. Some pieces of this statue are now (1880) in possession of the N. Y. Historical Society.



citizens and suffered to stand a few days longer, then levelled to the ground on the night of the 23d of September. Before two days had passed, a third one was erected in its stead, and the soldiers, restrained by the orders of Moore, permitted it to stand without further molestation.

During the whole winter, the city was harassed by continual outrages on the part of the soldiers. Houses of peaceable citizens were broken open and plundered under pretext of searching for proofs of rebellion. On one occasion, a soldier forced his way into the dwelling of an industrious carman, and, after wounding him severely with his bayonet, hamstrung his horse and thus deprived him of his only means of support for his family. No notice was taken by the officers of these aggressions; on the contrary, they rather countenanced them in secret, and urged on the soldiers to fresh assaults, hoping thus to break the spirit of the people, and to awe or coerce them into abject submission.

On the 18th of March, 1767, the people met on the Commons, and celebrated the first anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act with the greatest enthusiasm. This demonstration awakened the ire of the British soldiery, and, before morning, the Liberty Pole was again levelled to the ground. Nothing daunted, the next day the Sons of Liberty set up another and more substantial one, well secured with iron bands, in its place. On the same night, an attempt was made to destroy it, but without success. The next night, another attempt was made to blow it up with gunpowder, which also proved a failure. Incensed by these repeated assaults, the Sons

of Liberty set a strong guard around the pole. For three successive nights, the soldiers renewed their attacks, but each time were beaten off by the people. At length the governor, who had himself been suspected of secretly inciting the soldiers, interfered and peremptorily commanded them to desist. The pole continued to stand, a trophy of the victory of the people, and on the king's birthday, which happened not long after, the Union flag was run up to its top, and cannon planted at its foot answered derisively, gun for gun, to the royal salute from Fort George.

Let us return to the proceedings of the New York Assembly of 1761-1768,—a body which, by its daring acts in the cause of liberty, won for itself political martyrdom from the British ministry and a crown of lasting glory from all true patriots. Through the whole of the eventful Stamp Act epoch, the Assembly of New York stood true to the interests of the country, and to its bold protests against the enactment of the odious Stamp Act, its determined attitude in the struggle which ensued, and most of all, its earnest advocacy of the union of the colonies, aided by the efforts of the vigilant Sons of Liberty, may be attributed much of the almost miraculous success which attended the coming struggle for independence.

We have already spoken of the Declaratory Act, asserting the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies. Simultaneously with this was passed the Mutiny Act, requiring the citizens to furnish quarters for all the soldiers that might be stationed among them by the royal orders, and to provide them with various necessities ;

and Sir Henry Moore was instructed to lay the matter before the Assembly on his arrival, and to see that the troops were supplied according to the provisions of the Act. New York was at this time full of soldiers ; it was the head-quarters of the British army under General Gage, and new regiments of troops were daily expected. The people at once detected in these movements the fixed determination of the ministry to establish a standing army among them—a measure utterly abhorrent to their spirit of independence—and refused to comply. The Sons of Liberty banded together in open opposition, and the Assembly of 1766, to whom Moore communicated his instructions on his arrival, resolved that they could only legally be required to provide for soldiers on the march, and that, as there were already barracks enough to accommodate the soldiers then in the city, the requisition was wholly unnecessary for the present. They offered, however, to appropriate a sum which had been left over from the appropriation of a preceding year, to the support of two battalions not exceeding five hundred men each, but absolutely refused to maintain any more, or to furnish vinegar, salt and liquors as the provisions of the act required, limiting the supplies to candles, bedding, fuel and cooking utensils, as actual necessities of life. They also refused to indemnify Colden for the damages which he had sustained on the night of the riot, in opposition to the express commands of the king, alleging that he had suffered through his own misconduct ; though they granted Major James the required compensation, attributing his losses to the excitement of the mob. During this year, Whitehead



Hicks, a lawyer of the city, the descendant of a family of Friends who had settled in Queens County in the early days of the province, was chosen mayor.

Distasteful as were these limitations to the governor, he was forced to receive them as the best that could be obtained, though he complained bitterly in his letters to the ministry of the ingratitude shown by the colonists after the gracious repeal of the Stamp Act. The answers brought him back a reprimand for yielding; and on the 17th of November, 1766, the mortified governor communicated to the Assembly the king's positive refusal to receive the Limited Supply Bill, and the instructions of Lord Shelburne in respect to their future conduct. "I am ordered by his majesty," said Shelburne in these, "to signify to you that it is the indispensable duty of his subjects in America to obey the acts of the Legislature of Great Britain. The king both expects and requires a due and cheerful obedience to the same; and it cannot be doubted that his majesty's province of New York, after the lenity of Great Britain so recently extended to America, will gratefully yield a prompt submission."

On the 15th of the following month, the Assembly answered this arbitrary message by another as bold and decisive in tone. Insisting that, by strict construction, they could only be required to supply soldiers on the march, they declared that they had already, by the rejected Supply Bill, assumed heavier burdens than were borne by any other colony, and declared that, though they were willing to support his majesty's government, it must be in conformity with the circumstances

of their constituents. "And in conclusion," said they, "we cannot, consistently with our duty to these constituents, consent to put it in the power of any person, whatever confidence we may have in his prudence and integrity, to lay such burdens upon them at his pleasure." This bold response was forwarded to the king, and the Assembly was prorogued by the governor while waiting for an answer.

Displeasing as was the conduct of the Assembly to the ministry, it was almost equally so to the Sons of Liberty, who protested also against the Limited Supply Bill as an actual concession to the policy of the British government. But, urged on by rumors of warlike preparations in England, as well as by the threats and persuasions of the governor, they finally yielded another point, and consented to grant a further appropriation of three thousand five hundred pounds for the preceding and three thousand pounds for the current year to defray the expenses of the soldiers quartered among them. This compliance, while it incensed the Sons of Liberty, was too slight to atone for their past audacity. Resolved to punish the contumacy of the daring representatives, and to humble their arrogance, both houses of parliament, with scarcely a dissenting voice, passed a law suspending the legislative power of the Assembly, and forbidding the governor to assent to any bill from them until the Mutiny Act should first be complied with.

The news of this disfranchisement produced intense excitement throughout the colonies. Letters of sympathy poured in from the patriots of New England and the southern provinces, and the whole country was

roused in opposition to the flagrant injustice. The Assembly met as usual, and passed resolutions, declaring that any suspension of colonial legislation was unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, and proceeded to appoint committees and transact business as before.

They had now a new grievance with which to contend—the immediate cause of the American Revolution. In 1767, almost simultaneously with the disfranchisement of the province, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the ministry of William Pitt, Lord Chatham, had introduced a bill into parliament, imposing duties on all tea, glass, paper, painters' colors, and lead, which should henceforth be imported into the American colonies. This new project for raising a revenue from America was strictly in conformity with the spirit of the Declaratory Act, and was unanimously adopted.

The news of the enactment raised a new tempest in the city. The Sons of Liberty renewed their efforts to form Committees of Correspondence throughout the colonies, and the merchants revived the Non-importation Act of 1765. They also wrote letters to the merchants of Boston, urging them to extend the agreement of non-importation indefinitely until every duty should be repealed. This agreement was subsequently entered into and nominally maintained by all the colonies, but, of all these, to quote the words of the eloquent Bancroft, "New York alone remained perfectly true to her engagements, while the other colonies continued to import nearly half as much as before." \*

\* See page 442.



On the 11th of February, 1768, the recusant Assembly was formally dissolved by the governor, and measures taken to convene a new one in its stead. The governor had previously received instructions to take care that the next should be composed of less stubborn materials, and, whether through his secret influence or from other existing causes, it is certain that it proved far more compliant than its predecessor. In the city elections, the contest ran high between the lawyers and the merchants. Heretofore, the former had been most largely represented in the Assembly, and had come to view it almost as a perquisite of their profession. But the scale now turned in favor of the merchants, who, backed by the influence of the Sons of Liberty, won the election, and returned Isaac Low, John Cruger, John Alsop, and James De Lancey as representatives to the Assembly.

The new Assembly, which convened in 1768, commenced their career by following closely in the steps of their repellious predecessors. Disregarding the royal command that they should hold no correspondence with the other colonies, they received the circular of the Assembly of Massachusetts, entreating their coöperation in obtaining a redress of the common grievances, and boldly protested against all interference in the matter. At this time, Boston was prostrate beneath the ban of the royal displeasure, and the citizens of New York warmly repaid the sympathy which had been extended to them in their hour of trial. The patriotic journals of the day teemed with eulogies of the Boston patriots and denunciations of their oppressors, and the effigies of the royal governor of Boston and his sheriff were carried in

procession through the streets of the city, then publicly burned on the Commons. The governor, who was really of a conciliatory disposition, endeavored in vain to restrain these demonstrations and to bring back the people to a sense of their loyalty. His efforts were suddenly checked by his death, which took place on the 11th of September, 1769, and threw the government again into the hands of Cadwallader Colden.

The following letter from a resident of New England to Gov. Trumbull, which we extract from "The Sons of Liberty in New York," by Henry B. Dawson, furnishes accurate data from official authority in respect to the observance of the non-importation agreement by the respective colonies :

"March 6, 1770.

"After all the tergiversations amongst the merchants, the trade has been this year reduced about seven hundred thousand pounds, as you see by the following account, nearly as it was stated last night from the custom house entries.

"Value of all goods exported from England to the colonies in N. America from Christmas, 1767, to do., 1769, distinguishing each colony.

	1767 to 1768.	1768 to 1769.
Canada.....	£110,000	£174,000
Carolina.....	209,000	806,000
Florida.....	82,000	29,000
Georgia.....	56,000	58,000
Hudson's Bay.....	5,000	4,000
N. England.....	419,000	207,000
N. Foundland.....	46,000	64,000
N. Providence.....	6,000	6,000
N. York.....	482,000	74,000
N. Scotia.....	19,000	19,000
Pennsylvania.....	432,000	199,000
Virginia and Maryland.....	475,000	488,000

"How forcibly would the commercial argument have appeared, had all the colonies abated in the proportion N. York has done, who seems to have imported only the articles allowed by the agreement."—[Letter of Wm S. Johnson to Gov. Jona. Trumbull.]

# HISTORY

OF THE

## CITY OF NEW YORK.

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### CHAPTER XV.

1769—1773.

Change in the Assembly—Lord North's Administration—Removal of Taxes—Resumption of Importations—Conflicts about the Liberty Pole—Battle of Golden Hill.

It was not long before Colden, through the instrumentality of De Lancey, won over the members of the new Assembly to the interest of the royalists. They complied without much reluctance with most of the requirements of the Mutiny Act, and projected another scheme which was viewed by the patriots with much distrust, as concealing some insidious snare for the liberties of the colonies. This was the emission of bills of credit to the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be loaned to the people, the interest of which was to be applied to the support of the colonial government. A grant of a thousand pounds from the treasury, together with a thousand more of the bills about to be issued, was made for the maintenance of the troops, and a strong disposition was evinced in favor of the royalist party.

This new scheme for raising money excited the dis



trust of the people, and rumors were circulated that the Assembly had betrayed the country to the governor and the British ministry. On the 16th of December, an inflammatory handbill, signed by a Son of Liberty, appeared, addressed to the betrayed inhabitants of the city. This document, which was ably and earnestly written, warned the people against the subtle attack made on their liberties by the emission of the bills of credit, as a scheme devised to separate the colonies; and, denouncing the Assembly in no measured terms, closed with an invitation to the people to meet the next day in the fields and discuss the conduct of their representatives.

The next day, a large assemblage gathered on the Commons. John Lamb was chosen chairman of the meeting. The proceedings of the Assembly were unanimously disapproved, and a committee was appointed, with Lamb at the head, to convey the sense of the meeting to the Legislature. The latter received the deputation with courtesy, but refused to make any change in their policy, declaring that the law was satisfactory to the mass of the people. On the following day, another handbill appeared, over the signature of "Legion,"\* written evidently by the same hand as

\* We give this handbill verbatim.

"TO THE PUBLIC.—The spirit of the times renders it necessary for the inhabitants  
"of the city to convene, in order effectually to avert the destructive consequences of  
"the late BASE INGLORIOUS conduct of our General Assembly, who have in opposition  
"to the loud and general voice of their constituents, the dictates of sound policy,  
"the ties of gratitude, and the glorious struggle we have engaged in for our  
"invaluable birthrights, dared to vote supplies to the troops without the least shadow  
"of a pretext for their pernicious grant. The most eligible place will be in the Fields,

the first, and openly charging the Assembly with a betrayal of their trust. This second attack roused the ire of the body ; they at once denounced the papers as libellous, and offered a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds for the discovery of the writers, Philip Schuyler alone voting against it. Lamb was accused and brought before the bar of the House, where he boldly justified all that he had done, declaring that he had only exercised the right of every Englishman. His colleagues on the committee—Isaac Sears, Caspar Wistar, Alexander McDougall, Jacobus Van Zandt, Samuel Broome, Erasmus Williams and James Van Vaurk—seconded his defence, fearlessly avowing that they were implicated with Lamb, and equally ready to answer for their conduct, and the charge, which had been made at the instance of De Noyellis, was finally dismissed by the Assembly. But they did not relax their efforts to discover the authors of the so-called libels. The type afforded a clue to the printing-office of James Parker, who was at once arrested, confined in the fort, and threatened with the loss of his place as Secretary of the Post-office, unless he would reveal the name of the writer. The menace produced the desired effect ; Parker denounced Alexander McDougall, who was at once arrested and imprisoned in the new jail, where a daily ovation was tendered him by his friends, who regarded him as a

"near Mr. De La Montaigne's, and the time—between 10 and 11 o'clock this morning, where we doubt not every friend to his country will attend.

"LEGION"

The original of this and the other handbills quoted here are preserved in the library of the Historical Society.

martyr to the cause of liberty. The ladies flocked in crowds to the cell of the imprisoned patriot, and so numerous were his visitors, that, in order to gain leisure for the defence of his cause, he was obliged to publish a card, fixing his hours for public reception. He remained in the jail from February to the April term of the court, when the grand jury found a bill against him, to which he pleaded "not guilty." A few days afterward, he was released on bail.

The Sons of Liberty, meanwhile, continued their opposition to the Assembly, watching vigilantly over the maintenance of the Non-importation Act, which the merchants, on their part, had not ceased to observe. They also attempted to substitute the vote by ballot for the old mode of the open vote, but the plan, though warmly approved by the people, was rejected in the House by a large majority. In the spring of 1770, a change took place in the disposition of the British ministry. Lord North assumed the charge of affairs, and, under his direction, the tax was at once removed from all the articles enumerated in the bill of Townshend, with the exception of that on tea. This, indeed, was retained rather in proof of the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies, than for any considerable difference in the revenue. But the principle was equally dear to the American patriots; they were sworn to resist parliamentary taxation, and they resolved that they would not yield a single point which might be construed into a precedent for future oppression.

In the meantime, the contest had been renewed about the Liberty-Pole, which, for three years, had remained



unmolested. On the 13th of January, 1770, a party of soldiers belonging to the 16th regiment attacked it, and, cutting off the wooden supporters about it, made a fruitless attempt to blow it up with gunpowder. Failing in this, they next fell upon a knot of citizens who had gathered in front of Montagne's public-house in Broadway near Murray street—at that time the head-quarters of the Sons of Liberty—and forced them into the house at the point of the bayonet. The besieged vainly attempted to barricade the doors, but the soldiers broke in, sword in hand, and demolished the windows and furniture. In the midst of the destruction, some officers came up, and ordered the soldiers back to their barracks.

On the two following nights, the attempts were repeated without success; but, on the night of the 16th, taking shelter in a ruined building near by, which had formerly been used for barracks, the soldiers accomplished their design, and, levelling the pole to the ground, sawed it into pieces, and derisively piled it up before Montagne's door.

This insult aroused the Sons of Liberty. Handbills were circulated the next day through the city,\* calling on the people to meet that night on the Commons to discuss the outrage. Three thousand citizens assembled in answer to the call. The meeting was quiet but earnest. Resolutions were passed, declaring unemployed soldiers

\* Taking warning by the defection of Parker, to escape detection, the Liberty Boys went at night to Holt's printing-office in Broad street near the Exchange, where they set up the type and printed the handbills themselves, then circulated them by their emissaries the next day through the city.

to be dangerous to the peace of the city, while their employment by the citizens when off duty was detrimental to the interests of the laboring classes and should therefore be discontinued. They further resolved that all soldiers under the rank of orderly, with the exception of sentinels, who should appear armed in the streets, together with all, both armed and unarmed, who should be found out of their barracks after the roll-call, should be regarded as enemies of the city and dealt with accordingly. Committees were also appointed to demolish the ruined building which had sheltered the soldiers in their attack on the Liberty-Pole, and to ask permission of the Common Council to erect another in its stead.

The next day, three soldiers were detected by Isaac Sears and Walter Quackenbos in the act of posting throughout the city, scurrilous placards, signed by the 16th Regiment of Foot, and abusive of the Sons of Liberty.\* Incensed at this proceeding, Sears instantly

\* "God, and a Soldier, all Men most adore,  
In Time of War, and not before ;  
When the War is over, and all things righted,  
God is forgotten, and the Soldier slighted."

"WHEREAS, an uncommon and riotous disturbance prevails throughout the city by some of its inhabitants, who style themselves the S—s of L—y, but rather may more properly be called real enemies to society ; and whereas, the army now quartered in New York, are represented in a heinous light, to their officers and others, for having propagated a disturbance in this city, by attempting to destroy their Liberty-Pole, in the fields ; which, being now completed, without the assistance of the army, we have reason to laugh at them, and beg the public only to observe how chagrined these pretended S— of L— look as they pass through the streets ; especially as these great heroes thought their freedom depended on a piece of wood, and who may well be compared to Esau, who sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage. And although those shining S— of L— have boasted of their freedom.

grasped one by the collar, while Quackenbos laid hold of the other. The third of the party rushed upon Sears with his bayonet and endeavored to free his comrade from his grasp, but the latter, seizing a friendly ram's

"surely they have no right to throw an aspersion upon the army, since it is out of the power of military discipline to deprive them of their freedom. However, notwithstanding, we are proud to see these elevated geniuses reduced to the low degree of having their place of general rendezvous made a (Gallows Green) vulgar phrase for a common place of execution for murderers, robbers, traitors and r—s, to the latter of which we may compare those famous L—— B—s (Liberty Boys) who have nothing to boast of but the flippancy of tongue, although in defiance of the laws and good government of our most gracious sovereign, they openly and r——y (riotously) assembled in multitudes, to stir up the minds of his majesty's good subjects to sedition; they have in their late seditious libel, signed BRUTUS, expressed the most villainous falsehoods against the soldiers. But as ungrateful as they are counted, it is well known, since their arrival in New York they have watched night and day for the safety and protection of the city and its inhabitants; who have suffered the rays of the scorching sun in summer, and the severe colds of freezing snowy nights in winter, which must be the case and fifty times worse had there been a war, which we sincerely pray for, in hopes those S—s of L—— (Sons of Liberty) may feel the effects of it, with famine and destruction pouring on their heads. 'Tis well known to the officers of the 16th Regiment, as well as by several others, that the soldiers of the sixteenth always gained the esteem and good will of the inhabitants, in whatever quarter they lay, and were never counted neither insolent or ungrateful, except in this city. And likewise the Royal Regiment of Artillery, who always behaved with gratitude and respect to every one. But the means of making your famous city, which you so much boast of, an impoverished one, is your acting in violation to the laws of the British government; but take heed, lest you repent too late—for if you boast so mightily of your famous exploits, as you have heretofore done (witness the late Stamp Act) we may allow you to be all ALEXANDERS, and lie under your feet, to be trodden upon with contempt and disdain; but before we so tamely submit, be assured we will stand in defence of the rights and privileges due to a soldier, and no farther; but we hope, while we have officers of conduct to act for us, they will do so, as we shall leave it to their discretion to act impartially for us, in hopes they, and every honest heart, will support the soldiers' wives and children, and not whores and bastards, as has been so maliciously, falsely and audaciously inserted in their impertinent libel, addressed to the public; for which, may the shame they mean to brand our names with, stick on theirs.

"(Signed by the 16th Regiment of Foot.)"



horn which happened to lie near by, hurled it with force into the face of his assailant, who reeled back from the shock, and left the Sons of Liberty to make their way with the captives to the office of the mayor.

A reinforcement of twenty soldiers now came up with drawn swords and bayonets to the rescue of their comrades. The unarmed citizens, who had flocked in numbers to the spot, wrenched the stakes from the carts and sleighs that stood about, and, surrounding their prisoners, prepared to guard them at all hazards. Mayor Hicks now interfered, and ordered the soldiers to their barracks. Yielding a partial obedience, they retired as far as Golden Hill, in John street between William and Cliff streets, closely pursued by the citizens, where they were joined by a fresh reinforcement, headed by a presumed officer in disguise, who gave the command to halt and charge upon the populace. The few of the people who had been able to secure weapons ranged themselves in front of their defenceless friends, and a sanguinary contest ensued, in which numbers were injured on either side. Francis Field, a peaceable Quaker, who was standing in his doorway watching the affray, received a severe wound in his cheek. Three other citizens were wounded, one of them being thrust through with a bayonet. At some distance from them, a sailor was cut down. A boy was wounded in the head, and fled to a neighboring house for shelter. A woman kindly opened the door for him, when a brutal soldier made a thrust at her with a bayonet, fortunately missing his aim. One of the citizens who had been foremost in securing the prisoners at the mayor's office was attacked by two sol-

diers at once, but he defended himself vigorously with a cane, his only weapon, and forced his assailants back to the hill. Another citizen who was standing in the door of his house was attacked by a party of soldiers who attempted to enter—but, being armed, he succeeded in beating off the intruders.\*

During the whole of the affray, the citizens had continued to surround the hill, and thus to keep their enemies in a state of blockade. Many of the soldiers were severely wounded, and many more disarmed; yet this was done chiefly in self-defence; the people standing on the defensive, and contenting themselves with merely repelling the attacks, when they might easily, if disposed, have massacred the aggressors. At this juncture, a fresh party from the barracks came up, and called to their comrades to charge on the citizens, while they would support them by an attack on the rear, but just as they were preparing for the assault, a party of officers appeared, and ordered them to their barracks. The people at once opened their ranks and raised the siege, thus ending the first day of the contest in a drawn battle.

The next morning—the 19th—the soldiers recommenced the conflict by thrusting a bayonet through the cloak and dress of a woman who was returning from market. This dastardly act awakened the indignation of the citizens, and knots of people gathered ominously

\* Michael Smith, the last survivor of the Battle of Golden Hill, as well as of the New York Liberty Boys, died in 1847, at the advanced age of ninety-four years. A musket which he took from a soldier in the fray, and which did active service in his hands through the whole of the Revolution, is still preserved as a relic in his family.

about the corners of the streets to discuss the outrage together with the affray of the day before. About noon, a group of sailors, who were invariably found on the popular side, came in collision with a party of soldiers from the barracks. A violent altercation ensued, from words they came to blows, and, in the conflict, an old sailor was run through the body. In the midst of the strife, the mayor appeared on the ground, and ordered the military to disperse, but the infuriated soldiers refused to obey. He then dispatched a messenger to the barracks to summon the officers, but the troops intercepted him, and, barring the way with their drawn bayonets, refused to suffer him to proceed. At this juncture, a party of Liberty Boys, who had been playing ball on the corner of Broadway and John street, came to the rescue and soon dispersed the soldiers, and hostilities ceased for a few hours.

In the afternoon, the battle commenced anew. Seeing a group of citizens assembled on the Commons in front of the New Jail, a party of soldiers approached them in a body and insultingly endeavored to force their way through, when the citizens quietly opened their ranks, and gave them free passage. Determined at all hazards to provoke an affray, they next assaulted the people, and endeavored to disarm them of their canes. This insolence awakened the ire of the citizens, who turned at once upon their assailants. A party of Liberty Boys in the neighborhood, on hearing of the fray, hastened to the spot, and a sharp conflict ensued, in which the discomfited soldiers were driven to the barracks. Several of the soldiers were disarmed by the citizens, one was



badly wounded in the shoulder, and another who had distinguished himself in the conflict of the day before, was arrested and committed to prison for trial. Thus ended the battle of Golden Hill—a conflict of two days' duration—which, originating as it did in the defence of a principle, was an affair of which New Yorkers have just reason to be proud, and which is worthy of far more prominence than has usually been given it by standard historians. It was not until nearly two months after that the "Boston Massacre" occurred, a contest which has been glorified and perpetuated in history; yet this was second both in date and in significance to the New York "Battle of Golden Hill." \*

On the day after the defeat of the British troops, the mayor issued orders that no soldiers should appear outside the barracks when off duty unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer; and the Sons of Liberty, thus relieved from the annoyance of their presence,

\* The following extract from a London journal, dated Thursday, March 15, 1770, kindly furnished us by Henry B. Dawson, Esq., whose researches have done much to rescue the history of the New York Liberty Boys from oblivion, proves by the testimony of the British themselves that, in the streets of the city of New York, the first blood was shed—the first life sacrificed to the cause of Liberty in the American Revolution.

*"Extract of a letter from New York, dated January 22.*

"We are all in Confusion in this City; the Soldiers have cut and blowed up Liberty-Pole, and have caused much Trouble between the Inhabitants: on Friday last (*January 18, 1770*) between Burling Slip and the Fly Market, was an Engagement between the Inhabitants and the Soldiers, when much Blood was spilt: One Sailor got run through the Body, who since Died: One man got his Skull cut in the most cruel Manner. On Saturday (*January 19, 1770*) the Hall Bell rang for an Alarm, when was another Battle between the Inhabitants and Soldiers; but the Soldiers met with Rubbers, the Chiefest part being Sailors and Clubs to revenge the Death of their Brother, which they did with Courage, and made them all run to their Barracks. What will be the end of this God knows!"

turned their attention again to the erection of a Liberty-Pole. We have already mentioned the appointment of a committee to ask permission of the mayor and Common Council to erect a pole in the place of the one that had been cut down by the soldiers. This measure was opposed by John Lamb and some others, who declared that the corporation had no voice in the matter, but their objections were finally overruled by the majority. On the 30th of January, the committee presented a memorial to Mayor Hicks and the Common Council, stating that the token of gratitude to the king and his minister which had been erected by the patriotic citizens of New York had been repeatedly overthrown by the riotous soldiery, and craving permission to vindicate the rights of the people by setting up another monument to constitutional liberty in its stead.\* The request was

\* "TO THE SONS OF LIBERTY IN THIS CITY.

"GENTLEMEN: It's well known, that it has been the custom of all nations to erect monuments to perpetuate the Remembrance of grand Events. Experience has proved that they have had a good effect on the Posterity of those who raised them, especially such as were made sacred to Liberty. Influenced by these Considerations, a number of the Friends to Liberty in this City erected a Pole in the Fields, on Ground belonging to the Corporation, as a temporary memorial of the unanimous Opposition to the detestable Stamp Act; which, having been destroyed by some disaffected Persons, a Number of the Inhabitants determined to erect another, made several applications to the Mayor, as the principal member of the Corporation, for Leave to erect a new Pole in the place where the old one stood. The Committee that waited on him the last Time, disposed to remove every Objection, apprehensive that some of the Corporation might be opposed to the erection of the Pole, from a supposition that those Citizens who were for its being raised, were actuated solely by a Party spirit, offered, when the Pole was finished, to make it a present to the Corporation, provided they would order it to be erected either where the other stood, or near Mr. Van Bergh's, where the two roads meet. But even this, astonishing as it may seem to Englishmen, was rejected by the Majority of the Corporation and the other Requisitions denied

refused. In the meantime, Lamb and his associates had purchased a piece of ground eleven feet wide by a hundred feet deep, near the site of the former pole, and, while the memorial was yet before the board, made preparations for the erection of a Liberty-Pole, independent of the corporation. Here, on the 6th of February, 1770, a mast of great length, cased two-thirds its height with iron hoops and bars, firmly riveted together, was sunk twelve feet deep into the ground, amid the shouts of the people and the sound of music. This pole was inscribed, "Liberty and Property," and was surmounted by a gilt vane, bearing a similar inscription in large letters. Thus was raised the fifth Liberty-Pole in the city, with a motto far less loyal than that which had so deeply offended the royal soldiery.

Montagne's house had heretofore been the headquarters of the Sons of Liberty, but, ere long, the proprietor suffered himself to be won over by the opposite party who engaged his rooms for the approaching celebration of the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Liberty Boys however, were not to be balked by this arrangement, determining to support an establishment of their own, they purchased a house on the site of Barnum's Museum, kept by Henry Bicker, which they christened Hampden

"We question whether this Conduct can be paralleled by any Act of any Corporation in the British Dominions, chosen by the Suffrage of Free People.

"And now, Gentlemen, seeing we are debarred the privilege of Public Ground "to erect the Pole on, we have purchased a place for it near where the other "stood, which is full as public as any of the Corporation Ground. Your Attendance and countenance are desired at nine o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 6th "instant, at Mr. Crommelin's Wharf, in order to carry it up to be raised.

"BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

*New York, February 8, 1870."*



Hall, and consecrated to the cause of liberty ; and, on the 19th of March, they assembled for the first time at their new quarters in defiance of the recreant Montagne, and celebrated the anniversary of the colonial triumph. At this time, McDougall was in prison, and his brethren resolved to give him an ovation. The proceedings against him having been recorded on the forty-fifth page of the Journal of the Assembly, the number had grown into a cabalistic word among the fraternity. On the day in question, forty-five toasts were drunk, among which was one to Alexander McDougall, and, after dinner, the whole company proceeded to the jail to pay their respects to the imprisoned patriot. Here they saluted him with forty-five cheers, then, marching to the Liberty-Pole, they quietly disbanded.

A similar compliment had been paid to McDougall on the forty-fifth day of the year, when forty-five of the Liberty Boys went in procession to the New Jail, where they dined with him on forty-five beef-steaks cut from a bullock forty-five months old, and, after drinking forty-five toasts with a number of friends who joined them after dinner, separated, vowing eternal fidelity to the common cause. These demonstrations are trivial in themselves, but they serve to show something of the spirit which animated the New York patriots of the Revolution.

On the 29th of March, a party of British soldiers, who had been ordered to embark in a few days for Pensacola, made another attack on the Liberty-Pole, a part of which they had vowed to carry with them as a trophy. Finding the lower part too strongly fortified,

they attempted to unship the topmast which supported the vane, but were discovered in the attempt by a few citizens who happened to pass by and who quickly gave the alarm. The soldiers hastily retreated to the barracks, while the Liberty Boys rallied to the defence of the pole. In the meantime, the soldiers, at first fifteen in number, had been reinforced by forty more, and returned, charging with drawn weapons upon the citizens, who retreated to Hampden Hall. The soldiers, closely pursuing them, surrounded the house and attempted to force the door. Bicker defended the entrance with fixed bayonet in hand, while the infuriated marauders swore that they would burn the house with all the rebels it contained, and take vengeance on the enemies of England and King George. A party of Liberty Boys who had escaped from the pole, hastened to St. George's Chapel in Beekman street, and rung out a general alarm. The citizens flew to arms, and the British officers, seeing that the affair was becoming serious, and warned by the result of the battle of Golden Hill, hastened to the spot and ordered their men to the barracks. A strong guard was set about the pole every night afterwards until the 3d of May, when the disappointed soldiers set sail for Pensacola without the coveted trophy. Henceforth, the Liberty-Pole was left for some years to stand unmolested. On the anniversary of the repeal of 1775, William Cunningham, the notorious Provost Marshal of '76, who had been in the beginning of the struggle a professed Son of Liberty, approached the pole in company with John Hill, and made an assault on the patriots who were gathered about it. After a short struggle, they

were disarmed and committed to jail. Such is the popular version of the story. The royalist papers, on the other hand, assert that Cunningham and Hill were first attacked by the people, who endeavored to force them to abjure the king, and, on their refusal, wantonly maltreated them. Whatever may be the truth of the matter, certain it is that Cunningham wreaked a terrible vengeance on the helpless prisoners intrusted to his care in the following year, after the capture of the city by the British. The Liberty Pole at the same time was levelled by his orders—its fittest destiny when the liberty of the city had fled.

Soon after the departure of the troops, a Boston merchant by the name of Nathan Rogers, who had been posted by his fellow-citizens for refusing to comply with the non-importation agreement, visited the city, and the Sons of Liberty, suspecting that his visit was designed to win over the New York merchants, resolved to give him a public reception. On the 10th of May, they assembled in procession, bearing his effigy suspended on a gallows, and, passing through the principal streets of the city, proceeded to his house, attended by four or five thousand spectators, in order to introduce him in person to the citizens. In this they were disappointed, as he had dined out of town. They then repaired with the effigy to the Commons, where it was burned amid the acclamations of the people. Terrified at this demonstration, Rogers immediately returned to Boston, while the vigilant Sons of Liberty, learning that he designed in a few days to visit Philadelphia, dispatched an account of their proceedings with a minute personal



description of the traitor to their brethren of that city, urging them to accord to him a similar welcome.

Some time previous to this, a General Committee of One Hundred had been appointed to watch over the liberties of the city. This was composed in part of moderate men, who, without belonging to the royalist party, wavered between it and the enthusiastic Sons of Liberty—who were, in short, conservative. Now that the duty had been removed from all articles except tea, a portion of this committee began to talk of resuming the importations with this single exception. Rhode Island had openly broken through the non-importation agreement, and the other colonies, though they nominally protested against the infraction of the compact, were constantly violating it, and had continued to import nearly half as much as before.<sup>1</sup> New York alone had remained faithful to her pledge; for five years, her commerce had been almost totally suspended, and, weary of thus sustaining the brunt of the contest, the almost ruined merchants welcomed the idea, and, believing that they could now honorably retrieve their fortunes without the sacrifice of a principle, on the 9th of July, resolved to resume their importations of all goods with the exception of the duty-laden tea. In this resolution they felt themselves justified; they had been the first to propose the compact and to urge it upon the notice of the merchants of other cities; the pledge once given, they had preserved it inviolate, without compromise and without evasion; with ruined commercial interests, impoverished fortunes, and a suffering city, they had faithfully adhered

<sup>1</sup> See page 442.

to their agreement, so long as the cause which had called it forth remained, and now that it was partially removed, they frankly and openly recalled their obligations, and were, in truth, the last to renounce the compact, as they had been the only ones to maintain it inviolate.

Yet this conduct failed to please the impetuous Sons of Liberty, who insisted on preserving the agreement until the duty on tea should also be repealed, and they, with all who belonged to their band, continued to maintain it intact until the end of the struggle. The eastern and southern colonies, though they had virtually renounced it long before by their infractions, at first protested bitterly against the open renunciation by the New York merchants, but many weeks had not passed before they followed the example, and formally resumed their importations with the single exception of the article of tea.

On the 25th of October, Colden was superseded in the government by the arrival of Lord Dunmore. The new governor informed the Assembly of the king's approval of their emission of bills of credit, and reminded them that they were expected to continue in well-doing and not to forget to make due appropriations for the troops quartered among them. The complaisant body received the message graciously, and, as a first demonstration of loyalty, on the 20th of January, 1771, summoned Alexander McDougall, who was now at large on bail, to appear before them and answer to the indictment for libel which was pending over him. McDougall obeyed the summons, but refused to acknowledge the authorship of the paper. He was questioned the second time, and

ordered to return a definitive answer. "The House has declared the paper a libel, and the law does not require me to criminate myself," replied he in answer to the second interrogation. "The House has power to extort an answer, and will punish you for contumacy if you refuse to reply," exclaimed De Noyellis, at whose instance the charge had first been brought. "The House has power to throw the prisoner over the bar or out of the window, but the public will doubt the justice of the proceedings," interposed George Clinton, the future governor of New York and vice-president of the United States, who alone dared avow himself McDougall's defender. A written answer was finally submitted by the prisoner, but the House refused to receive it, alleging that its contents reflected on the dignity of their body. "The dignity of the House would be better supported by justice than by overstrained authority," exclaimed Clinton, indignantly. But the Assembly refused to listen to his remonstrances, and upon McDougall's refusal to ask pardon for the offence, committed him to jail without further ceremony. A writ of *habeas corpus* was immediately sued out, but the House refused to deliver him up, alleging the existence of precedents in the English courts of law, and he was detained as a prisoner until the last of February, when, through the efforts of his friends, he obtained his release.

It was not long before the government was again changed by the transfer of Lord Dunmore to Virginia, and the appointment of William Tryon in his stead. The new governor arrived with his family, on the 8th of July,



1771, and was well received by the people. Directly after his arrival, the Assembly voted him an income of two thousand pounds; but he refused its acceptance, saying that his salary was to be paid from his majesty's treasury, and that he had been forbidden to receive any gifts from the Assembly. A similar offer had previously been rejected by Lord Dunmore. This was a new scheme of the British government for securing the submission of the colonies; the treasury in question was intended to be supplied from the colonial taxes, the disbursement of which was thus retained in the hands of the ministry.

Hardly had Tryon arrived in the province before Isaac Sears was called upon to pay the penalty of his previous daring. His prominence in the public censure of the Assembly had never been forgotten, and to punish him, he was accused of having neglected his duty as inspector of pot and pearl ashes. George Clinton, Philip Schuyler and Nathaniel Woodhull warmly espoused his cause, and numerous affidavits were made before the House to prove his fidelity to his duty; but these failed to appease the irate Assembly; Sears was condemned to political decapitation, and Montagne, the tavern-keeper, appointed in his stead.

Few outbreaks occurred within the next two years, yet the spirit of opposition continued to grow more intense among the patriot citizens. Complete stagnation prevailed in the city, public improvements were totally neglected, and the people thought only of resistance to oppression. Commerce, indeed, was partially resumed, but the use of tea had become obsolete in the city, and

any citizen who would have dared to introduce it on his table, would have been branded at once as a traitor to his country.

The only edifice of any consequence erected in the city from the building of the Brick Church in Beekman street in 1752 to the close of the Revolution, was the New York Hospital, the corner-stone of which was laid by Governor Tryon on the 2d of September, 1773. The site at this time was far out of town, and any one would have been considered visionary



Old New York Hospital, in Broadway (between Duane and Anthony Streets).

indeed, who would have dared to suggest the possibility that the city might one day crowd upon its grounds. The scheme had been projected some years before ; in 1770, several physicians notified Colden that sundry public-spirited individuals were collecting subscriptions for a public hospital, and in the following year, a royal charter was granted the institution. The necessary funds having been subscribed, a spacious square of five acres on Broadway was purchased in 1773, and buildings erected at a cost of about eighteen thousand dollars. Before their completion, the interior was burned out by an accidental fire, and the works thus retarded for a considerable time ; they were finished, however, in time to be used as barracks by the English troops during their subsequent occupation of the city. After the evacuation in 1783, the hospital was restored to its original use, and was opened in 1791 for the reception of patients. It served for this purpose until May, 1873, when the fine old ivy covered building at the head of Pearl street was demolished, and its site was covered with warehouses.

On the night of the 29th of December, a fire broke out in the governor's house in the fort, which had been rebuilt since its destruction in the days of the negro plot of 1741, and was now occupied by Governor Tryon, and so rapid was the progress of the conflagration, that the inmates barely escaped with their lives, while the houses in the vicinity were only saved by the snow which lay thickly upon the roofs. The governor and his wife fled through a side door, their daughter saved herself by leaping from a second-story window, but a young servant girl by the name of Elizabeth Garrett, perished



miserably in the flames. The house was burned to the ground, with all that it contained. Two days afterwards, the great seal of the province was raked out from the ashes uninjured. The governor removed with his family to the house on the corner of Wall and William streets, afterwards occupied by the Bank of New York, where the Legislature tendered him their condolences, and presented him with five thousand pounds by way of indemnification for his loss. It was not long before business recalled him to England, and he set sail from the city, leaving the government again in the hands of Cadwallader Colden.

## CHAPTER XVI.

1773—1776.

The New York Tea Party—Commencement of Open Hostilities—Declaration of Independence in New York—Battle of Long Island—Battle of Harlem Plains—Capture of Fort Washington—The British in Possession of the City.

AFFAIRS were now rapidly drawing to a crisis. Incensed by the steadfast refusal of the colonists to receive the tea, the ministry determined to force it upon them, and, despite the remonstrances of the East India Company, who offered to pay double the amount of the American impost, provided parliament would repeal the tax, passed a law, permitting the Company to export their tea to the colonies free from the duties which they had hitherto paid in England, and only retaining the duty of three-pence per pound which was paid in America. As this enabled the Americans to obtain their tea cheaper even than the English, it was thought that they would be entrapped by the insidious snare, and unguardedly yield assent to the principle of parliamentary taxation.

As soon as it was known that this bill had passed and that large shipments of tea had been ordered for America, the Sons of Liberty again assembled to consult

together in this new emergency. Stamp Distributors and Tea Commissioners were declared by them to be alike obnoxious, and it was resolved that no tea should be landed in the city ; while the Mohawks, another organization of the same stamp, pledged themselves to take care of the tea-ships on their arrival.

The news of these demonstrations soon reached England, and so much alarmed some of the commission-merchants that they refused to have anything to do with the shipments of tea to the colonies, so firmly persuaded were they of its certain destruction. A merchant named Kelly, who had resided in New York but was now in London, assured them that their apprehensions were groundless, and that the tea would be landed, saying that, in the days of the Stamp Act, affairs were in the hands of an imbecile old man, but that now a soldier was at the head of the government, who could easily reduce the rebels to obedience. On hearing of this, the patriots called a meeting, and burnt Kelly in effigy on the 5th of November in front of the Coffee House on the corner of Water and Wall streets.

Taking alarm at these expressions of the people, the three Tea Commissioners who had been appointed for New York resigned their commissions on the 10th of November. The tea-ships had sailed from England on the 26th of October, but had been forced to put back by stress of weather. On the 25th of November, the Mohawks were notified to be in readiness for their arrival, and, two days after, the Sons of Liberty formally reorganized and passed the following resolutions, which are of sufficient importance to be transcribed entire :



*Resolved*, That whoever shall aid or abet, or in any manner assist in the introduction of tea from any place whatsoever into this colony, while it is subject, by a British Act of Parliament, to the payment of a duty for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

*Resolved*, That whoever shall be aiding or assisting in the landing or carting of such tea from any ship or vessel, or shall hire any house, storehouse or cellar, or any place whatsoever to deposit the tea, subject to such duty, as aforesaid, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

*Resolved*, That whoever shall sell or buy, or in any manner contribute to the purchase of tea, subject to duty, as aforesaid, or shall aid or abet in transporting such tea by land or water from the city until the 7th Geo. III. Chap. 46, commonly called the Revenue Act, shall be totally and clearly repealed, shall be deemed an enemy to the liberties of America.

*Resolved*, That whether the duties imposed by this act be paid in Great Britain or in America, our liberties are equally affected.

*Resolved*, That whoever shall transgress any of these resolutions, we will not deal with or employ, or have any connection with him."

The spirit of these resolutions, coupled with the energetic preparations of the New York patriots, demonstrate clearly the reception which they held in store for the tea-ship on its arrival. But the expected vessel encountered a severe tempest on her way, and was

forced to put in at Antigua for repairs. Intelligence having been received that she might hourly be expected, on the 16th of December, the very day of the Boston tea-party, the Sons of Liberty assembled in the City Hall, and unanimously resolved that no tea should be landed under any pretext. In the midst of their deliberations, the mayor and recorder entered, bearing a message from the governor, in which he assured the people that the tea should be sent back in the ships that brought it, but must first be taken into the fort to await an order for its return from the council. The snare was a subtle one, and it nearly entrapped the assembly. But John Lamb detected the artifice, and, springing to his feet, he read the Act of Parliament, and pointed out therefrom that if the tea were landed, the duty must be paid. "Shall it be received?" asked he, in conclusion. "No! no! no!" was the unanimous reply, and the disappointed ambassadors withdrew to carry to the governor the tidings of their failure.

The winter wore away without much event. The long expected tea-ship, delayed by contrary winds, failed to make her appearance, yet the patriotic citizens relaxed nothing of their vigilance, but, through their committees of correspondence, kept themselves notified of every suspicious movement on the part of their enemies. On the 7th of April, Tryon set sail for England, leaving the government in the hands of Colden. As yet there had been no rupture between him and the people, who were disposed to regard him with favor for his lax observance of his rigid instructions, and he quitted the province with their sincere regrets.

On the 18th of April, 1774, the *Nancy*, Captain Lockyer, arrived off Sandy Hook, bringing the tea destined for the port of New York. Apprised of her coming, the Committee of Vigilance had instructed the pilots to detain her in the lower bay, as well as the *London*, commanded by Captain Chambers, which, they had been informed, was also on the way with a considerable quantity of the prohibited tea. Faithful to their orders, the pilots refused to bring the vessel up to the city ; while a part of the committee proceeded on board, and, securing the boats to prevent the desertion of the crew, took possession of the vessel until she should be ready to return to England. The captain entreated permission to go up to the city to consult with his consignee, and to obtain the necessary supplies for his return. This was granted him on condition that he should not approach the Custom House, and he was sent under strict surveillance to the wharf, where he was met by the committee and a large concourse of citizens. Seeing that all attempts at evasion would be in vain, he proceeded at once to his consignee, who refused peremptorily to receive the cargo, and advised him as his best course to return with it to England. This advice was seconded by the Vigilance Committee, who rendered every facility for preparing the vessel for sea, but refused to suffer a single sailor to come on shore, while they kept a watchful eye upon all the movements of the captain.

The vessel being nearly ready for sea, it was determined to give the captain a public leave-taking, and numerous placards were posted through the city, inviting



the citizens to join in the demonstration.\* On the day after these were issued—the 22d of April—the London with her recreant captain, a New Yorker, who had once received the public thanks of the city for refusing to bring tea on a previous voyage, appeared off Sandy Hook, where she was instantly boarded by two of the Vigilance Committee. The captain assured them that there was no tea on board his ship, and, as none was to be found on his manifest, he was finally permitted to come up to the city. The wharf was thronged with citizens, and was a scene of intense excitement. Hardly had the vessel touched the shore when she was visited by the whole committee, who demanded the delivery of the tea. Chambers repeated his denial. He was told in reply that they knew that the tea was there, and that they would search every package in the ship till they found it. Finding it impossible to escape the dreaded search, he at length confessed that there was really some tea on board, but insisted that it was only a private adventure, belonging to himself, and shipped without the knowledge of the East India Company. The Committee then withdrew to the Coffee House on the corner of Water and Wall streets to deliberate, taking the

\* The placard in question ran as follows: "*To the Public.*—The sense of the city relative to the landing of the East India Company's tea, being signified to Captain Lockyer by the Committee, nevertheless, it is the design of a number of the citizens that at his departure hence, he shall see with his own eyes their detestation of the measures pursued by the ministry and the India Company to enslave this country. This will be declared by the convention of the people at his departure from this city, which will be on next *Saturday* morning, at 9 o'clock; when, no doubt, every friend to this country will attend. The bells will give notice about an hour before he embarks from Murray's Wharf.

"*New York, April 21, 1774.*

"BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE."

captain and the owners with them. The people meanwhile thronged the wharf, awaiting the result of their council. It was not long before a message was sent out declaring the tea to be confiscated, and directing the Mohawks to be ready to discharge their duty at the proper hour. But the impatience of the crowd could be restrained no longer; at eight in the evening, they boarded the vessel without waiting for the Mohawks, forced open the hatches, hoisted eighteen chests of tea on deck, broke open the lids, and emptied the contents into the river. The captain wisely kept at a distance to avoid the risk of following his adventure. Everything was conducted decorously and openly, a guard was stationed below to prevent all disorder, the citizens wore their usual attire, and no attempt was made at disguise or concealment. Two hours afterwards, the whole party had dispersed, and the wharf was empty and silent as the grave.

The next day was the one appointed for the festival, for which they had now an additional hero. At nine in the morning, the people assembled in front of the Coffee House in Wall street where Lockyer was lodging. The whole city wore an air of festivity, the bells were ringing in merry chorus, the City Hall and King's College\* alone refusing to contribute to the chime, the flag was hoisted on the Liberty Pole, and the ships in the harbor displayed

\* Dr. Myles Cooper, the President of King's College, was a staunch loyalist, and soon became obnoxious to the people by his support of the British government. Hearing soon after that the Liberty Boys intended to attack his cottage, he fled to Stuyvesant's house on the shores of the North River, whence he escaped to the Asia man-of-war then lying in the harbor. He afterwards went to England, where he remained during the war.

their colors in triumph. The committee who had Captain Lockyer in charge brought him out on the balcony and introduced him to the people, by whom he was received with ironical cheers, the bands, meanwhile, playing "God save the King." The presentation over, his new acquaintances escorted him to the foot of Wall street where a pilot boat was in waiting, where they parted with him, wishing him a pleasant journey. As he entered the boat, a royal salute was fired from the cannon at the foot of the Liberty-Pole in honor of his departure. Captain Chambers, meanwhile, had been escorted to the ship with less ceremony by another committee, and the Nancy set sail with both worthies on board, still under the guard of the Vigilance Committee, who did not surrender possession of the vessel until she was three leagues from Sandy Hook.

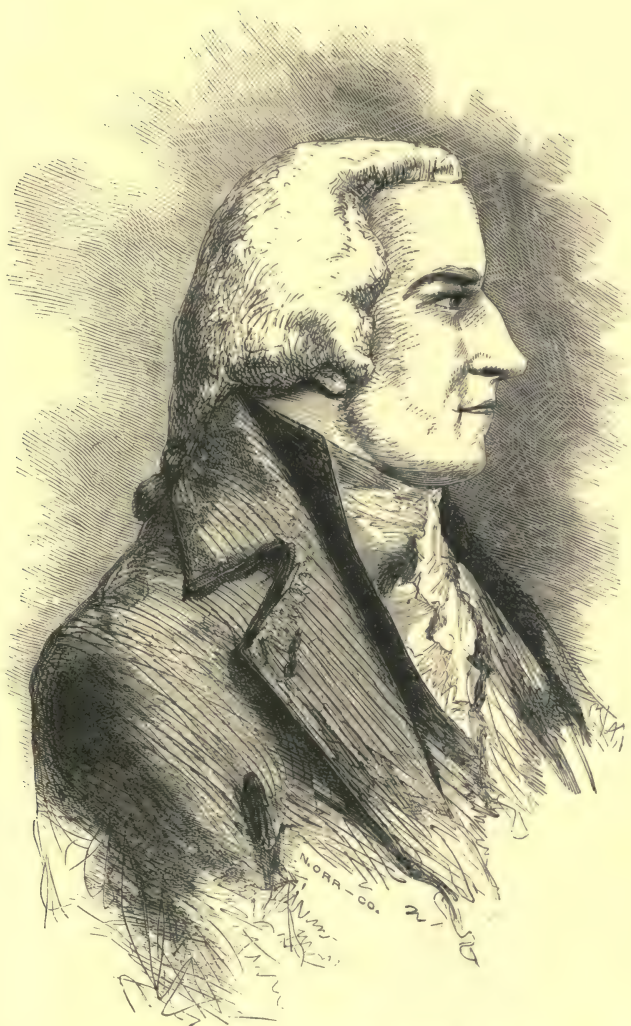
The British ministry, meanwhile, incensed at the colonial reception of the consignments of tea, had made the refractory provinces feel the weight of their vengeance. The tax was insisted on more strongly than ever, new provisions were made for quartering troops in America, Franklin was removed from his office of colonial post-master, and Boston was punished for her rebellion by a Port Bill, closing her harbor and removing her custom house to Salem. In this emergency, the Bostonians, on the 13th of May, resolved to renew the non-importation agreement, and dispatched a letter by Paul Revere to the Sons of Liberty in New York, urging their coöperation in the measure. This missive was crossed on the way by another from the Liberty Boys, bearing date the 14th, urging the Bostonians to



energetic measures, and assuring them of the hearty support of their New York brethren.

On the 16th of May, a meeting of the citizens was held at the Exchange to consult on future action. A new Committee of Fifty-one was nominated to correspond with the other colonies, and a general meeting of the people was called for the 19th to reject or confirm the nomination. At the latter meeting, the ticket was confirmed, and the request of the Bostonians referred to a sub-committee, consisting of Alexander McDougall, Isaac Low, James Duane and John Jay, to prepare and report an answer. The majority of this Committee,—for the impetuous McDougall indignantly withdrew, demanding the adoption of more ultra measures—deemed it inexpedient for the present to renew the compact, but recommended a General Congress of Deputies from all the colonies instead, and requested the Bostonians to fix the time and place of meeting. For this action, they were then and afterwards censured severely, yet the future career of the men who composed the committee in question is conclusive proof that they were actuated by no lack of patriotism, and that, though their resolves seemed for the moment to chime with the wishes of the royalist party, they only sought to postpone the compact until it could be better matured by concerted deliberation. But the enthusiastic Sons of Liberty would listen to no temporizing, and summoned a meeting of the people in the fields on the 6th of July at six o'clock in the evening, to discuss the conduct of the Committee of Fifty-one.

On the day appointed, an immense multitude gathered



Portrait of Alexander Hamilton, from the Original Portrait in the Possession of the Family.





on the Commons—Alexander McDougall presiding over the assembly—known henceforth as the “great meeting in the fields.” Resolutions were passed, denouncing the Boston Port Bill and sustaining the action of the people of that city; a subscription was opened for the relief of the sufferers, and the non-importation agreement was again renewed. The Congress recommended by the Committee of Fifty-one was also approved by the meeting, and it was resolved that deputies should at once be appointed, and instructed to insist upon the enforcement of the non-intercourse agreement until every duty should be repealed. At this meeting, Alexander Hamilton, then a youth of seventeen, and a student in King’s College made his maiden speech, and gave an earnest of his future brilliant career.

On the following day, the Committee of Fifty-one met and disavowed the proceedings of the meeting. Upon this, eleven of the Sons of Liberty—Francis Lewis, Joseph Hallet, Alexander McDougall, Isaac Sears, Thomas Randall, Leonard Lispenard, Peter V. B. Livingston, Abram P. Lott, John Broome, Jacob Van Zandt and Abraham Brasher—withdrew from the committee, and published an address to the people, in justification of their conduct. The plan of the general Congress had now been decided upon, and polls were opened under the inspection of the mayor and aldermen for the election of delegates, at which all tax-payers were allowed to vote. The nominations had been made by the Committee of Fifty-one, in conjunction with a Committee of Mechanics, and consisted of Philip Livingston, John Alsop, Isaac Low, James Duane and John

Jay. For the latter, the seceders endeavored to substitute McDougall; but the attempt was defeated, the whole ticket was elected, and the delegates soon afterwards set out to join the First Continental Congress, which assembled at Philadelphia early in September. This Congress adopted a Declaration of Colonial Rights, the composition of which is attributed to John Jay, in which they claimed for themselves all the privileges enjoyed by British subjects, protested against standing armies and parliamentary taxation, and declared eleven acts which had been passed since the accession of George III., to be infringements upon their rights, and therefore unconstitutional. They likewise leagued themselves into an American Association, pledging themselves to import no goods from Great Britain or the West Indies until the obnoxious acts should be repealed, and forbidding traders to increase the price of their goods in consequence of this agreement. The slave trade was also denounced by the Association, and the citizens were urged to develop the internal resources of their country by the encouragement of home manufactures; and vigilance committees were appointed throughout the country to see that none of these regulations were evaded. The patriots in the New York Assembly endeavored to obtain the sanction of that body to the measures of the Continental Congress, but were overruled by the majority of conservatives; yet, despite this dissent, the House addressed a remonstrance to Parliament so bold in its tone that the ministry refused its reception. The attempt to procure the indorsement of the resolves of Congress was subse-

quently renewed with the same result, and on the 3d of April, 1775, the Assembly adjourned, never to meet again. A Committee of Sixty was appointed in the city of New York to enforce the observance of the aforesaid regulations. An opportunity was soon offered them for action. On the 16th of February, the ship *James of Glasgow* arrived with a cargo of goods, which the consignees attempted to land, but were prevented by the committee, who ordered the vessel to put to sea again immediately. This order was countermanded by the lieutenant of a man-of-war, then lying in the harbor, the captain of which happened to be on shore at the time. The latter was immediately seized by the committee, and threatened with their vengeance if he did not at once retract the commands of his subordinate. Terrified by their menaces, he promptly obeyed, and ordered that the vessel should be suffered to return—a command which was speedily executed under the supervision of the committee.

The Assembly having refused to make any provision for the appointment of delegates to the Continental Congress, it was determined that they should be chosen by a Provincial Congress, composed of delegates from the respective counties. This Congress assembled on the 20th of April in the city of New York, and appointed five delegates to the Continental Congress, which convened at Philadelphia in the ensuing month. In this Provincial Congress—the first in New York—the city and county was represented by Isaac Sears, who had but recently escaped the imprisonment before suffered by McDougall.



A short time previous to this, the seventy-four gun ship, *Asia*, had been ordered from Boston, and anchored off the Battery with her guns bearing on the town, while, at the same time, the troops stationed in New York and New Jersey had been transferred to Boston, to make room for the reinforcements which were daily expected. More barracks became needed in that city in consequence of this arrangement, but the governor found it impossible to induce any Bostonian either to furnish the materials or to aid in the erection. In this extremity, he applied to New York; but the Sons of Liberty forbade the citizens to render any assistance under penalty of being considered as traitors to their country. Such traitors, however, were found, and the committee was soon apprised that a vessel had been fitted out with a cargo of boards and straw for the barracks at Boston. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, a meeting was at once summoned upon the Commons, John Lamb and Marinus Willett were chosen chairmen, and it was resolved to seize the ship and to prevent her voyage. At this meeting, Sears was the chief orator, urging the people to arm and to supply themselves with twenty-four rounds of ammunition—a recommendation which was at once adopted. For this bold proposition, Sears was arrested on a warrant and carried before the mayor. Like his predecessor, McDougall, he refused to give bail, and was committed to prison, but was rescued on his way by the people, who bore him through the streets of the city in triumph, in ironical defiance of the legal authorities.

On Sunday, the 24th of April, 1775, the news of the

battle of Lexington reached the city. This was the signal for open hostilities. Business was at once suspended; the Sons of Liberty assembled in large numbers, and, taking possession of the City Hall, distributed the arms that were stored in it, together with a quantity which had been deposited in the arsenal for safe keeping, among the citizens, a party of whom formed themselves into a voluntary corps under the command of Samuel Broome, and assumed the temporary government of the city. This done, they demanded and obtained the keys of the Custom House, closed the building, and laid an embargo upon the vessels in port destined for the eastern colonies; then notified the members of the fraternity in the other cities of what they had done calling upon them to follow their example.

It now became necessary to organize some provisional government for the city, and, for this purpose, on the 5th of May a meeting of the citizens was called at the Coffee-House, at which a Committee of One Hundred was chosen and invested with the charge of municipal affairs, the people pledging themselves to obey its orders until different arrangements should be made by the Continental Congress.\* This committee was composed in

\* This committee was composed of Isaac Low, chairman, John Jay, Francis Lewis, John Alsop, Philip Livingston, James Duane, E. Duyckman, William Seton, William W. Ludlow, Cornelius Clopper, Abraham Brinkerhoff, Henry Remsen, Robert Ray, Evert Bancker, Joseph Totten, Abraham P. Lott, David Beeckman, Isaac Roosevelt, Gabriel H. Ludlow, William Walton, Daniel Phoenix, Frederick Jay, Samuel Broome, John De Lancey, Augustus Van Horne, Abraham Duryee, Samuel Verplanck, Rudolphus Ritzema, John Morton, Joseph Hallet, Robert Benson, Abraham Brasher, Leonard Lisenard, Nicholas Hoffman, P. V. B. Livingston, Thomas Marston, Lewis Pintard, John Imlay, Eleazar Miller, jun., John Broome, John B. Moore, Nicholas Bogert, John Anthony, Victor Bicker, William Goforth,

part of men inclined to the royalist cause, yet, such was the popular excitement at the time, that they were carried away by the current, and forced to acquiesce in the measures of their more zealous colleagues. An address to the Lord Mayor and citizens of London, justifying the course which the colonists had taken, and assuring them that the city was "as one man in the cause of "liberty," was drawn up and signed by most of the assembly.

The committee at once assumed the command of the city, and, retaining the corps of Broome as their executive power, prohibited the sale of weapons to any persons suspected of being hostile to the patriotic party. They also ordered that all the cannon of the city not belonging to the colony should be carried away, and appointed a sub-committee to inquire into the supply of arms and ammunition then in the city. Everything wore a martial appearance, the stores and workshops were closed throughout the town, and armed citizens paraded the streets, as if the city were in a state of siege. The moderate men of the committee succeeded in prevailing on their colleagues to present a placable address to Lieutenant-Governor Colden, explanatory of their

Hercules Mulligan, Alexander McDougall, John Reade, Joseph Ball, George Jane-way, John White, Gabriel W. Ludlow, John Lasher, Theophilus Anthony, Thomas Smith, Richard Yates, Oliver Templeton, Jacobus Van Landby, Jeremiah Platt, Peter S. Curtenius, Thomas Randall, Lancaster Burling, Benjamin Kissam, Jacob Lefferts, Anthony Van Dam, Abraham Walton. Hamilton Young, Nicholas Roosevelt, Cornelius P. Low, Francis Basset, James Beeckman, Thomas Ivers, William Denning, John Berrien, Benjamin Helme, William W. Gilbert, Daniel Dunscomb, John Lamb, Richard Sharp, John Morin Scott, Jacob Van Voorhis, Comfort Sands, Edward Fleming, Peter Goelet, Gerret Ketteltas, Thomas Buchanan, James Degbrosses, Petrus Byvanck and Lott Embren



appointment, and assuring him that they should use every effort to preserve the public peace ; yet ominous precautions were taken to put the arms of the city in a serviceable condition, and to survey the neighboring grounds with a view to erecting fortifications.

A rumor was now spread that a large body of troops were on their way to New York, and the people at once petitioned Lieutenant-Governor Colden to use his influence with General Gage, at this time the commandant at New York, to prohibit their landing. The Continental Congress, however, recommended that the troops should be permitted to land and take peaceable possession of the city, but, on no account, should be suffered to erect fortifications, and also, that the warlike stores should be removed from the town, and a safe retreat secured for the women and children in case of a siege.

Some time previous to this, a quantity of military stores belonging to the royal troops had been deposited at Turtle Bay, near the foot of Forty-seventh street on the North River, which the Liberty Boys now determined to take into safe keeping. Headed by their daring leader, John Lamb, they obtained a vessel from Connecticut, sailed up to the storehouse under cover of the night surprised the guard, and carried off the booty, a part of which was dispatched to the army at Cambridge, while the rest was expended in the Northern campaign. A boat belonging to the *Asia* was soon after destroyed by the people, but this act was disapproved by the committee and the corporation, and the boat restored at the expense of the city ; and, anxious to prevent all future excesses, as well as to secure the people from possible

retaliation, the Provisional Congress requested General Wooster, who was hovering in the suburbs, to take up his head-quarters in the city, with which request he complied early in June, and encamped with his troops at Harlem.

In the meantime, the expected troops had arrived and encamped in the city, whence they were soon afterwards ordered to repair to Boston. The Sons of Liberty urged that the whole regiment should be made prisoners, but the committee, who were not yet prepared for such a step, gave them permission to depart, stipulating that they should take with them nothing but their arms and accoutrements ; but, heedless of this order, they prepared to embark with all the spare arms in their possession. Intelligence of this proceeding was speedily conveyed to a knot of the Liberty Boys assembled at the tavern of Jasper Drake, in Water street near Beekman Slip, at that time a well-known rendezvous of the patriots, who at once determined to stop the embarkation, and hastily set out by different routes to rally their friends and take forcible possession of the weapons. Colonel Marinus Willett, who was one of the number, hastened to the Coffee-House to give public notice of the course determined on by the party ; then proceeded through Water street to the Exchange at the lower end of Broad street, where he discovered the troops coming down the street, with five carts loaded with chests of arms in front under a small guard. Without a moment's hesitation, he advanced to meet them, and, coming in contact with them at the corner of Broad and Beaver streets, seized the horse that was drawing the foremost cart, and

brought the whole company to a full stop. The major at once rode forward to learn what was the matter, upon which Willett informed him that the committee had given the troops no permission to carry arms out of the city, and that he intended to stop the proceeding. While remonstrating with the officer, the mayor, who was strongly suspected of inclining to the side of the royalists, came up and ordered Willett to suffer the carts to pass, reprimanding him severely for thus disturbing the peace of the city, in which he was supported by Gouverneur Morris, who happened to arrive at the same time, and who supposed that permission for the removal of the arms had been granted the troops by the committee. Staggered by this opposition, Willett was on the point of yielding, when John Morin Scott came up, and, catching the last words of his remonstrance with Morris, exclaimed in a loud voice, "You are right, Willett; the committee have not given them permission to carry off any spare arms!" Hardly had the words been spoken when the intrepid colonel seized the horse's head, which he had let go in the strife, and, calling upon all of the soldiers who were unwilling to shed the blood of their countrymen, to come from the ranks to the side of the people, turned the cart to the right, and ordered the carman to drive up Beaver street. A single soldier stepped from the ranks in compliance with the invitation. He was received with three hearty cheers by the crowd which had gathered about the scene of contention, then mounted on one of the carts and escorted in triumph to the corner of Broadway and John street, where the arms were deposited in the yard of Abraham Van Wyck, a stanch



Whig who kept a ball-alley at this place, which was a favorite resort of the Sons of Liberty. These arms were afterwards used by the first troops raised in New York by the order of Congress. The soldiers, meanwhile, were escorted to the wharf, where they embarked amid the hisses of the citizens.\*

Open hostilities had now commenced. Ticonderoga and Crown Point had been taken ; the battle of Bunker Hill had been fought, and George Washington had been appointed commander-in-chief of the American army. Yet the people had not yet grown to the idea of independence, and the Committee of Safety, when accused of the thought, indignantly repelled it as treasonable and preposterous, while even the Sons of Liberty freely acknowledged the right of England to regulate trade, only denouncing the principle of parliamentary taxation. On the 25th of June, Washington entered New York on his way from Mount Vernon to Cambridge to take command of the army assembled there. The Provincial Congress received him with a cautious address. Despite their patriotism, they still clung to the shadow of loyalty ; fearing to go too far, they acted constantly under protest that they desired nothing more than to secure to themselves the rights of true-born British subjects. The next morning, Washington quitted the city, escorted on his way by the provincial militia. Tryon had entered it the night before, and thus had been brought almost face to face with the rebel who was destined to work such a transformation in his majesty's colonies of

\* See Willett's Narrative, pp. 28-32.

America. The mayor and corporation received the returning governor with expressions of joy, and even the patriot party were glad of the change which relieved them from the government of Colden. But the city had greatly changed during his absence. He had left it mutinous, yet anxious to obey him as far as was possible, and always disposed to treat him with respect; he found it in a state of open rebellion, preserving the semblance of loyalty without its substance, and far less disposed to yield obedience to his orders than to those of the Provincial Congress, now established among them.

Meanwhile, the colony of New York had been ordered by the Continental Congress to contribute her quota of three thousand men to the general defence, and four regiments were accordingly raised, which were placed under the command of Colonels Alexander McDougall, Goosen Van Schaick, James Clinton, and Holmes. Of the first of these, which was raised from the city of New York, Adolph Ritzma, the son of the domine of the Dutch Church, was lieutenant-colonel; Frederic Wisenfelts, a Prussian of fine military talents, first captain, and Marinus Willett, second captain. A Swiss officer, by the name of Zedwitz, served as major of the regiment; both he and Ritzma afterwards proved traitors to their trust. John Lamb was appointed to the command of a company of artillery, and Wiley, Oswald, Sears and others of the Liberty Boys entered the ranks, and soon afterwards set out on the Northern campaign.

The city now presented a curious spectacle, as the seat of two governments, each issuing its own edicts, and denouncing those of the other as illegal authority.

It was not long before the two powers came into collision. Regarding the guns on the Battery as dangerous to the patriot interest, and needing them for the fortifications of the posts in the Highlands, the Provincial Congress directed their removal; and, on the night of the 23d of August, Captain Lamb with a party of Liberty Boys and a number of citizens, among whom was Alexander Hamilton, proceeded to execute the order; a part of the company remaining under arms while the rest were employed in removing the cannon. While thus engaged, a musket was discharged from the barge of the *Asia*, which had been stationed near the shore to reconnoitre. The fire was returned by Lamb and his company, killing one of the crew, and wounding several others, upon which the barge at once made her way to the ship. No sooner had she reached it than a heavy cannonading was opened on the town, riddling the houses near the Battery, and severely wounding three of the citizens. The drum beat to arms; a rumor was spread that the British intended to destroy the city, and many of the people fled with their wives and children in apprehension of the impending catastrophe. The intrepid Liberty Boys, meanwhile, coolly continued their task in the face of the enemy's fire, nor did they quit the Battery until the last of the twenty-one pieces had been carried away in safety. The next day, Captain Vandeput, the commander of the *Asia*, dispatched a letter to the mayor, complaining of the murder of one of his men, and demanding immediate satisfaction. A correspondence of mutual recrimination, resulting in nothing, ensued, and on the 29th of August, the Provincial Congress issued



an order declaring that, as the *Asia* had seen fit to cannonade the city, she must henceforth cease to receive supplies from it, and must obtain them instead by the way of Governor's Island.

Hitherto, the governor had remained firm at his post; but, finding his position daily growing more perilous, despite the pledges of the corporation for his personal safety, he determined to abandon the city, and took refuge on board the *Asia*; from which he kept up a constant communication with his friends on shore, and instigated violent attacks on the Sons of Liberty through *Rivington's Gazette*,\* the organ of the royalist party. Finding this journal becoming somewhat too scurrilous in its abuse, the Liberty Boys, after vainly remonstrating with the printer, directed Captain Sears to attend to the matter. Mustering a party of light-horse from Connecticut, he entered the city at noon on the 4th of December, and, proceeding to the printing-office, forced open the doors, demolished the press, distributed the types through the windows, and effectually stopped the paper.

\* This journal, which was first issued by James Rivington on the 22d of April, 1773, on a large medium sheet, folio, from the beginning warmly supported the cause of the British government, and received the support of the royalists throughout the country. After the destruction of his office, Rivington went to England, where he procured a new press, and obtained the appointment of king's printer for New York. After the conquest of the city by the British, he returned, and, on the 4th of October, 1777, issued his paper anew, and continued it under the title of the *Royal Gazette* until the close of the war, when he discarded the royal arms from the title, which henceforth appeared as *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. The paper, however, was regarded with coldness; and, discouraged by the want of popular faith in his conversion, in 1783, he discontinued its publication, and devoted himself exclusively to the sale of books and stationery. He also published several volumes, among which were Cook's Voyages. He was regarded by his contemporaries as a man of considerable ability.

Early in the spring of 1776, General Lee,\* who had commanded the American forces at New York since the departure of Wooster, was ordered to Charleston, and General Putnam was left in sole command of the city. Putnam fixed his head-quarters at No 1 Broadway, in a



Franklin Mansion : President Washington's residence, Franklin Square.

\* Lee came to New York in January, 1776, with a force of twelve hundred men, and took up his head-quarters at the Kennedy House, the same afterwards occupied by Putnam. Previously to the departure of Washington for Philadelphia, he lodged while in the city at No. 184 Pearl street; upon his return, he removed to the Kennedy House, the favorite resort of the officers of the army.

house built by Captain Kennedy of the British army. On the 14th of April, Washington arrived, having succeeded in expelling the British troops from Boston, and took up his quarters at Richmond Hill, in the vicinity of Varick and Charlton streets. The idea of independence was fast gaining ground, and those who would have shuddered at the thought a few months before, were now discussing the expediency of a total separation from the mother country. At this juncture, "Common Sense" was published in Philadelphia by Thomas Paine, and electrified the whole nation with the spirit of independence and liberty. This eloquent production severed the last link that bound the colonies to the mother-country; it boldly gave speech to the arguments which had long been trembling on the lips of many, but which none before had found courage to utter, and, accepting its conclusions, several of the colonies instructed their delegates in the Continental Congress to close their eyes to the *ignis fatuus* of loyalty, and fearlessly to throw off their allegiance to the crown. On the 7th of June, 1776, the subject was introduced into Congress by Richard Henry Lee, who offered a resolution declaring "that the "United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that their political "connection with Great Britain is and ought to be "totally dissolved." A spirited debate followed these resolutions. The delegates of several of the colonies, New York among the rest, had received no instructions how to act in this emergency, and they drew back shrinkingly from the perilous step which would condemn them.



if unsuccessful, to a traitor's doom. Seven of the thirteen colonies voted in its favor. Armed with this small majority, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Read, Sherman and Robert R. Livingston were appointed to draft a Declaration of Independence ; which, on the 4th of July, was adopted by Congress, and the British colonies transformed into the United States of America.

On the 10th of July, the news reached New York, where it was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Orders were immediately issued for the several brigades then in the city to meet on the Commons at six in the evening to hear the document publicly read. At the hour appointed, the soldiers ranged themselves in a hollow square, within which was Washington on horseback with his aids, on the site of the present Park Fountain, to listen to the address which, for the first time, proclaimed the United States a free and independent nation. The reading ended, the immense auditory burst into shouts of applause. The people, impelled by the new-born spirit of independence, rushed in a body to the City Hall, and, tearing the picture of George III. from its frame, rent it in pieces and trampled it under foot. Proceeding thence to the Bowling Green, they hurled from its pedestal the statue of the royal tyrant which they had set up in a fit of ill-judged enthusiasm a few years before, and dragged it in triumph through the streets of the city. The statue of Pitt escaped desecration upon this occasion ; yet the people had lost much of their reverence for their former idol, and the statue had already received considerable mutilation from their hands.

General Nathaniel Woodhull was directed to forage for the troops on Long Island, and Washington retained command of the forces in the city.

Soon after the arrival of the British fleet at Staten Island, Admiral Howe, who came commissioned by the British government to treat for peace with the rebels, as they were contemptuously termed, attempted to open negotiations with the American forces, and, to this end, addressed a letter to "George Washington, Esq.," which Washington returned without reply. He then dispatched another, addressed to "George Washington, etc. etc.," which was also returned; upon which the general, resolved never to acknowledge the military rank of a traitor, abandoned all hopes of an accommodation with the rebels, and turned his thoughts to a warlike policy.

At this critical juncture, General Greene fell dangerously ill of a fever, and Washington, anticipating that New York and Long Island would be attacked simultaneously, dispatched General Putnam to take command at the latter, with strict injunctions to guard the passes to the American camp, and by all means to hinder the advance of the enemy. For this, the position of the ground was well chosen. A range of thickly wooded hills, extending from the Narrows to Jamaica, and only accessible by three easily-guarded passes—the first, winding round the western base of the Narrows; the second, crossing the range by the village of Flatbush; and the third, passing to the right through Flatlands and intersecting the road which led from Bedford to Jamaica—separated the American lines from the expected landing-

place of the enemy at Gravesend. Near these passes breastworks had been erected and three or four regiments stationed, while patrols were set to reconnoitre the roads and to give the earliest intelligence of the advance of the enemy. Trusting to the watchfulness of Lord Stirling and General Sullivan, Putnam, who knew nothing of the topography of the country, unwisely removed these patrols from their posts, and thus insured the defeat of the American army.

Contrary to the expectations of Washington, Howe determined to reach New York through Long Island, and on the 22d of August, passed over with four thousand men from Staten Island to Gravesend, where he landed without opposition. Other regiments, commanded by Earls Cornwallis and Percy, Sir William Erskine, Count Donop, and Generals Grant, De Heister, and Knyphausen soon followed, increasing the number to fifteen thousand men, who stretched along the eastern base of the hills, where they lay encamped for several days, reconnoitering the ground and skirmishing with straggling scouting parties from the American lines.

Clinton was not long in discovering the unguarded state of the passes through the hills. He at once communicated the intelligence to Howe, a consultation was held by the generals, and a skillful *ruse* concerted for the plan of attack. On the evening of the 26th, De Heister, with the Hessians under his command, advanced along the road which led through the hills by the way of Flatbush, while General Grant, with the left division of the army, took the lower road along the shore ; a manœuvre designed to divert the attention of Putnam, and thus



enable Clinton with the main body of the army to skirt the hills by an easterly route, gain possession of the pass in the heights near Bedford, and thence turn the left of the American lines. The artifice was successful; Putnam, apprised by advance parties of the advance of Grant and De Heister, dispatched a strong detachment under Lord Stirling to guard the lower road, and another under Sullivan to stop the progress of De Heister, and it was not until the army under Clinton had gained the coveted position and opened a heavy fire upon Sullivan's rear, that the *ruse* was detected by the cheated general. Finding themselves thus completely hemmed in, the troops under Sullivan, after vainly attempting to break through the lines of the enemy, scattered in confusion and took refuge among the hills, where the greater portion with their commander were soon discovered and taken prisoners.

The conflict at Gowanus creek was far more sanguinary. Posted with his troops on the slope of the hills north from Greenwood Cemetery, Lord Stirling maintained his ground against Grant, until the approach of Cornwallis with a large reinforcement warned him that further resistance would be in vain. Closely pressed by the enemy in front, and having in his rear the deep marsh and creek at Gowanus, eighty feet in width, two courses alone remained to him; either to surrender at once to the enemy, or to attempt to escape across the creek, spanned only by the remnant of a half-burnt mill-dam. He gallantly chose the latter; and, selecting four hundred men from the Maryland brigade to cover their flight, he ordered the remainder of his troops to retreat,

then charged with fixed bayonets with this forlorn hope upon the brigade commanded by Cornwallis. Four times the desperate charge was repeated ; on the fifth, the enemy was on the point of yielding, when De Heister came up from the rout of Sullivan, and commenced an assault on the rear. This new onslaught determined the fortunes of the day. Stirling and a portion of the detachment surrendered themselves prisoners of war ; while the remainder resolutely cut their way through the ranks of the enemy, only to perish in the deep morass which engulfed the most of their number. The loss of the Americans in this battle amounted to nearly twelve hundred men, a thousand of whom, including Lord Stirling and General Sullivan, remained prisoners in the hands of the enemy. On the day after the battle, General Woodhull was also captured while scouting at the southwest part of the island, and so severely hurt that he died of his wounds a short time after. About four hundred of the British were killed, wounded and taken prisoners.

Encouraged by this success, the victorious troops advanced in front of the American lines, which had been reinforced during the battle by Washington in person with a large body of troops from the city, and made preparations for investing them in form. In this emergency, Washington summoned a council of his officers, and, by their advice, determined to evacuate the island. In order to conceal this resolution from the British, it was announced that boats were wanted to transport a detachment of the American troops to Hellgate in order to attack the enemy in the rear. At eight in the even-

ing of the 29th, the embarkation commenced under cover of a heavy fog and a fine, drizzling rain. To deceive the British, companies of troops marched and countermarched from the ferry to the lines while their comrades were embarking. At eleven o'clock, the wind, which had been unfavorable, suddenly changed, and the boats crossed rapidly, almost under the guns of the British fleet which was lying in the Upper Bay, ignorant of the easy escape of its prey. Nor was this the only danger to which the Americans were exposed; a Tory who lived in close proximity to the ferry, dispatched a negro servant with the intelligence to Clinton; but the slave was apprehended by a Hessian guard, who, not understanding his language, detained him until morning, then conducted him to headquarters, too late for his message. Washington, who for two days had scarcely quitted his saddle, superintended the retreat of his troops with intense anxiety, each moment expecting to see them discovered by the enemy. But the friendly fog screened them effectually, the boats rapidly crossed and recrossed in safety, and, by sunrise the next morning, the whole army of nine thousand men, with their prisoners, baggage, and stores, together with most of the wounded, were safely landed on the opposite shore. The fog continued till a late hour the next morning, when the British scouts, suspecting that all was not right from the dead silence which reigned in the camp, drew nearer and nearer the American line.\* By and by, one, more daring than the rest, crept cautiously within

\* See Onderdonk's *Revolutionary Incidents*, pp. 130-131.



the works, and finding them abandoned, gave the alarm, upon which the British army rushed in and hastened to the ferry, just in time to witness the escape of their foes.

Thinking this a favorable moment for winning back the colonies to their allegiance, Howe opened a negotiation with the Continental Congress, promising pardon to all who would lay down their arms, together with a repeal of the obnoxious laws in which the struggle had originated. But this concession came too late; the people had grown into a spirit of self-government, and, in the conference which was subsequently held on Staten Island, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Francis Rutledge, the commissioners appointed by Congress for the negotiation, refused to treat for peace on any other terms than the full and entire acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies. This, of course, was inadmissible. Seeing that no terms could be made with Congress, Howe issued a proclamation repeating the offer to the people, then proceeded at once to invest the city.

Notwithstanding the fortifications which had been erected, it was evident to all that the city could not maintain a siege against the British on the neighboring islands and the ships of war which held the harbor in blockade, and on the 12th of September, Washington called a council of war, and reluctantly determined to abandon it to its fate. The military stores were at once ordered to be removed across the Harlem River, a considerable force was stationed at Kingsbridge, Putnam was left with a force of four thousand men in the city

and Washington withdrew with the main body of the army to Harlem Heights.\*

What was next to be done? was a question which Washington put to himself, but could gain no reply. The British had complete possession of both rivers; they could ascend when they pleased, and, landing above him, hem him in and insure the destruction of his army, for resistance would be in vain with such unequal forces; could attack the city at once, or could cross over from Long Island and attack him when they thought proper. That he would eventually be forced to evacuate the island, he foresaw clearly—to evacuate it too soon would be to yield an important advantage to the enemy; to linger too long would be to surrender his army. His own conduct must depend on the movements of Howe, yet with all his endeavors he had failed to procure the slightest clue to these movements. In this emergency, it was resolved, in a council of war, to send a trusty man to penetrate the enemy's ranks in disguise and obtain the desired information, and Nathan Hale, a young officer in the regiment of Knowlton, volunteered to undertake the dangerous mission. He passed over to Long Island, penetrated the enemy's lines, made drawings of his works, and gained full intelligence of the projected movements of the army. On his return he was recognized as belonging to the American army, and at once

\* After his retreat from the city, Washington first fixed his quarters at the house of Robert Murray on Murray Hill, whence he issued his instructions to Nathan Hale, and where he was on the day preceding the landing of Howe. On the 15th, he was at Mott's Tavern, at the corner of One Hundred and Forty-third street and Eighth Avenue. He subsequently resided at the house of Col. Roger Morris, on the shore of the Harlem River.

arrested and conveyed to the Beekman House, on the corner of Fifty-first street and First avenue, now the head-quarters of General Howe, who, since his departure, had taken possession of the island. Here he was tried, convicted as a spy, and sentenced to be hung the next morning at day-break. He was at once delivered over to the notorious Cunningham, the Provost-Marshal of the Revolution, who confined him for the night in the green-house of the garden, refusing his prayer for a light and writing materials that he might write for the last time to his parents and friends. Through the influence of the lieutenant, these were afterwards furnished him ; but, in the morning, Cunningham savagely tore the letters in pieces before his eyes, declaring that the rebels should never know that they could die with so much firmness ; and ordered the prisoner to immediate execution, demanding, as a last refinement of cruelty, that he should make a dying speech and confession. " I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country," was the calm reply of the doomed patriot. These were his last words ; the next moment he was suspended on an apple-tree in the orchard, whence his bones were thrust into a nameless grave. The tragedy cast a deep gloom over the army, in which Hale was universally beloved ; while the heartlessness with which the affair was conducted must ever remain a stigma on the name of the British general.

Soon after the departure of Hale on his perilous mission, the British ships advanced up the rivers, and under cover of their fire, which swept across the island, Howe landed at Kip's Bay at the foot of Thirtv-sixth street.



The guard stationed there to prevent his landing fled without striking a blow, followed by the two Connecticut brigades under the command of Generals Parsons and Fellows, which had been sent to their support. On hearing the firing, Washington immediately rode to the scene of action, which he reached just in time to catch a glimpse of the vanishing brigades. "Are these the men "with whom I am to defend America!" exclaimed he, indignantly dashing his hat upon the ground, as he saw himself thus deserted by his recreant soldiers. His aids hurried him from his perilous position, and, seeing that the island was irretrievably lost, he retired with his forces to Kingsbridge, sending orders to Putnam to evacuate the city. In the meantime, Howe advanced to the centre of the island, and, encamping on Inceuberg Hill, made preparations to stretch a cordon across the island and thus insure the capture of the troops still in the city.

The retreat of Silliman's brigade,\* which, by some

\* The following affidavit, copied from the original in the possession of Abraham Tomlinson, Esq., Poughkeepsie, N. Y., seems to indicate that Putnam was separated from and considerably in the rear of the retreating brigade :

"Hezekiah Ripley of said Fairfield doth certify that on or about the 15th day of "September, 1776, I was the officiating chaplain of the brigade, then commanded by "Genl. Gold S. Silliman. From mismanagement of the commanding officer of that "Brigade, was unfortunately left in the city of New York, and, at the time before "mentioned, while the Brigade was in front and myself considerably in the rear, I "was met by Genl Putnam, who then informed me of the landing of the enemy "above us, and that I must make my escape on the west side of the Island, where- "upon, I, on foot, crossed the lots to the west side of the Island unmolested, "excepting by the fire of the ships of war, at the time lying on the North River. "How the Brigade escaped, I was not an eye witness.

"HEZEKIAH RIPLEY,

"Afterwards one of the Trustees of Yale College

"Sept. 26, 1776."

unaccountable error, remained too long in the city, was, indeed, effected almost by a miracle. Hastily rallying at Bunker Hill, under the supposition that all the avenues were in the possession of the enemy, they had just determined to make a bold stand and sell their lives as dearly as they could, when Colonel Burr, at this time one of the aids of Putnam, came up to extricate them from the difficulty by his superior knowledge of the country. Guiding them by a cross-road from Bunker Hill to a new road, recently cut through the hills on the line of Broadway, he led them along the edge of a swamp to the woods which surrounded the house of Robert Murray, at Ingleberg Hill, and, passing thence up the Greenwich Road, reached the Apthorpe House on the road to Bloomingdale, where Washington was impatiently awaiting their arrival. In the meantime, Howe, Clinton, Tryon and a few others had halted for refreshment at the Murray House, where, beguiled by the smiles and the choice wines of the Quaker hostess, who had received a hint from Washington to intercept and detain them as long as possible, they lingered in forgetfulness of the enemy they now deemed a certain prey, until a soldier rushed in, panting for breath, to tell them that the brigade had passed almost within their grasp, and was now advancing up the Bloomingdale road. To mount and pursue them was the work of an instant. Fifteen minutes after Washington had quitted the Apthorpe House, it was filled with British troops; but the few minutes' delay had saved the retreating soldiers. At ten minutes after three, the colors were struck in New York, and General Robertson with his forces took possession of the city.

The two armies, separated by Harlem Plains, encamped for the night; the one on the heights between Manhattanville and Kingsbridge, the other in a line between Hoorne's Hook and Bloomingdale. Early the next morning, two parties, under the command of Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch, were detached by Washington with orders to gain the rear of a body of British troops stationed on Vandewater's Heights (on the site of the present Bloomingdale Asylum) while dispositions were made to attack them in front; but, by some mistake, a fire was opened upon them before the rear was gained, and, warned of their danger, they made good their retreat to the main body of the army.

By way of retaliation, Howe ordered a detachment to push forward through McGowan's Pass and attack the American lines. They were met by Colonel Knowlton at the foot of a rocky gorge between the Eighth and Ninth Avenues, near the line of One Hundred and Twenty-fourth street, who drove them into a cleared field about two hundred rods distant, where they took shelter behind a fence and continued the contest. It was not long before they were forced from this position; and, retreating to a buckwheat field four hundred yards distant, they made a stand on the summit of a high hill, where, joined by a reinforcement of Hessians, they fought for two hours with great spirit, but were finally forced to retreat for the third time to another hill near the British lines.\* The main body now prepared to

\* Vide Dunlap's *Hist. of New York*, vol. ii., pp. 77, 78, *Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution*, vol. ii., pp. 817-819, and *Dawson's Battles of the United States by Sea and Land*, pp. 160-162.



advance to their aid, when Washington, not wishing to risk a general engagement, prudently retreated, with the loss of sixteen of his men, among whom was the gallant Colonel Knowlton. Major Leitch was also so severely hurt that he died of his wounds a few weeks after. The loss of the British, as acknowledged in the official report, was fourteen killed and seventy-eight wounded. Clouded as it was by the loss of two valuable officers, the success of this skirmish greatly inspired the Americans, who had been much depressed by their last defeat. A few days after, Major Thomas Henly fell in an unsuccessful attack upon the British forces under the command of General Heath, which were stationed at Montresor's, now Randall's, Island.

For several weeks, Washington retained his position in the high grounds above Manhattanville, residing at the house of Col. Roger Morris, on Harlem Heights, near Carmansville, late Madame Jumel's. Not caring to risk a direct attack, Howe withdrew the greater part of his forces from the island and landed them at Throg's Point in Westchester County, with a view to cutting off all communication from the eastern States ; while, at the same time, he dispatched three frigates up the Hudson River to intercept all supplies from the southern and western shores. Forced by this movement to evacuate the island, Washington detached a garrison of three thousand men for the defence of Fort Washington, and proceeded with the remainder of his forces to White Plains, where, on the 28th of October, a spirited action took place in which he lost nearly four hundred of his men ; then, fearing a speedy repetition of the attack, he withdrew to the almost

impregnable heights of North Castle. No longer daring to pursue the main body of the army, Howe now retraced his steps across Kingsbridge, and proceeded to invest the garrison at Fort Washington.

This fort, which was but the centre of the fortifications on this part of the island, stood on the shores of the North River about two and a half miles below Kingsbridge. The position was a strong one; the hill was steep and difficult of access on all sides but the south, which was commanded by the fort; and surrounded on all sides by redoubts and batteries. Three lines of intrenchments, a mile in length, extended across the island from the Harlem to the North River; the first in the vicinity of One Hundred and Fifty-first street; the second about half a mile further north; and the third westward from Colonel Morris' house along the line of One Hundred and Seventieth street; but the works were unfinished and defended only by a few old pieces of artillery; while, to maintain them properly, an army would have been needed instead of the handful of men detailed for their defence. Colonel Magaw, who was in command at the station, remained in the fort; Colonel Rawlins, with his regiment of riflemen, occupied a redoubt to the north and also a small breastwork on the southernmost part of the island, overlooking Spuyten Duyvei Creek; Colonel Baxter, with the militia under his command, was posted along the heights of the Harlem River opposite Fort Washington; Colonel Cadwalader, with a force of eight hundred men, was stationed at the lower lines which crossed the island, and the rest of the troops were distributed among the other redoubts and breast-

works at Manhattanville and along the Kingsbridge Road.

On the 15th of November, a summons to surrender was sent to the garrison by Adjutant-General Patterson of the British army, which was peremptorily refused by Magaw. Early on the following morning, a heavy cannonade was opened upon the positions of Colonels Rawlins and Cadwalader, and about ten o'clock, a large body of the enemy, headed by Lord Percy and preceded by their field-pieces, appeared on Harlem Plains and advanced to attack Cadwalader, who held them in check for more than an hour and a half, while Washington, with Putnam, Greene and Mercer, crossed the river from Fort Lee, and after examining the ground, returned again to his intrenchments.

At noon, the riflemen of Colonel Rawlins were attacked by the Hessians under Knyphausen, and, after defending themselves with great bravery until their rifles, through frequent charging, became useless in their hands, were forced to retreat to the fort, whither Knyphausen pursued them, and intrenching himself behind a large storehouse in the vicinity, summoned Magaw again to surrender. Finding his position hopeless beyond redemption, the commander gave a reluctant assent, and surrendered himself and the garrison, twenty-seven hundred in number, as prisoners of war.

Lord Percy, in the meantime, had been reinforced by a detachment under the command of Colonel Sterling, which had descended the Harlem River in bateaux, and landed in the rear of Cadwalader. After defeating the parties under Captains Lenox, Edwards and Tudor, which



had been detailed to oppose their landing, the new troops advanced to the heights near Morris' house, and, seconding the efforts of Percy, forced Cadwalader to retreat to Fort Washington, where he was at once made prisoner by the British, now in possession of the fort. A few minutes after, the troops of Colonel Baxter, who had been driven from their ground with the loss of their leader by General Mathew and Lord Cornwallis, came in, and were also made prisoners of war; and at half-past one the British flag waved triumphantly over the fort in token of the undisputed sovereignty of the island. About fifty of the Americans, among whom were Colonels Baxter and Miller, and Lieutenants Harrison and Tannihill, were killed in this engagement; one hundred were wounded, and nearly three thousand made prisoners of war. The loss of Fort Washington was soon followed by that of Fort Lee; Washington retreated with his troops through the Jerseys, and the struggle for liberty in New York was over.

## CHAPTER XVII.

1776—1783.

New York during the Occupation of the Royalists—The British Prisons and Prison Ships of New York.

THE city now lay prostrate in the hands of its captors. Those of the Sons of Liberty who had escaped imprisonment had fled to rejoin the Northern army, or the patriots who were struggling almost hopelessly in the Jerseys, and their place was filled by a host of Tories from the neighboring counties. The Provincial Congress, abandoning the city, held secret meetings, armed and in disguise, at various towns in the suburbs, constantly changing their place of rendezvous to avoid the vigilance of the Tory spies who infested the neighborhood. Westchester, between Croton River and Fordham—the neutral ground—swarmed with Cow Boys and Skinners; the former, the avowed friends of King George; the latter, ready to attach themselves for the moment to the party which might offer the greatest hopes of plunder. To guard against the machinations of these, a Committee of Safety, with John Jay at the head, was appointed by the Provincial Congress, the adventures of which were

fraught with incidents which shame the wildest tales of romance. Intrigue was thwarted by intrigue ; plot was met by counterplot. All trust in man was destroyed in the dark and terrible struggle ; the most intimate friends, the nearest relatives, were arrayed on opposite sides in the strife, and none dared be sure that the most trusted acquaintance, the kindest neighbor, might not be laying a snare to deliver him up to an ignominious death from the hands of his enemies. Each party endeavored to elude the suspicions of the other, and to lure the unwary within the American lines or to decoy them within reach of the British at New York.

The city, meanwhile, became then and henceforth the headquarters of the British army in America, and the residence from time to time of its principal officers. General Howe took up his abode in the Kennedy House at the lower end of Broadway. General Knyphausen took possession of a large house in Wall street. The Hessians under his command were encamped at Corlaers Hook, whence a line of intrenchments was thrown up on the Bowery Lane to Bunker's Hill ; while the barracks, the hospital and the empty houses of the Whigs who had fled for safety were filled with the British soldiers. The Beekman House in Hanover Square became the residence of the naval officers arriving at the station ; there Admiral Digby afterwards dwelt, with the sailor prince William Henry—the future William IV.—under his charge.

About five thousand prisoners were now in the hands of the British, comprising those who had been captured at Long Island and Fort Washington, together with



many who had been brought in by privateers ; and as New York was henceforth the British prison-house, this number received constant accessions during the war. The privates were crowded into the public buildings ; the sailors were conveyed to the loathsome prison-ships which lay, first in the North River opposite the lower end of the island, and afterwards at the Wallabout ; and the officers were required to give their parole, then suffered to lodge in the town under the strict surveillance of the British guard. This permission was in many instances afterwards recalled, and the officers committed to the old Provost, the receptacle of the prisoners of superior rank. Among these officers were Colonels Magaw, Rawlins, Allen, Ramsey, Miles and Atlee ; Majors Bird, West, Williams and De Courcey ; and Captains Wilson, Tudor, Edwards, Forrest, Lenox, Davenport, Herbert and Edwards, with many others.

The city became emphatically a city of prisons. Every available building was transformed into a dungeon for the soldiers of the American army, who, under the supervision of the infamous provost-marshal, Cunningham, with his deputy O'Keefe, and the commissaries Loring, Sproat and others, were treated with almost incredible barbarity. The pews of the North Dutch Church in William street were torn out and used for fuel ; a floor was laid from one gallery to another, and eight hundred prisoners were incarcerated within its walls. Here they were allowed neither fuel nor bedding, their provisions were scanty and of the poorest quality, and many died from cold and starvation. "The allowance," says Adolph Myer, of Lasher's battalion, who had been taken prisoner

at Montresor's Island, and afterwards imprisoned here "was one loaf of the bread left on the evacuation of New York (and which had been made for an allowance of three days), one quart of peas, half a pint of rice, and one and a half pounds of pork for six days. Many prisoners died from want, and others were reduced to such wretchedness as to attract the compassion of common prostitutes, from whom they received considerable assistance. No care was taken of the sick, and if any died, they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the intrenchments, beyond the Jews' burial-ground, where they were interred by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for that purpose. The dead were thrown into a hole promiscuously, without the usual rites of sepulture."

The Brick Church in Beekman street was at first used as a prison, then converted into a hospital for the sick among the prisoners. The Friends' Meeting-house in Pearl street and the Presbyterian Church in Wall street were also used as hospitals, and the French Church in Pine street was transformed into a depot for military stores.

The Middle Dutch Church, the future Post-Office, was also stripped of pulpit and pews, and made to furnish room for three thousand prisoners. "Here," says John Pintard, an eye-witness of the scene, "the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington—sick, wounded and well—were all indiscriminately huddled together by hundreds and thousands; large

“ numbers of whom died by disease ; and many were undoubtedly poisoned by their inhuman attendants for the sake of their watches or silver buckles.” The inmates were subsequently transferred to the other prisons, and the church was converted into a riding-school, to train dragoon horses. The glass was taken from the windows and the shutters left unhung, the floor was taken up and the ground covered with tan-bark ; and a pole was placed across the middle for the horses to leap over.

Just to the east of this, in Liberty street, stood the old Sugar-house, built in the days of Leisler ; a grey stone building, five stories in height, with thick walls, and small, deep windows, which now became one of the gloomiest of the improvised dungeons of the city. Each story was divided into two rooms, with ceilings so low and windows so small that the air could scarce find entrance under the most favorable conditions. A ponderous, jail-like door opened on Liberty street to the courtyard—a broad, flagged walk about the building, through which two British or Hessian soldiers were constantly pacing, night and day. On the southeast, a heavy door opened into a dismal cellar, also used as a prison. The yard was surrounded by a close board fence, nine feet high. In this forbidding prison-house, secured by massive locks and bars, the wretched prisoners were huddled so closely that they could scarcely breathe, and left for many weary months, without fire or blankets and with no other clothes than those which they had worn on their entrance, to while away the hours of their captivity by carving their names upon the walls with rusty nails—often the only clue to their



probable fate ; for the typhus fever raged fiercely among them, and the dead-cart paid its daily visits, bearing away the writers ere they could finish the rude epitaphs, thus left as the sole trace to their friends of their doom. " In the suffocating heat of summer," says Dunlap, the contemporary historian of the times, " I saw every narrow " aperture of those stone walls filled with human heads, " face above face, seeking a portion of the external air." " While the jail fever was raging in the summer of 1777," says Onderdonk, in his " Incidents of the British Prisons and Prison-ships at New York," " the prisoners " were let out in companies of twenty, for half an hour " at a time, to breathe the fresh air ; and inside they " were so crowded, that they divided their numbers into " squads of six each. No. 1 stood ten minutes as close " to the window as they could crowd, and then No. 2 " took their places, and so on ; seats there were none ; " and their beds were but straw, intermixed with vermin. For many weeks, the dead-cart visited the " prison every morning, into which from eight to twelve " corpses were flung and piled up, then dumped into " ditches in the outskirts of the city." An interesting reminiscence of this prison, as well as of the hospitals of the city—the more interesting from being one of the few descriptions on record of the treatment which the sick received in these hospitals—is found in the narrative of Levi Hanford, of Walton, Delaware County, New York. Entering the army in the autumn of 1775, at the early age of sixteen, he was one of the company sent by Lee, in the spring of 1776, to break ground for the first fortifications erected on Governor's Island. In March.

1777, he was surprised and captured by a party of Tories while on guard at Long Island Sound, and taken first to Huntington, then to Flushing, and thence to New York, where he was incarcerated in the old Sugar-house in Liberty street.

"The old prison," says he, "was a stone building, six stories high ; but the stories were very low, which made it dark and confined. It was built for a sugar refinery, and its appearance was dark and gloomy, while its small and deep windows gave it the appearance of a prison, which it really was, with a high board fence inclosing a small yard. We found at this time about forty or fifty prisoners, in an emaciated, starving and wretched condition. Their numbers were constantly being diminished by sickness and death, and as constantly increased by the accession of new prisoners, to the number of 400 or 500. Our allowance of provisions was pork and sea-biscuit ; it would not keep a well man in strength. The biscuit was such as had been wet with sea-water and damaged, was full of worms and moldy. It was our common practice to put water in our camp-kettle, then break up the biscuit into it, skim off the worms, put in the pork, and boil it, if we had fuel ; but this was allowed us only part of the time ; and when we could get no fuel, we ate our meat raw and our biscuit dry. Starved as we were, there was nothing in the shape of food that was rejected or was unpalatable. Crowded together, in bad air and with such diet, it was not strange that disease and pestilence should prevail. I had not been long there, before I was taken with the

“smallpox, and conveyed to the Smallpox Hospital.  
“I had it light, and soon returned to the prison, but not  
“till I had seen it in its most malignant forms. Some  
“of my companions died in that hospital. When I  
“returned to the prison, others of our company had  
“been taken to the different hospitals, from which few  
“returned. I remained in prison for a time, when,  
“from bad air, confinement, and bad diet, I was taken  
“sick, and conveyed to the Quaker Meeting Hospital, so  
“called from its being a Quaker Meeting-house.

“I soon became insensible, and the time passed  
“unconsciously till I began slowly to recover health and  
“strength, and was again permitted to exchange these  
“scenes of disease and death for the prison. On my  
“return, I found the number of our companions still  
“further reduced by sickness and death. During all  
“this time, an influence was exerted to induce the men  
“to enlist in the Tory regiments. Although our suffer-  
“ings were intolerable, and the men were urged by  
“those who had been their own townsmen and neigh-  
“bors, who had joined the British, yet the instances  
“were rare that they could be influenced to enlist.  
“So wedded were they to their principles, that they  
“chose honorable death rather than to sacrifice them.  
“I remained in the prison till the 24th of October, when  
“the names of a company of prisoners were taken down,  
“and mine among the rest. It was told us that we  
“were going home. We drew our week’s provision,  
“which, by solicitation, we cheerfully divided among our  
“starving associates whom we were to leave in prison.  
“But whether it was to torment and aggravate our feel-



“ ings, I know not ; but this I do know, that, instead of  
“ going home, we were taken from the prison, and put on  
“ board one of the prison-ships (the Good Intent) lying  
“ in the North River, and reported there with one week’s  
“ provision. The scene of starvation and suffering that  
“ followed cannot be described ; everything was eaten  
“ that could appease hunger. From this and other  
“ causes, and crowded as we were, with over two hun-  
“ dred in the hold of one ship, enfeebled as we had  
“ become, and now reduced by famine, pestilence began  
“ to sweep us down, till, in less than two months, we  
“ were reduced by death to scarcely one hundred. In  
“ addition to all this, we were treated with the utmost  
“ severity and cruelty. In December, when the river  
“ began to freeze, our ship was taken round into the  
“ Wallabout, where lay the Jersey, another prison-ship  
“ of terrific memory, whose rotted hulk remained till  
“ lately to mark the spot where thousands yielded up  
“ their lives a sacrifice to British cruelty.

“ The dead from these ships were thrown into the  
“ trenches of our fortifications ; and their bones, after  
“ the war, were collected and decently buried. It was  
“ here that Ethan Allen exhausted his fund of curses  
“ and bitter invectives against the British, as he passed  
“ among the prisoners, and viewed the loathsome dens  
“ of suffering after his return from his shameful  
“ imprisonment in England.\* Here again I was taken  
“ sick and my name taken down to the hospital. The  
“ day before New Year’s, the sick were placed in a boat

\* See Ethan Allen’s Narrative, pp. 93-102.

“for the city ; she had lost a piece of plank from her  
“bottom ; but it was filled up with ice, and we were taken  
“in tow. From the motion, the ice soon loosened, and  
“the boat began to leak ; and before we had gone far,  
“the sailors inquired if we leaked. Our men, from pride,  
“and not to show fear, replied but a mere trifle ; but  
“they soon perceived our increased heft, pulled hard for  
“a time, and then lay to until we came up. Our boat  
“was half filled with water. When they saw it, they  
“cursed us, and pulled for the nearest dock, shouting for  
“help. When the boat touched the dock, she struck  
“level with the water, and we held on with our  
“hands to the dock and a small boat by our side to  
“keep from sinking. It was low water, and the sailors  
“reached down from the dock, clenched hold of our  
“hands, and drew us up. I remember that I was drawn  
“up with so much violence, that the skin was taken from  
“my chest and stomach. One poor fellow that could not  
“sit up, we had to haul on the gunnel of the boat  
“to keep his head out of water ; but he got wet and died  
“in a few minutes after he was got on shore. We were  
“taken to the hospital in Dr. Rogers’ Brick Meeting-  
“house (afterwards Dr. Spring’s) near the foot of the  
“Park. From the yard, I carried one end of a bunk,  
“from which some person had just died, into the church,  
“and got into it, exhausted and overcome. The head  
“nurse saw my condition. She made me some tea, and  
“pulled the blankets from the sick Irish, regardless of  
“their complaints or curses, and piled them on me, till I  
“sweat profusely and fell asleep. When I awoke in the  
“morning, they gave me some mulled wine and water.

“ Wine and some other things were sent in by our gov-  
“ ernment for the sick ; the British furnished nothing. I  
“ then lay perfectly easy and free from pain, and it  
“ appeared to me that I never was so happy in my life,  
“ and yet so weak that I could not get out of my bunk,  
“ had it been to save the Union. The doctor (who was  
“ an American surgeon and a prisoner, had been taken  
“ out of prison to serve in the hospital) told me that  
“ my blood was breaking down and turning into water  
“ from the effects of the small pox. He said I must  
“ have some bitters. I gave him what money I had, and  
“ he prepared some for me ; and when that was gone he  
“ had the kindness to prepare some for me once or twice  
“ at his own expense. I began slowly to gain, and finally  
“ to walk about. While standing one day in March by  
“ the side of the church, in the warm sun, my toes began  
“ to sting and pain me excessively. I showed them to  
“ the surgeon when he came in ; he laid them open ; they  
“ had been frozen, and the flesh wasted till only the bone  
“ and the tough skin remained. I had now to remain  
“ here for a long time on account of my feet. And of  
“ all places, that was the last to be coveted ; disease and  
“ death reigned there in all their terrors. I have had  
“ men die by the side of me in the night, and have seen  
“ fifteen dead bodies sewed up in their blankets and laid  
“ in the corner of the yard at one time, the product of  
“ one twenty-four hours. Every morning, at 8 o'clock,  
“ the dead-cart came, the bodies were put in, the men  
“ drew their rum, and the cart was driven off to the  
“ trenches of the fortifications that our people had made.  
“ Once I was permitted to go with the guard to the



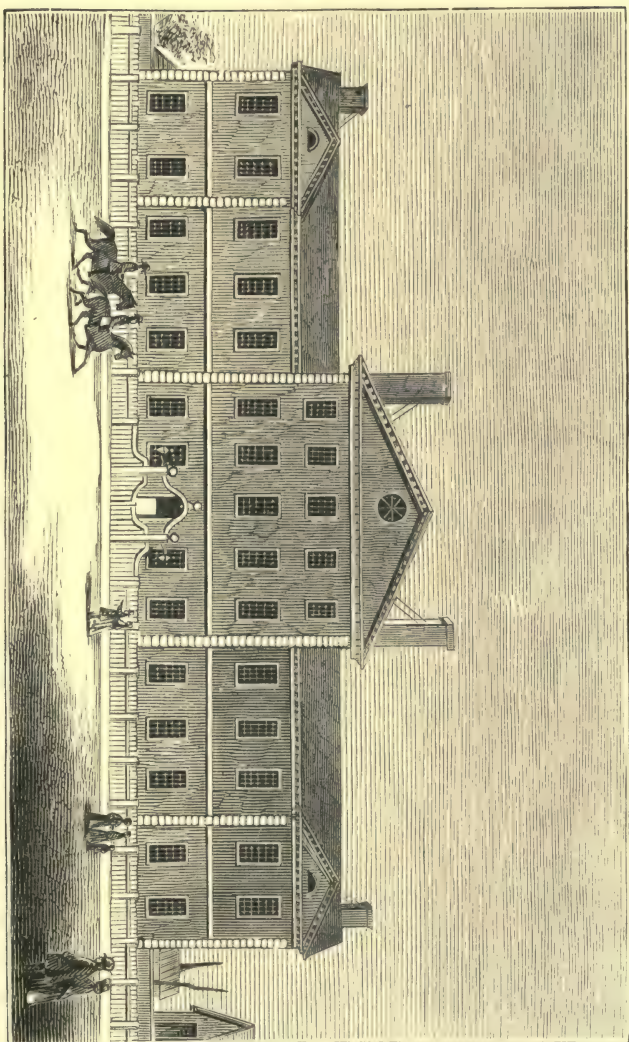
“ place of interment, and never shall I forget the scene  
“ that I there beheld ; they tumbled them into the ditch  
“ just as it happened, threw on a little dirt, and then  
“ away. I could see a hand, a foot, or part of a head,  
“ washed bare by the rains, swollen, blubbing, and  
“ falling to decay.

“ I was now returned to the prison, and from this  
“ time forward I enjoyed comfortable health to the close  
“ of my imprisonment, which took place in the May fol-  
“ lowing. One day, as I was standing in the yard near  
“ the high board fence, a man passed in the street close  
“ to the fence, and without stopping or turning his head,  
“ said in a low voice, ‘ General Burgoyne is taken with  
“ ‘ all his army ; it is a truth, you may depend upon it.’  
“ Shut out from all information as we had been, the news  
“ was grateful indeed, and cheered us in our wretched  
“ prison. Knowing nothing of what was taking place  
“ beyond the confines of our miserable abode, we had  
“ been left to dark forebodings and fears as to the result  
“ of our cause, and the probabilities of our government  
“ being able to exchange or release us. We knew not  
“ whether our cause was progressing, or whether resist-  
“ ance was still continued. Our information was  
“ obtained only through the exaggerations of the British  
“ soldiery. But this gave us the sweet consolation that  
“ our cause was yet triumphant, and the hope of final  
“ liberation. Had our informant been discovered, he  
“ might have had to run the gauntlet, or lose his life for  
“ his kindness.”

Such were the horrors of the Old Sugar-house in Liberty street. Rhinelander’s and the other sugar-houses

in the city were also filled with prisoners, but as the Old Jersey ranked foremost among the prison-ships, this seems to have taken the precedence of all the rest. Columbia College was used as a prison for a short time only. The City Hall was converted into a guard-house for the main guard of the city, the dungeons below being filled with prisoners. During the latter part of the war, the court-room in the second story was granted to the refugee clergy for service in lieu of their churches.

Another prison was the Bridewell, in the Commons, a cheerless, jail-like building of grey stone, two stories in height, with a basement and pediment in front and rear, which is still remembered by many of our citizens. This building had been erected in 1775, just in time to serve as a dungeon for the patriots of the Revolution. At this time, it was scarcely finished, the windows were yet unglazed, with nothing but iron bars to keep out the cold; yet, despite the excessive inclemency of the weather, more than eight hundred of the unfortunate prisoners of Fort Washington were thrust within its walls on the day of the capture and left there for three days without a mouthful of food. "We were marched to New York," says Oliver Woodruff, one of the prisoners, who died not long since at the age of 90, "and went to different prisons—eight hundred and sixteen went into the New Bridewell, I among the rest; some into the Sugar-house; others into the Dutch Church. On Thursday morning, they brought us a little provision, which was the first morsel we got to eat or drink after eating our breakfast on Saturday morning. We never drew as much provision for three days allowance



The Bridewell.





“as a man would eat at a common meal. I was there  
“three months during that inclement season, and never  
“saw any fire, except what was in the lamps of the city.  
“There was not a pane of glass in the windows, and  
“nothing to keep out the cold except the iron grates.”

This statement is confirmed by N. Murray, who says that the doctor gave poison powders to the prisoners, who soon died. Every indignity which human ingenuity could invent was heaped upon the wretched prisoners in the furtherance of the policy which hoped thus to crush the spirit of the army by disabling those that had been taken prisoners for future service and terrifying the remainder by the possibility of a similar fate. In the first part of their project they succeeded but too well; on the 6th May, 1778, when an exchange of some of the prisoners took place, of the three thousand men who had been captured at Fort Washington, but eight hundred were reported as still living. But this wanton cruelty only deepened the indignation of the patriots; instead of bringing them humbled and submissive to the feet of Great Britain, it estranged them more widely from the once loved mother country, and forever destroyed all hope of reconciliation.

The most notorious dungeon, perhaps, of all, was the New Jail or Provost, so called from having been the headquarters of the infamous Cunningham, the provost-marshal of the Revolution. Through the influence of General Gage, he had succeeded to this post on the retirement of William Jones in 1775, and from the fact that he retained it until the close of the war, we may judge that his conduct was pleasing to his superiors. The injuries which he had received the preceding year at

the foot of the Liberty-Pole, had never been forgotten, and he eagerly availed himself of this opportunity to wreak his vengeance on his defenceless prisoners. Among these were the most distinguished of the American captives; Ethan Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga; Majors Wells, Payne, and Williams; Captains Randolph, Flahaven, Vandyke, Mercer, and Bissell; John Fell, a member of the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, with many other prominent men and officers, who, after having been released on parole, had been arrested again upon frivolous pretexts and thrown into a dungeon with the vilest criminals, where their brutal jailer heaped every possible indignity upon them, even amusing the young English officers, who were his frequent guests, at the conclusion of their drunken orgies, by parading his helpless prisoners through the courtyard of the jail as specimens of the rebel army. Not content with seeing them die a slow death from cold and starvation, he is said to have poisoned many by mingling a preparation of arsenic with their food, then continued to draw their rations as before, giving rise to the sarcasm that he fed the dead and starved the living; and to have boasted that he had thus killed more of the rebels with his own hand than had been slain by all the king's forces in America. The cruelty practised towards the inmates of the Provost and the other prisons of the city rivals all that may be found in the annals of Christendom, and stamps the general who permitted it with far deeper disgrace than the subordinate who was only the instrument of his will. Mr. Pintard, one of founders of the New York Historical Society, at that time a young man, the clerk of his uncle,



Elias Boudinot, who had been appointed Commissioner of Prisons by the Continental Congress, has left us a graphic picture of the scenes of which he was himself an eye witness.



The New Jail, now the Hall of Records.

“The Provost,” says he, in a published document, “was destined for the more notorious rebels, civil, naval, and military. An admission to this modern Bastille was enough to appall the stoutest heart. On the right hand of the main door, was Captain Cunningham’s quarters, opposite to which was the guard-room. Within the

“ first barricade was Sergeant O’Keefe’s apartment. At  
“ the entrance door, two sentinels were always posted,  
“ day and night ; two more at the first and second bar-  
“ ricades, which were grated, barred, and chained, also at  
“ the rear door, and on the platform at the grated door  
“ at the foot of the second flight of steps, leading to  
“ the rooms and cells in the second and third stories.  
“ When a prisoner, escorted by the soldiers, was led into  
“ the hall, the whole guard was paraded, and he was  
“ delivered over with all formality to Captain Cun-  
“ ningham, or his deputy, and questioned as to his  
“ name, rank, size, age, etc., all of which were entered  
“ in a record-book. What with the bristling of arms,  
“ unbolting of bars and locks, clanking of enormous iron  
“ chains, and a vestibule as dark as Erebus, the unfortu-  
“ nate captive might well sink under this infernal sight  
“ and parade of tyrannical power, as he crossed the  
“ threshold of that door which probably closed on him  
“ for life.

“ The northeast chamber, turning to the left, on the  
“ second floor, was appropriated to officers and charac-  
“ ters of superior rank and distinction, and was christened  
“ Congress Hall. So closely were they packed, that  
“ when their bones ached at night from lying on the  
“ hard oak planks, and they wished to turn, it could  
“ only be done by word of command, ‘ *Right, Left,* ’  
“ being so wedged and compact as to form almost a solid  
“ mass of human bodies. In the day-time, the packs and  
“ blankets of the prisoners were suspended around the  
“ walls, every precaution being used to keep the rooms  
“ ventilated, and the walls and floors clean, to prevent

“jail-fever, and as the Provost was generally crowded  
“with American prisoners or British culprits of every  
“description, it is really wonderful that infection never  
“broke out in its walls.”

The following graphic list of the grievances endured by the prisoners, which was sent to General Jones by Mr. Pintard, reveals a terrible tale of suffering : “Close  
“confined in jail, without distinction of rank or character ; amongst felons (a number of whom are under  
“sentence of death), without their friends being suffered  
“to speak to them, even through the gates. On the  
“scanty allowance of 2 lbs. hard biscuit and 2 lbs. raw  
“pork per man per week, without fuel to dress it. Frequently supplied with water from a pump where all  
“kinds of filth is thrown that can render it obnoxious  
“and unwholesome (the effects of which are too often  
“felt), when good water is as easily obtained. Denied  
“the benefit of a hospital ; not allowed to send for medicine, nor even a doctor permitted to visit them when  
“in the greatest distress ; married men and others who  
“lay at the point of death, refused to have their wives  
“or relations admitted to see them, who, for attempting  
“it, were often beat from prison. Commissioned officers  
“and other persons of character, without a cause, thrown  
“into a loathsome dungeon, insulted in a gross manner,  
“and vilely abused by a provost marshal, who is allowed  
“to be one of the basest characters in the British army.  
“and whose power is so unlimited that he has caned an  
“officer on a trivial occasion, and frequently beats the  
“sick privates when unable to stand, many of whom are  
“daily obliged to enlist in the new corps to prevent



“perishing for the necessaries of life. Neither pen, ink  
“nor paper allowed (to prevent their treatment being  
“made public), the consequence of which, indeed, the  
“prisoners themselves dread, knowing the malignant  
“disposition of their keeper.”

These statements are amply confirmed by the testimony of eye-witnesses as well as of the sufferers themselves ; and it is not strange that the name of Cunningham became a by-word of horror in the annals of the times. It was afterwards reported and currently believed that he was executed at Newgate for forgery ; and a dying speech and confession, purporting to be his, was published in 1791 in a Philadelphia paper and copied thence into the Boston journals of the day ; but the Newgate Calendar, examined by Mr. Bancroft, contains no record of any such name. The Americans were willing to believe all things possible from a man who had shown himself capable of such barbarity, and rumors of this sort found ready credence. But the odium of this cruelty must forever rest on Howe, who was cognizant of all its details, and to whom the provost marshal was but a tool—a cat’s paw, as he is called by the indignant Ethan Allen—to execute his vengeance upon the detested rebels. The sufferings of the captives excited universal sympathy, and considerable aid was afforded them by the citizens ; yet this was not encouraged by the British commandant, and Mrs. Deborah Franklin was even banished from the city in 1780 for her unbounded liberality to the American prisoners. Remonstrances would have been in vain. The American officers who were free on parole shrunk from visiting the prisons to

witness the sufferings which they could not relieve, and dared not appeal to Howe for aid, lest this audacity should doom them to a similar fate. In 1777, after the successes of Washington in New Jersey, a portion of the prisoners were exchanged; but, exhausted by suffering, many fell dead in the streets ere they reached the vessels destined for their embarkation, and few long survived their return to their homes. The churches and sugar-houses were gradually cleared of their inmates during the course of the war, but the Provost and the old City Hall were used as prisons till Evacuation Day. "I was in New York, Nov. 26th," says Gen. Johnson, "and at the Provost about ten o'clock A.M. A few British criminals were yet in custody, and O'Keefe threw his ponderous bunch of keys on the floor and retired, when an American guard relieved the British guard, which joined a detachment of British troops, then on parade in Broadway, and marched down to the Battery, where they embarked for England."

Not less deplorable was the condition of the sailor-captives on board the loathsome prison-ships.\* The first of these vessels were the freight-ships which brought the British troops to Staten Island in 1776; in these, as

\* For further details respecting the prisons as well as the prison-ships of New York, the reader is referred to "Narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity," Burlington, 1838; "Onderdonk's Incidents of the British Prisons and Prison-Ships at New York," New York, 1849; "Life of Jesse Talbot;" "Life of Ebenezer Fox, of Roxbury," Boston, 1838; "Recollections of the Jersey Prison-Ship," by Capt. Thomas Dring, Providence, 1829; "The Old Jersey Captive," by Thomas Andros, Boston, 1833; "The Interment of the Remains of 11,500 American Prisoners at the Wallebocht," New York, 1808; Freneau's "Poem on the Prison-Ship," and Gaines', Rivington's, and other papers of the day.

they lay anchored at Gravesend Bay, the prisoners taken at the battle of Long Island were confined for a few days until the conquest of the city, when they were transferred thither and the vessels reserved for the captured seamen. The Good Hope and Scorpion were then anchored in the North River off the Battery, whence the bodies of the prisoners who died were conveyed to Trinity Churchyard for burial. Some time after, they were taken round to the East River and moored in the Wallabout Bay, where a dozen old hulks, among which were the Good Hope, Whitby, Falmouth, Prince of Wales, Scorpion, Strombolo, Hunter, Kitty, Providence, Bristol, Jersey, etc., lay anchored in succession, usually two or three at a time, to serve as floating prisons for the British commanders. Of all these, the Jersey gained the greatest notoriety; christened "the hell afloat" by her despairing inmates, her name struck terror to the hearts of every American sailor. A 64-gun ship which had been condemned in 1776 as unfit for service, she had been stripped of her spars and rigging and anchored at Tolmie's Wharf to serve as a storeship. In 1780, when the prisoners on board the Good Hope burnt the vessel in the desperate hope of regaining their liberty, the chief incendiaries were removed to the Provost, and the remainder transferred to the Jersey, which was thenceforth used as a prison-ship until the close of the war, when her inmates were liberated, and she was henceforth shunned by all as a nest of pestilence. The worms soon after destroyed her bottom, and she sunk, bearing with her on her planks the names of thousands of American prisoners. For more than twenty years, her ribs lay



exposed at low water ; she now lies buried beneath the United States Navy Yard.

Though the Jersey has gained a bad eminence as a prison-ship, which would naturally lead many to suppose that her prisoners alone were subjected to suffering and privation, the testimony of those confined in the other hulks proves clearly that their treatment was everywhere the same. The chief difference lay in the fact that the Jersey was larger than the others, and continued in the service for a longer space of time. David Sproat, the British Commissary, denied, indeed, that any suffering existed, and, painting the situation of the captives in glowing colors, brought documents signed by them to testify to the truth of his assertions ; but as these were forced from them almost at the point of the bayonet, and universally retracted as soon as they were free, the papers in question are not worth much in evidence.

The life on board the Jersey prison-ship may be regarded as a fair sample of the life on all the rest. The crew consisted of a captain, two mates, a steward, cook and a dozen sailors, with a guard of twelve marines and about thirty soldiers. When a prisoner was brought on board, his name and rank were registered, after which he was searched for weapons and money. His clothes and bedding he was permitted to retain ; however scanty these might be, he was supplied with no more while on board the prison-ship. He was then ordered down into the hold, where from a thousand to twelve hundred men were congregated, covered with rags and filth, and ghastly from breathing the pesti-

lential air ; many of them sick with the typhus fever, dysentery and smallpox, from which the vessel was never free. Here he joined a mess of six men, who, every morning, at the ringing of the steward's bell, received their daily allowance of biscuit, beef or pork and peas, to which butter, suet, oatmeal and flour were occasionally added. The biscuit was moldy and literally crawling with worms, the butter and suet rancid and unsavory to the highest degree, the peas damaged, the meal and flour often sour, and the meat tainted, and boiled in the impure water from about the ship in a large copper kettle, which, soon becoming corroded and crusted with verdigris, mingled a slow poison with all its contents. Yet for these damaged provisions, the highest prices were charged to the king by the royal commissioners, who, by curtailing the rations and substituting damaged provisions for those purchased by the government, amassed fortunes at the expense of thousands of lives ; and, when accused, forced their prisoners by threats of still greater severity, to attest to the kind treatment which they received at their hands.

The prisoners were confined in the two main decks below ; the lower dungeon being filled with foreigners, who were treated with even more inhumanity than the Americans. Every morning the prisoners were aroused with the cry, "*Rebels, turn out your dead !*" The order was obeyed, and the bodies of those who had died during the night were brought up upon deck and placed upon the gratings. If the deceased had owned a blanket, any prisoner was at liberty to sew it around the corpse, after which it was lowered into a boat and sent

on shore for interment. Here, a hole was dug in the sands, and the bodies hastily covered, often to be disinterred at the washing of the next tide.

The prisoners were suffered to remain on deck till sunset, when they were saluted with the insulting cry of "*Down, rebels, down!*" This order obeyed, the main hatchway was closed, leaving a small trap-door, large enough for one man to ascend at a time, over which a sentinel was placed, with orders to permit but one man to come up at a time during the night. These sentinels were often guilty of the most wanton cruelty. William Burke, a prisoner for fourteen months in the Jersey, says that one night while the prisoners were huddled about the grate at the hatchway to obtain fresh air, awaiting their turn to go on deck, the sentinel thrust his bayonet among them, killing twenty-five of their number; and that this outrage was frequently repeated. But these acts of cruelty, instead of crushing the spirit of the rebels, as their enemies had fondly hoped, only incited them to new acts of daring; those already free, fought with the more desperation, choosing rather to face death than the dreaded prison-ship; while the prisoners, constantly seeking to escape, cherished life that they might one day take vengeance for their sufferings. How terrible sometimes was the retribution, may be gleaned from the following extract from the Life of Silas Talbot:

"Two young men, brothers, belonging to a rifle corps," says the author of the narrative, "were made prisoners, and sent on board the Jersey. The elder took the fever, and in a few days became delirious.



“ One night (his end was fast approaching) he became  
 “ calm and sensible, and, lamenting his hard fate and  
 “ the absence of his mother, begged for a little water.  
 “ His brother, with tears, entreated the guard to give  
 “ him some, but in vain. The sick youth was soon in  
 “ his last struggles, when his brother offered the guard  
 “ a guinea for an inch of candle, only that he might see  
 “ him die. Even this was refused. ‘ Now,’ said he,  
 “ drying up his tears, ‘ if it please God that I ever  
 “ regain my liberty, I’ll be a most bitter enemy.’ He  
 “ regained his liberty, rejoined the army, and when the  
 “ war ended, he had eight large and 127 small notches  
 “ on his rifle-stock !”

To prove that the Jersey prison-ship was not an exceptional one, we will quote the testimony of prisoners on board the others. Freneau has given a graphic poetical account of his treatment on board the Scorpion and the hospital-ship.\* Another says : “ The

\* We subjoin as a curiosity the following extract from Freneau’s poem on the “ Prison Ship ”—a work which is now exceedingly rare :

“ Two hulks on Hudson’s stormy bosom lie,  
 Two further south affront the pitying eye ;  
 There the black Scorpion at her moorings rides,  
 There, Strombolo swings, yielding to the tides,  
 Here bulky Jersey fills a larger space,  
 And Hunter, to all hospitals disgrace.  
 Thou, Scorpion, fatal to thy crowded throng,  
 Dire theme of horror and Plutonian song,  
 Requir’st my lay—thy sultry decks I know,  
 And all the torments that exist below.  
 The briny wave that Hudson’s bosom fills,  
 Drained through her bottom in a thousand rills ;  
 Rotten and old, replete with sighs and groans,

“greatest inhumanity was experienced in a ship, of  
 “which one Nelson, a Scotchman, had the superintend-  
 “ence (the Good Hope, afterwards burned by the pri-  
 “soners, described by Sproat as the best prison-ship in  
 “the world). Upwards of three hundred were confined

Scarce on the waters she sustains her bones.  
 Here, doomed to toil, or foundering in the tide,  
 At the moist pumps incessantly we ply'd;  
 Here, doomed to starve, like famish'd dogs we tore  
 The scant allowance that our tyrants bore.  
 When to the ocean dives the western sun,  
 And the scorch'd Tories fire their evening gun,  
 ‘*Down, rebels, down!*’ the angry Scotchmen cry,  
 ‘*Damn’d dogs, descend, or by our broadswords die!*’  
 Hail dark abode! what can with thee compare?  
 Heat, sickness, famine, death and stagnant air—  
 Swift from the guarded decks we rush’d along,  
 And vainly sought repose—so vast our throng.  
 Three hundred wretches here, deny’d all light,  
 In crowded mansions pass th’ infernal night.  
 Some for a bed their tattered vestments join,  
 And some on chests, and some on floors recline;  
 Shut from the blessings of the evening air,  
 Pensive we lay with mingled corpses there;  
 Meagre and wan, and scorch’d with heat below,  
 We look’d like ghosts, ere death had made us so.  
 How could we else, where heat and hunger join’d,  
 Thus to debase the body and the mind,  
 Where cruel thirst the parching throat invades,  
 Dries up the man, and fits him for the shades?  
 No water ladled from the bubbling spring,  
 To these dire ships the war-made monsters bring;  
 By planks and pond’rous beams completely wall’d,  
 In vain for water, and in vain, I call’d—  
 No drop was granted to the midnight prayer,  
 To Dives in these regions of despair!  
 The loathsome cask a deadly dose contains,  
 Its poison circling through the languid veins.

“at a time on board. There was but one small fire-  
 “place to cook the food of such a number, and the  
 “allowance was moreover frequently delayed. In the  
 “short days of November and December, the steward  
 “did not begin to serve out the rations till 11 A.M., so

*O generous Britons ! generous, as you say,  
 To my parch'd tongue one cooling drop convey,  
 Earth knows no torment like a thirsty throat,  
 Nor hell a monster like your David Sproat !”*

Freneau was afterwards transferred to the hospital-ship Hunter, where he thus describes his treatment :

“From *Brooklyn* groves a *Hessian* doctor came,  
 Not great his skill, nor greater much his fame ;  
 Fair Science never call'd the wretch her own,  
 And Art disdained the stupid man to own ;  
 Yet still he doom'd his genius to the rack,  
 And, as you may suppose, was owned a *quack*.  
 He, on his charge, the healing work begun  
 With antimonial mixtures by the ton.  
*Ten minutes* was the time he deigned to stay—  
 The time of grace allotted once a day—  
 He drench'd us well with bitter draughts, 'tis true,  
*Nostrums* from *hell* and *cortex* from *Peru*—  
 Some with his pills he sent to *Pluto's* reign,  
 And some he blistered with the flies of *Spain* ;  
 His cream of *Tartar* walked in deadly round,  
 'Till the lean patient at the poison frown'd,  
 And swore that hemlock, death, or what you will,  
 Were nonsense to the drugs that stuffed his bill.  
 On those refusing, he bestowed a kick,  
 Or menaced vengeance with his walking-stick ;  
 Here, uncontroll'd he exercised his trade,  
 And grew experienced by the deaths he made ;  
 By frequent blows we from his cane endur'd  
 He killed at least as many as he cur'd,  
 On our lost comrades built his future fame,  
 And scattered fate where'er his footsteps came.”



“that the whole could not be served till 3. At sunset the fire was ordered to be quenched, so that some had not their food dressed at all ; many were obliged to eat it half raw. No flour, oatmeal, and things of like nature, suited to the condition of infirm people, were allowed to the many sick—nothing but ship-bread, beef and pork.” “I am now a prisoner,” says another, “on board the ship Falmouth in N. Y., a place the most dreadful ; we are so confined that we have not room even to lie down all at once to sleep.”

But we need not multiply corroborative statements to prove the horrors of the loathsome prison-ships. Negotiations were opened for the exchange of prisoners, and a long correspondence between Sproat and Abraham Skinner, the American commissary, ensued, which amounted to little more than mutual recrimination. The captives being mostly privateersmen, independent of the Continental service, Congress was unwilling to release healthy British prisoners in exchange, and thus give to the enemy a great and permanent strength, without receiving an equivalent. By the agreement between the armies, officers were to be exchanged for officers, soldiers for soldiers, and seamen for seamen. The Americans, however, had few naval prisoners ; those captured by the privateers had been, for the most part, enlisted into the service, or suffered to go at large for the want of a suitable place wherein to secure them. Washington, who had no control over the marine department, remonstrated earnestly with Sir Henry Clinton and Admiral Digby against this inhuman treatment, and threatened to retaliate on the British

soldiers, but his protests were of little avail. The rebels were urged by threats and promises to enter into the British service. A few complied, trusting to the chances for a speedy desertion, while many more perished in the midst of darkness and privation, preferring death to a seeming infidelity to their country. It is estimated, we doubt if on sufficient authority, that eleven thousand were buried from the Jersey alone. Despite the vigilance of the guard, escapes were frequent, and a whole mess would sometimes suddenly be found missing without having given the slightest indication of their departure. After the arrival of Sir Guy Carlton, in the closing days of the war, a few of the prisoners were released on parole, but the condition of the majority remained substantially the same until the final cessation of hostilities. In marked contrast with this, the British prisoners were invariably treated with kindness and humanity, and though retaliation was sometimes threatened, the threat was never in a single instance carried into execution. But the treatment of American prisoners at New York, connived at if not sanctioned by the British commandants, must forever remain a stain upon the boasted civilization of England.

On the 21st of September, 1776, while Howe's troops were still stretched in a cordon across the island, in readiness to fall upon the army of Washington, encamped upon the heights on the opposite side of Harlem Plains, a fire occurred, which reduced the greater portion of the city to ashes. The conflagration broke out in a small wooden grog-shop near Whitehall Slip, whence it swept rapidly up Broad and Beaver streets to Broad-

way, and thence consumed all the western part of the town. The progress of the flames was at length stayed by the college grounds at Barclay street; but ere this was done, five hundred houses fell in ruins to the ground. Trinity Church and the neighboring Lutheran chapel, on the site of the future Grace Church, were destroyed, while St. Paul's Church was only saved by the unremitting exertions of the citizens, who mounted on the roof and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell. No engines were at that time to be had in the city, and the people could only stand idly by and witness the work of destruction. Intense excitement prevailed among the British, who accused the Sons of Liberty of being the incendiaries, and even seized a number of the patriots and thrust them into the flames by way of revenge for the supposed outrage. Several of the citizens were also arrested and imprisoned on the charge of being accessories to the deed, but the accusations were not sustained, and they were afterward acquitted of the charge. No evidence exists, indeed, to prove that the origin of this fire was anything else than purely accidental, or that the suspicions of the British officers had any foundation.

Much of the burned district had been covered with small wooden houses, tenanted by the lowest classes of society. Driven from their wretched homes by the fearful conflagration, and not knowing where else to find shelter, the miserable inmates tacked sheets of canvas to the remnants of charred walls and standing chimneys, thus forming a city of tents, in which they bivouacked, despite the inclemency of the weather, and the spot henceforth became known as Canvastown—a sort of



progenitor of the present Five Points, the haunt of crime and misery.

A few days after the fire, Cadwallader Colden, who had for so many years played a prominent part in the affairs of the city, died at the advanced age of eighty-nine. He was a man of preëminent talent and of fine scientific attainments ; the literature of the province had been greatly enriched by his valuable contributions, and, previously to the *rôle* which he was insnared to play in the drama of the Revolution, he had been loved and honored by the people. This false step was the only stain on his career ; he succumbed to the temptation of private interests, and sacrificed the welfare of his countrymen to the arbitrary maintenance of the royal prerogative. Nor was he alone in this apostasy ; many other scions of ancient and distinguished families espoused the cause of the king in the struggle, and openly ranged themselves among the Tories. Foremost among these was Oliver De Lancey, brother of the former lieutenant-governor of the province, and one of the most zealous adherents of the royalist party. Inferior in talent to his brother, haughty and imperious in manners, yet possessing an almost diabolical knowledge of human nature, with an adroitness in using it which was rarely exceeded, he became a formidable enemy to the patriotic cause, and an object of detestation to the Liberty Boys ; a party of whom, headed by the daring and impetuous Martling, came down from the American lines on the night of the 25th of November, 1777, and burned his house at Bloomingdale, by way of revenge for his infidelity to his country. At the close of the Revolution.

his estates, as well as those of his nephew, James De Lancey, were confiscated by the government; after which, he went to England, where he died, leaving numerous descendants.

Many of the Tories who had been expelled from the surrounding country by the vigorous measures of the Committee of Safety, now removed to New York and took up their residence there. Rivington, returned to the city and recommenced the publication of his paper, now the *Royal Gazette*; while Holt was driven with his journal from place to place along the North River. Hugh Gaine still continued to publish his *Gazette*, more than ever devoted to the interests of the royalist party.

During the winter, General Howe made New York his headquarters, from which he dispatched detachments by land and sea to harass the American forces. It was not long before General Lee was seized as he lay carelessly guarded at a considerable distance from the army, and brought a prisoner to the city, where he was lodged in one of the dungeons of the City Hall in Wall street. Lee was a born Englishman, and, on this ground was claimed by Howe as a deserter from the British army. Washington made the most urgent efforts to obtain his release, and, as he held no prisoner of equal rank in his hands, offered in exchange for him six Hessian field-officers; but these terms were refused by Howe, who threatened to send him to England for trial. "As you treat Lee, so shall the Hessians be treated," was the reply; and fearing the consequences, the British general dared not carry his threat into immediate execution, but kept him closely guarded, awaiting the moment

when the destruction of the American army, which seemed to him inevitable, should enable him to punish the culprit with impunity. He waited in vain; the surrender of Burgoyne, in the following autumn, proved the fallacy of these hopes, and he finally consented to the offered terms. A negotiation was also opened for the exchange of the rest of the American prisoners, but this failed of any result. Worn and debilitated by unwholesome food and inhuman treatment, the captives were wholly unfit for service, and Washington was unwilling to nullify his recent brilliant victories in the Jerseys by restoring to the British ranks a large corps of able and efficient Hessians in equal exchange for soldiers rendered useless beyond all hope of cure by the brutalities which they had endured in the British prisons. Humanity would have dictated the measure; policy forbade it. Washington vainly endeavored to effect their release on more equitable terms, and held a long correspondence with Howe upon the subject; but the latter remained immovable, and the prisoners were condemned to linger many more weary months amid the horrors of captivity.

In April, 1777, the Convention assembled at Kingston framed the first written constitution of the State of New York. By this constitution, the office of governor was made elective by the people, and the legislative power was vested in two distinct bodies, deriving their authority from the same source. George Clinton, already distinguished for his patriotism in the annals of the province, was chosen the first governor—an office which he continued to hold for eighteen years. John Jay was





Portrait of John Jay, from the Original by Stuart, in the Possession of the Family.



appointed Chief-Justice, and Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of the new State, over which, until the meeting of the first legislature, the Committee of Safety still continued to exercise their authority. Philip Livingston, James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, and Gouverneur Morris were at the same time appointed delegates to the Continental Congress.

Other States soon followed the example, and the new power that was springing up to a prominent position among the nations of the earth, grew stronger and more consolidated, day by day. A national flag was adopted, and the thirteen stars and stripes, typical of the thirteen original pioneers of the future constellation, waved for the first time over the American fortresses, carrying with it the assumption of a claim to general recognition. Commissioners were also dispatched to the various European courts, to ask their sympathy and aid; an appeal which was warmly responded to in France. Actuated partly, it may be, by enmity to an ancient foe, and partly by real sympathy for the struggling patriots, called forth by the eloquence of Franklin, Deane and Arthur Lee, the American Commissioners, the French government granted them money to fit out armed vessels for the relief of their countrymen, while many young noblemen, inspired with enthusiasm for the cause of liberty, proffered their services as volunteers in the projected expedition. Among these were Lafayette, Steuben, Pulaski, Kosciusko, De Kalb, and many more, whose names still live in the hearts of a grateful nation. These, by their knowledge of military science, afforded invaluable service to the undisciplined army,



gathered from the workshop and the plough, totally ignorant of the art of war, and only knowing how to die without shrinking in the defence of their liberty.

Despite this welcome aid, and despite the cheering influence of the brilliant capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga, the season that followed was a terrible era of suffering. The hardships of the winter passed at Valley Forge, the half-starved army, encamped on the frozen ground, tentless, fireless, destitute of money and clothing, and marking their path on the snow by their bleeding feet, are too well known to require description at our hands. Darkness closed around the unhappy army, and nowhere were the clouds so dense as about the head of its heroic leader. This was the dark day of the life of Washington. The credit of Congress was exhausted and its treasury empty; the Continental bills, once so easy a resource, had so far depreciated in value as to be almost worthless, while the British at New York added largely to this depreciation by putting in circulation immense quantities of spurious money of the same sort; yet this debased currency was all that remained to the commander-in-chief wherewith to pay his troops and purchase food to support their existence. Nor was this all, his ambitious and intriguing subordinates were secretly leagued against him, plotting to throw him down, that they might rise in his stead. A fortuitous circumstance alone hindered their success; the plot was skillfully laid, and the weight of a feather at this moment would have turned the balance, and precipitated Washington, now enshrined as an idol in the hearts of his adoring countrymen, into obscurity and oblivion.

How different might not have been the destiny of the future republic, had the intrigues of his enemies attained this culmination! They barely missed the achievement of their designs, and at this critical juncture it was New York that turned the scale, and preserved the credit and the future of George Washington.

Flushed by the recent victory at Saratoga, Gates aspired to the chief command; and in this he was seconded by Mifflin, Conway, and many of the malcontents. In Congress, Richard Henry Lee and Samuel Adams led the factious party. Washington was loudly accused of incompetency; the losses of New York, Newport and Philadelphia, together with his recent defeats at Brandywine and Germantown, were urged against him, and his opponents left no means untried to enlist the leading men of the country in a coalition which should deprive him of his position as commander of the army. Lafayette was appealed to, but he indignantly repelled the overtures. Patrick Henry and Henry Laurens were also addressed in anonymous letters; they forwarded the missives to Washington himself by way of reply. Yet many did not remain thus firm; the confidence in the commander-in-chief became gradually weakened; the mine was prepared and on the point of explosion. In respect to the *dénouement* of the dark intrigue, we quote the words of Dunlap, the contemporary historian of the times: "The Congress at this time sat at Little York, the enemy being in Philadelphia. The confederacy of sovereign States had, before 1777, in many instances been found wanting. In July, 1778, the confederacy was signed; but on

“ October 14th, 1777, Congress resolved that no State  
“ should be represented by more than seven members or  
“ less than two. New York had but two members pre-  
“ sent (Francis Lewis and William Duer), barely suf-  
“ ficient to give her a vote ; one of those was lying sick ;  
“ this was a situation which rendered her a nullity, and  
“ a day was appointed by the cabal to nominate a com-  
“ mittee to arrest Washington at the Valley Forge,  
“ they having a majority, owing to the absence of New  
“ York.

“ Francis Lewis, the only member from New York  
“ capable of taking his place, sent for the absentee.  
“ Col. William Duer sent for his physician, Dr. Jones,  
“ and demanded whether he could be removed to the  
“ courthouse (or place of meeting). ‘ Yes, but at the  
“ risk of your life.’ ‘ Do you mean that I should expire  
“ before reaching the place?’ ‘ No ; but I would not  
“ answer for your life twenty-four hours after.’ ‘ Very  
“ well, sir ; you have done your duty ; prepare a litter  
“ for me ; if you refuse, some one else shall, but I pre-  
“ fer your care in the case.’ The litter was prepared,  
“ and the sick man ready to sacrifice his life for his  
“ country, when the faction, baffled by the arrival of  
“ Gouverneur Morris, and by the certainty of New York  
“ being against them, gave up the attempt, and the  
“ hazardous experiment on the part of Col. Duer was  
“ rendered unnecessary.”

Washington subsequently received information through Lord Stirling of a correspondence between Gates and Conway, which left him no longer in doubt as to the authors of the plot, though Gates, when taxed with it.



at first denied it, and afterwards apologized in humble terms. The intrigue was finally foiled, yet it would have been carried by a *coup de main*, had it not been thwarted by the influence of the New York delegation.

In the meantime, the English ministry, under Lord North, had made a last attempt to regain their authority over the colonies by renouncing the right of parliamentary taxation, and appointing commissioners to negotiate for the return of the colonies to their allegiance. These overtures were hailed with delight by the Tories and moderate men, who urged their acceptance ; but the Whigs refused to treat for anything short of an independence, and their determination was strengthened by the action of the French government, which, hitherto abstaining from a distinct alliance, now entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce, with pledges of a mutual defensive alliance in case that war should be declared against France by Great Britain. This treaty was followed by the anticipated result, and the British ambassador was recalled from Paris. Seeing the fatal consequences that must ensue, the opposition party in the Parliament, headed by Lord Rockingham, urged the ministry to abandon the struggle, and to acknowledge the independence of America ; but this proposal was indignantly scouted as a treason, and Pitt, the former idol of America, in whose honor the colonists had kindled bonfires, and erected statues, rose in his seat and spoke against it with so much vehemence that, exhausted by the effort, he sank fainting to the floor, and was carried out of Parliament for the last time, expending his dying breath in a vain effort to retain the

supremacy of Great Britain over the colonies of America. His words prevailed, the measure was defeated, and the war was carried on with renewed vigor. Sir William Howe was recalled by his own request, and his place was filled by Sir Henry Clinton.

Soon after this change, the battle of Monmouth was fought, resulting in the defeat of the British army, Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, and marched with his forces to New York, where all the army had been ordered to concentrate in order to thwart the plans of the French fleet under Count d'Estaing, which was approaching to blockade the British ships in the Delaware. A few days after he reached the city, D'Estaing arrived, and anchored his vessels off the harbor of New York, with the design of attacking the city, while Washington proceeded to White Plains with his army, intending to make a simultaneous attack by land upon the town. But the French ships were heavy, the pilots refused to take them over the bar, and the projected assault was finally abandoned. D'Estaing set sail for Newport, then held by a moderate force under General Pigot, while Admiral Howe, on his part, hastened to the relief of his officer. On the 15th of August, before the attack could take place, a violent storm shattered the vessels and drove them off the coast. D'Estaing abandoned the blockade and set sail for Boston for repairs, while the British fleet returned again to New York, together with Clinton, who had also marched with a land force to the relief of Newport.

On the 9th of August, 1778, the second great fire broke out in the city of New York. The conflagration

commenced in Dock, now Pearl, in the vicinity of Broad street, and raged with violence for several hours, consuming three hundred houses on the eastern side of the city. The fire companies had been disbanded during the revolutionary struggle, and the military charged themselves with extinguishing the fire ; but, inexperienced in the work, they accomplished but little. Warned by this example, orders were subsequently issued by the commander-in-chief that the soldiers should help, but not order in future conflagrations.

Scarcely had the flames been quenched when a new calamity occurred. The Morning Star powder-ship, which was anchored in the East River, was struck by lightning during a violent thunder-storm ; and so terrific was the explosion that the houses along the shore were unroofed by the shock, the windows shattered, and the furniture demolished. The crew had fortunately gone on shore, leaving the vessel in the care of a boy, who perished with his charge.

At this time, General Robertson was the commandant of the city and the so-called royal governor of the province. This office was afterward filled by Colonel Birch, who resided in the Verplanck Mansion in Wall street, on the site of the future United States Bank. Baron Knyphausen still remained in the city, and acted as deputy commander-in-chief in the absence of Sir Henry Clinton. Andrew Eliot was lieutenant-governor and superintendent of the police, and David Mathews retained the office of mayor, to which he had been appointed on the resignation of Whitehead Hicks in the early part of the year 1776.



The summer and autumn of 1778 were marked by the barbarous massacres of Wyoming and Cherry Valley—acts of cruelty which stirred up the indignation of the patriots and urged them on to an almost superhuman struggle for vengeance. Retaliatory expeditions were dispatched against the settlements of the Iroquois, who had leagued themselves with the British, and many of their villages were destroyed. But the seat of the war was now about to be transferred to the South. During the summer, Clinton had been busily employed in fortifying New York, then supposed to be destined for the next point of attack by the combined forces of the French and the Americans. Early in November, this design was abandoned, and Count d'Estaing set sail for the West Indies with a view to attacking the British colonies in that quarter. On the same day, the English Admiral Hotham set sail from Sandy Hook in pursuit, and in the ensuing month, he was followed by Admiral Byron, who had superseded Howe in the command of the British fleet. A few days after, Clinton dispatched General Campbell with a force of three thousand five hundred men, against Savannah, then defended by the American general, Robert Howe. The expedition proved successful, and the British troops were soon in possession of the greater part of Georgia. At the North, the campaign was carried on with vigor. Ex-Governor Tryon marched with a strong force into Connecticut, plundering and burning the settlements, and leaving ruin everywhere in his path; while Clinton himself headed foraging expeditions from the city, laying waste the surrounding country, and capturing Stony Point and its

neighbor, Verplanck's Point, on the Hudson River. Yet victory was not wholly on the side of the British; the brilliant recapture of Stony Point by General Wayne on the 15th of July, 1779, inspired the Americans with fresh courage, and the naval victory of John Paul Jones closed the campaign with signal success to the patriot forces. Late in December of the same year, Sir Henry Clinton embarked in person for Savannah with seven thousand men, leaving New York in charge of General Knyphausen.

The winter of 1779-80 was one of intense severity. Anticipating the scarcity of fuel, the commander-in-chief had ordered the wood on Staten and Long Islands to be cut by the proprietors and brought into market under penalty of forcible seizure, yet this provision failed to secure the needed supply, and many of the citizens were even compelled to burn their furniture for fuel as a last resort.\*

\* We are indebted to the late Isaac Bell, sen., long a resident of this city, who had seen the Revolution with his own eyes, been present when the iron balls were broken by the people from the railing about the Bowling Green to serve as leaden missives to the crew of the *Asia* on the occasion of the bombardment of the city, and when the statue of George III. was dragged from its pedestal and drawn through the streets of the city; who had angled for blackfish in the waters about the Old Jersey, and skated with Prince William Henry, the future William IV., then an awkward sailor boy on his first cruise, on the Lisenard Meadows—the Collect being regarded as too dangerous a place for the scion of royalty—for very many interesting reminiscences of this winter, which, he said, exceeded any thing in severity that had ever been dreamed of by that classic authority, the oldest inhabitant. Wood was not to be had at any price, and many families would split up their chairs and tables to cook their breakfast, then go to bed for the rest of the day in order to keep warm. The father of Mr. Bell, a well-known ship-builder of the city, cut up a cable worth six hundred dollars for backlogs, and a spar of the same value for firewood. The rivers about the city were transformed into a solid bridge of ice for forty days

Firewood was scarce and hardly to be bought at any price ; provisions were dear, and the general suffering was increased still more by the depreciation of the Continental currency, which, taken at par, remained a drug in the hands of its possessors. Excessive suffering was experienced among the poor, as well as in the American army, still encamped in the Jerseys, and enduring a repetition of the horrors of Valley Forge. The waters about New York were transformed into a solid block of ice, and men and horses passed over with impunity to the Long Island, New Jersey and Connecticut shores. Tempted by the opportunity afforded him by the icy bridge, Lord Stirling projected a secret expedition to Staten Island from the Jersey shores, hoping to surprise the detachments which were stationed there ; but the vigilant Tories of the neighborhood gave the alarm. A convoy of eighty sleighs, filled with provisions and stores, with the same number of cannon, was sent at once, under an escort of a hundred soldiers, from New York to the relief of the island ; and Stirling was forced on his arrival to retreat with a trifling loss.

The campaign of 1780 opened disastrously for the patriots. After making himself master of South Carolina by a series of brilliant successes, Clinton returned in June to New York, leaving Cornwallis with a strong detachment to guard the conquered province. The defeat of Gates and Sumter soon followed, and the British commander remained in triumphant possession

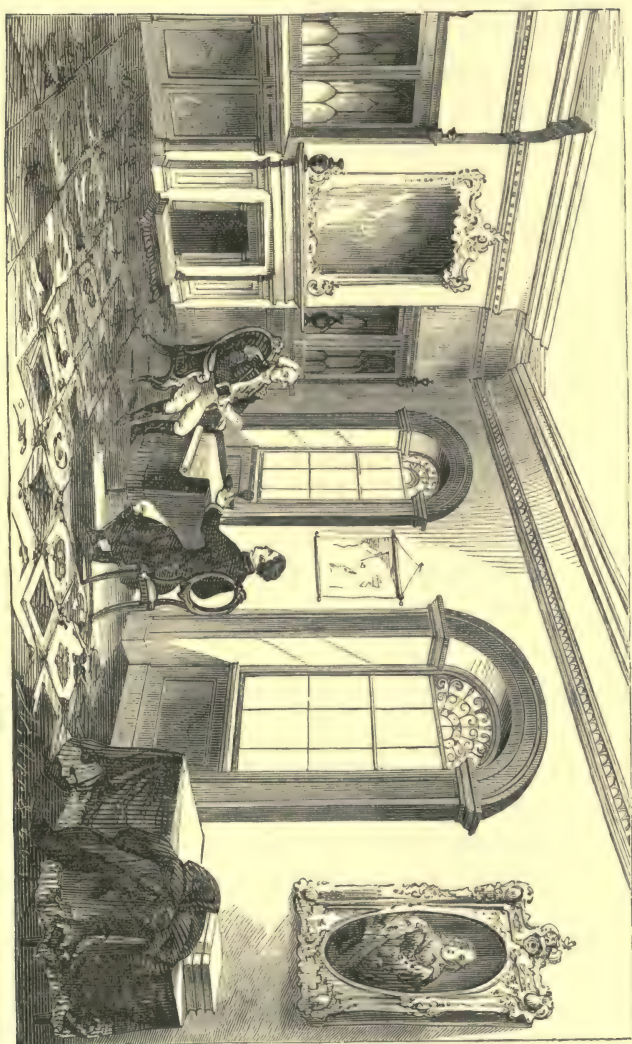
and Mr. Bell said that he saw with his own eyes the eighty cannon, above alluded to, dragged across to Staten Island from the foot of Rector street to repel the expected attack of Lord Stirling



of the whole of the southern region, harassed, it is true, by an annoying guerrilla warfare on the part of Sumter and Marion. In the meantime, Knyphausen crossed with a detachment of five thousand men from Staten Island to New Jersey, and, taking possession of Elizabethtown and burning Connecticut Farms, endeavored to wrest the province from the American forces, but, finding them too strong for him, was compelled to retreat and to return to the city.

The treason of Arnold was the prominent event of the year 1780. Brave almost to rashness, he had achieved brilliant successes in the previous campaigns, and won the implicit confidence of Washington. But despite his consummate military talents—despite the northern campaign and the battle of Behmus' Heights, in which his tact and ability had won the admiration of both friends and foes, he had for some time been growing unpopular both with Congress and with the people. With the former, this was natural. Arnold was a man of fearless courage ; no officer in the ranks of the army had served more efficiently or won more brilliant victories than had he, and in acknowledged bravery and military ability he stood foremost among the generals of the day ; yet, despite this, Congress evinced a manifest disposition to keep him in the background by promoting inferior officers above him, and constantly assigning to him subordinate commands. Much of this may be attributed to military jealousy ; much, too, it may be, to the fact that he was known as a warm friend of Washington, who, at this time, was far from popular in the councils of the nation. Chafed by these tokens of evident injustice, and

goaded on by a naturally jealous and imperious disposition, Arnold complained bitterly of the slights to which he was subjected ; while Washington used every effort to soothe his wounded spirit, and on the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British forces in 1778, procured him the command of the city. Soon after his entrance into his new office, he married Margaret Shippen, the daughter of a well-known Tory citizen of Philadelphia, who had been the friend and companion of the young British officers quartered in the city during the previous winter, among whom was Major André, the aid-de-camp and confidential friend of Sir Henry Clinton. This union tempted him to the indulgence of his naturally luxurious tastes; the finest house in the town was chosen by him as his residence, and fitted up in a costly style, and his whole *ménage* was conducted in a manner better befitting the purse of a prince than that of a simple officer of an impoverished army. This extravagance soon excited the murmurs of the citizens, who openly accused him of peculation. To add to this, he soon became involved in disputes with the mayor and common council in respect to the bounds of his authority as the military commandant of the city ; and, by their direction, he was finally prosecuted by the attorney-general of the State on various charges of criminality and willful abuse of power, tried by a court-martial, found guilty in part, and sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. This painful task was performed by Washington with all possible delicacy ; despite the faults of Arnold, he loved him as a brother, and had constantly endeavored to soothe his fiery temper and to



Private Room of Sir Henry Clinton in the Kennedy House.





persuade him to endure his grievances with manly fortitude. Stung to the quick by the public rebuke, the proud and impatient general speedily resolved on a revenge which, if not more justifiable, might have been more excusable, had it not been mingled with mercenary conditions. But, drawn on by his late alliance to aspire to a luxurious household with little means of support beyond those he derived from the impoverished treasury of his country, he now resolved by selling himself to effect the twofold purpose of accomplishing his revenge and of procuring the means for a continuance of his pleasures.

For this purpose, he first offered himself to the French ambassador, who rejected his overtures with scorn. Foiled in this quarter, he next opened a negotiation with Clinton through the medium of Major André, who received him with open arms. The better to effect his treasonable designs, and to enhance their value to the enemies of his country, he sought and obtained the command of West Point, at this time the key of the American possessions, which he proposed to deliver into the hands of Clinton. The price of this treachery was fixed at ten thousand pounds sterling, with the post of brigadier-general in the British army.

At this time, Sir Henry Clinton had his head-quarters in the Kennedy House, No. 1 Broadway, later the Washington Hotel. Here he laid his plans for the seizure of West Point, and intrusted the brave young André with the papers and commission necessary to effect the purpose, which proved his death-warrant, paving the way to an ignominious doom. The sequel has been too

often and too graphically described in general histories to require a detailed notice at our hands. The gallant young officer was arrested on his return from his perilous errand, and, despite the earnest efforts of Clinton, despite the anguish of Washington himself, condemned to execute a sentence against which his heart revolted, was sacrificed to that inexorable military code which prescribes an ignoble death on the gallows as the inevitable doom of a spy. But far different was his death from that of young Hale ; his last moments were soothed by every attention that humanity could dictate, and, a victim to the stern necessities of war, he met his fate amid the tears of his executioners. Arnold, meanwhile, received the price of blood, and took up his abode in New York, branded with the scorn even of those for whom he had sacrificed his honor. Here he lived for some time in partial concealment, sometimes in the Verplanck House in Wall street, and sometimes at No. 9 Broadway, near the residence of Clinton. The most earnest efforts were made by his incensed countrymen to effect his capture. The gallant Champe, risking his life and reputation, feigned to desert to the British army, and, escaping with difficulty the pursuit of his comrades, swam the river to New York, where he was warmly received by Arnold, his perilous escape insuring full faith in the fidelity of his professions. The supposed deserter at once gained free access to the house in Broadway, and matured his plans for the projected capture. An alley adjoined the garden of the house, through which the conspirators proposed to pass, and, entering the garden by removing some palings, pre-



viously loosened by Champe, to proceed to the house under the guidance of their comrade, seize their victim, gag him, and carry him off by the same route to the boat which would await them by the shore. The plan was well laid ; a fortuitous circumstance alone prevented its execution. On the day preceding the one fixed for the capture, Champe was ordered to embark for Chesapeake, while Arnold removed from his head-quarters to another house nearer the place of embarkation. The Americans, punctual at the rendezvous, waited in vain for several hours on the opposite shore ; then returned to the camp, disappointed in one of their dearest wishes. Champe seized the earliest opportunity to desert from the southern army and return to his comrades to clear up the stain that had rested on his honor. Arnold remained in the service of the British until the close of the war, when he repaired to England, where he died in 1801, leaving a name blackened with infamy.

The winter of 1780-81 differed little from the preceding. Disaffection prevailed among the army, who grumbled at their scanty fare and arrears of pay. So violent did this feeling become that, on the first of January, the Pennsylvania troops abandoned the main army in a body, and set out for Philadelphia to demand of Congress a redress of their grievances. On hearing of this, Sir Henry Clinton at once dispatched emissaries to induce them to desert to the British service, but the indignant patriots seized the agents, bound them, and delivered them up to Congress to be treated as spies. They were met at Princeton by a deputation from

Congress, which promised them relief. Steps were immediately taken to secure the needed provisions; taxes and requisitions were levied upon the surrounding country, and money, ammunition and clothing were furnished in tolerable supplies. Much of this was due to the influence of Robert Morris, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia and able financier, at that time superintendent of the treasury, who exhausted every resource that his means and credit could offer, and resorted to every expedient that his ingenuity could invent, to furnish the necessary provisions and prevent the army from disbanding in hopeless despair.

The southern campaign of this year opened favorably for the Americans. General Greene, who had superseded Gates in the command of the southern army, harassed the British forces severely, and forced them at length to retreat to Charleston, leaving him in possession of the rest of the Carolinas. Meanwhile, Lafayette, in Virginia, watched the movements of Cornwallis, and thwarted his plans continually.

In June, the French army under Count Rochambeau marched from Newport to rejoin Washington in the Highlands, and, at the same time, intelligence was received that Count de Grasse was on his way from France with a powerful fleet to the American coasts. Anticipating that New York would be the next point of attack, Clinton ordered Cornwallis to abandon the interior of Virginia and march to the sea-coast, to be in readiness to reinforce the garrison of the city. The latter obeyed, and proceeding to Yorktown on the south side of York River, intrenched himself there; Glou

vester's Point, on the opposite side of the river, being occupied by Col. Tarleton.

Toward the last of August, De Grasse appeared off the coast, and, instead of proceeding to New York as had been expected, made his way to the Chesapeake, where, entering the bay, he engaged the British fleet under Graves which arrived a few days after, and covered the landing of the French squadron from Newport which had been dispatched with stores for the siege of Cornwallis, now blockaded at Yorktown by several frigates under the command of Lafayette. Worstened in the action, Graves returned to New York to refit, leaving De Grasse in possession of the bay. In the meantime, Washington and Rochambeau, who had succeeded in firmly persuading Clinton of their designs on New York, suddenly took up their march for Yorktown, nor was the astonished general aware of the feint until they were safely encamped before the army of Cornwallis.

Hoping to divert the attention of Washington, Clinton dispatched Arnold on a marauding expedition against Connecticut, which resulted in the burning of New London, together with the destruction of Fort Griswold and the massacre of its brave commander, Captain Ledyard, with the greater part of the garrison. But this brutal outrage did not serve to check the advances of the combined armies, who had now completely invested Cornwallis. On the evening of the 9th of October, a heavy fire was opened by the besiegers on the town, which was continued at intervals for several days. On the 14th, a simultaneous attack was made by a French and American detachment, the latter under the command of Alex-



ander Hamilton, upon two redoubts, in advance and on the left of the British lines, which were successfully carried. The works were immediately included within the American lines, and a cannonading opened thence upon Cornwallis. Seeing himself thus closely besieged, his guns dismounted, his men constantly falling around him, and all hope of escape definitively cut off, after a last attempt at a desperate sally, the general at length consented to surrender, and, on the 17th of October, capitulated to the patriot forces, and surrendered himself with seven thousand troops as prisoners of war. Five days afterwards, Sir Henry Clinton appeared in the mouth of the Chesapeake with large reinforcements, but on hearing of the surrender, returned with precipitation to New York.

This signal victory virtually closed the war. Public rejoicings were proclaimed throughout the country, and the 13th of December was set apart as a day of general thanksgiving. The victorious army separated; De Grasse set sail for the West Indies, Rochambeau bivouacked in Virginia for the winter campaign, and Washington returned with the main body of the army to his fortified post in the Highlands, first sending St. Clair with a strong detachment to the southern army to reinforce General Greene.

Upon the reception of the news of this defeat in England, Clinton was superseded in his command by Sir Guy Carleton, who arrived at New York soon after, and took up his residence in the Kennedy, now the Government House. But it was evident to all that the appointment was merely nominal, and that the time had

come for the cessation of hostilities. The peace party in Parliament renewed their efforts to put an end to the war, and, strengthened by the manifest public approval, their influence grew so formidable that, on the 28th of March, 1782, Lord North resigned his place at the head of the Cabinet. His office was immediately filled by Lord Rockingham, the leader of the opposition. Under his leadership, the future could not be doubtful, and Sir Guy Carleton was charged with instructions to negotiate for an early treaty of peace. The summer passed away in correspondence and negotiations ; and it was not until the 30th of November of the same year that preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris by Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens in behalf of the United States. Thomas Jefferson, who should have been among the number, was absent by reason of the illness of his wife. Similar articles were soon after concluded between France and England. For some time, the ambassadors attempted through intrigue to prevail on the American Commissioners to accept a truce for twenty years instead of an open acknowledgment of independence ; and it is even asserted that Franklin himself had nearly assented to this arrangement, but, just at this juncture, John Jay arrived from Spain, and flatly refused to accept such a compromise. Oswald at length reluctantly consented to the proposed conditions, and, on the 3d of September, 1783, signed a definitive treaty on the part of Great Britain, recognizing the independence of the United States, and fixing the great lakes on the North and the Mississippi on the West as

the boundaries of the new nation. The Floridas were ceded to Spain, their former owner, and the contested point of an unlimited right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland was conceded to the United States by the British government.

A cessation of hostilities had been proclaimed in the American camp on the preceding 19th of April, the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington. On the 3d of November, 1783, the Continental army was disbanded by order of Congress, and, on the 25th of the same month, General Washington entered the city of New York at noon, by the Bowery, then the only road, while, at the same time, the British troops evacuated the city, and, entering the ships that lay anchored in the harbor, unfurled their sails and slowly sailed down the bay. The American militia, under the command of General Knox, immediately took command of the fort, the stars and stripes for the first time were unfurled from its walls, a triumphant salute was fired by the corps of artillery, and, after a seven years' foreign occupation, New York was again in possession of her citizens.

The evacuation of New York was preceded by the flight of a large number of loyalists to Nova Scotia, the most convenient available spot on this side the ocean where they could live in peace under the British flag, without being branded by the name of Tories.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

1783—1801.

Washington in New York—Parting with his Officers at Fraunces' Tavern—Progress of the City—The Doctors' Mob.

Nor openly and fairly was this evacuation made; the British, departing by the provisions of an honorable treaty, employed the last moments of their presence in the city in the commission of a base and unmanly outrage. Unreeving the halliards of the flagstaff at Fort George, they knocked off the cleats and greased the pole to prevent the hoisting of the American colors; then evacuated the fort, sure that the stars and stripes would not be hoisted until they were far out of sight of their folds.

The discovery of this act excited general indignation, yet it did not delay the ceremony as its perpetrators had wished. A sailor-boy attempted at once to climb the bare pole, but it was too slippery, and he failed in the attempt. Upon this, the bystanders ran precipitately to Goelet's hardware store in Hanover Square, and, procuring hammers, nails, and other necessary tools, set to

work, some to saw, some to split, and others to bore new cleats for the flagstaff. Filling his pockets with these, the sailor-boy tied the halliards around his waist, and, nailing the cleats above him on the right and left, ascended, reeved the halliards, and hoisted the flag to its place ; and as the stars and stripes reached the top of the mast, a salute of thirteen guns rung its echoes in the ears of the discomfited troops, not yet out of hearing of the sound of triumph.

Another incident, related by an eye-witness of the scene, the late Dr. Anderson, may serve to illustrate the reluctance with which the British quitted their hold of the city which they had so long claimed as their own. By the conditions agreed upon, the city was to be surrendered at noon, but an impatient shopkeeper in Murray near Greenwich streets anticipated the arrangement, and hoisted the American flag during the course of the morning. Provost-marshal Cunningham hastened to the spot and confronted the proprietor. "Pull down that flag ;" exclaimed he with an oath ; "the city belongs to the British till noon." The man objected, hesitated, and was on the point of yielding, when the good woman of the house came to the rescue. "The flag shall not come down," said she. Cunningham stormed and swore, and finally attempted to tear down the colors with his own hands, but the woman assailed him so vigorously with her broomstick, striking a cloud of powder from his wig at each blow, that he was forced at last to abandon the field and leave the stars and stripes in quiet possession.

General Knox was at once installed as commander-in-



Dining-room in Frances' Tavern, corner of Pearl and Broad Streets.





chief of the military forces in the city. General Washington lingered a few days, fixing his head-quarters at Fraunces' or Black Sam's Tavern, as it was familiarly called in allusion to the swarthy complexion of its proprietor, on the corner of Pearl, then Queen, and Broad streets, where at noon, on the 4th of December, his officers assembled to bid him farewell. The scene was an affecting one. The dangers and privations of years had knit officers and general together as comrades, and now that the object of all was attained, in the happiness of peace was felt the pang of separation. Washington himself could scarce restrain his feelings; his friends did not attempt to do so. Filling a glass for a farewell toast, he turned to the company and said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, and most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He raised the glass to his lips, then continued: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but shall be obliged if each one will come and take me by the hand." They obeyed in silence—none could speak; Knox first, then the others embraced him in turn; then turning silently from the weeping group, he passed from the room, and walked to Whitehall, followed by his comrades, where a barge was in waiting to convey him to Paulus Hook. Having entered the boat, he bade them adieu with a silent gesture, and the procession returned to their place of rendezvous, mute and dejected at the loss of their leader. Washington proceeded to Annapolis, where Congress was then in session, and, resigning his commission as

commander-in-chief, hastened to Mount Vernon to resume the duties of a private citizen.

The city now began to fall back into a state of order, and to resume the appearance of tranquillity. It was time, indeed ; its commerce was ruined and its growth retarded ; it had paid a heavy tribute to the cause of liberty. No change was made in the character of the city government. The Dongan and Montgomerie charters were resumed as authority, the controlling power that had formerly been exercised by Great Britain being vested in the State. The city was still divided into seven wards, an alderman and an assistant from each of which were chosen annually by the people, while the appointment of the mayor remained with the State government. This office was solicited by the mass of the people for James Duane, a native-born citizen, who had wrecked his fortune in the Revolutionary struggle, and had now returned to his farm, near Gramercy Park, to find his house burned and his property destroyed. The desired appointment was granted by Clinton, and, on the 5th of February, 1784, he was installed as the first mayor of the city under the new regime ; an office which he continued to hold until 1789, when he resigned it for that of District Judge of the District of New York.

On the 11th of September, General Lafayette passed through the city on his return to France, and was received with all the enthusiasm which a grateful people could offer. Upon his arrival, he was waited upon by the corporation, who tendered him a complimentary address, with the freedom of the city. He remained but a few days. On his departure, he was



escorted to the wharf by a large concourse of citizens, who witnessed his departure with sincere regret. The same welcome was extended soon after by the city authorities to John Jay, on his arrival from his successful European mission, and also to Baron Steuben, who visited the city during the same autumn. On the 2d of December, Washington arrived in the city, where he was received with a burst of enthusiasm. The corporation paid him the highest honors in their power, while the citizens vied with each other in proving by their thanks that the days of the Revolution were not yet forgotten.

The next few years wore away with little event. Commerce, so long depressed, slowly revived, and public improvements were again talked of; but, though much was projected, little was done till the beginning of the next century. The city was forced, as it were, to begin life anew; her trade was ruined, her treasury empty, her people even yet divided among themselves. Feuds were existing everywhere, the effect of the recent war. The patriots returned from their long expatriation with their hearts full of bitterness against those—and they were many—who had clung to the royalist side and remained in possession of their homes during the days of trial; while the latter indulged in bitter invectives against the newly-established government, which, in many instances, had confiscated their estates, and branded them by its success as traitors to their country. New York was suffering from all the evils which a seven years' foreign occupation could inflict upon a city. Paralyzed by the long-continued dominion of a foreign army.

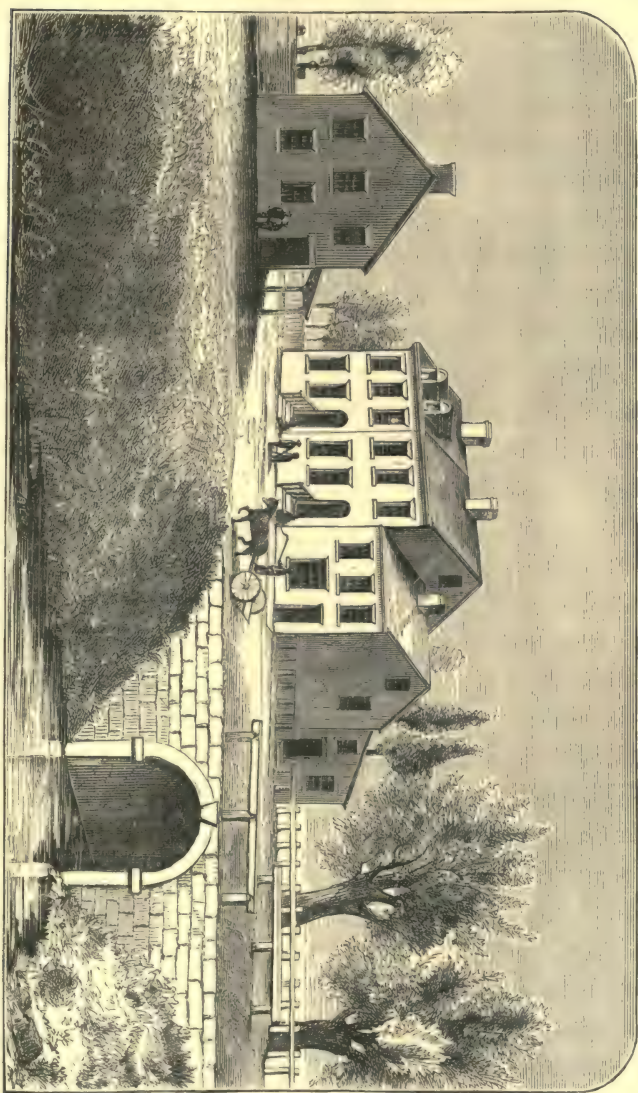
with a disorganized government, an interrupted commerce, and a scattered population, years were needed to recuperate its energies and fully to complete the work of its resuscitation.

The spirit of public improvement soon revived, and the city began to grow apace. The population at this time numbered about twenty-three thousand inhabitants. The first step towards progress was made in the improvement of the waste ground about the Collect, through which Reade and Duane streets were opened in 1794. The upper barracks along the line of Chambers street, now useless for their original purpose, were leased as dwellings for the benefit of the corporation.

These barracks, which had been built during the old French war, were rude log huts, a single story in height, extending from Broadway to Chatham street, and inclosed by a high wall, with a gate at each end. From the eastern, familiarly known as "Tryon's Gate," was derived the name of the present Tryon Row.

The process of filling in and grading the grounds about the Collect went on slowly; ere long, it infringed upon the lake itself. A survey of the pond and the land about it was made in 1790, and, during the following year, the corporation purchased the claim of the heirs of Anthony Rutgers, for the sum of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling. This done, the pond was staked off, and the work of filling up the grounds in its vicinity from the neighboring hills went on during several years. In 1796, a canal through Lispenard's Meadows, from the Collect to the North River, was proposed and sometime after constructed along the

Stone Bridge on the corner of Broadway and Canal Street.







line of Canal street. This canal was forty feet wide with a street on each side of the width of thirty feet. A stone bridge of a single arch, ten feet seven inches above the surface of the meadow, crossed it at the junction of Broadway and Canal street.

The pond, meanwhile, remained the same, deep, clear and sparkling—a miniature sea in the heart of the city. Its waters still furnished food for the angler, and rumors were rife of strange sea monsters which had been seen therein, one of which had carried off a Hessian trooper in the days of the Revolution. It was a man-trap, too, for the unwary traveller, and, from time to time, a citizen, who had mistaken his way in the darkness or had drank too deeply, fell from its banks and was drowned where now is solid ground. The possibility of such a transformation had not yet occurred to the busy speculators; but schemes were projected to convert the beautiful lake into a means of ornament and profit. One company proposed to buy up the lands about it, and, preserving the lake in its primitive condition, to lay out a portion of the grounds as a public park, and realize their expected profit from the enhanced value of the remainder. But this project was scouted as visionary by the cautious capitalists, who could not credit that the city would ever extend so far; the proprietors of the land, joining in the belief, were unwilling to risk their property in so wild a scheme; and the plan which would have preserved an inland sea in the heart of the city—a natural feature shared by no other—was finally abandoned by its enterprising projectors.

Another company proposed to cut a ship canal through

the island, connecting the pond with the rivers on either side, and thus to convert it into a magnificent inland harbor ; but this scheme failed for the same reasons as the other—the capitalists lacked faith in such extravagant hopes of the future city. As the city increased and the once-neglected lands grew valuable as gold-mines, the Collect was gradually filled in from the surrounding hills, till, in process of time, the lake over whose waters the Indians had so often guided their canoes, was transformed into firm earth, the site of the gloomy “Tombs” with its neighborhood of crime and misery.

From the earliest times, the Dutch “Vlackte” or Flat—the English Commons—had been recognized as the property of the city, to be used for public purposes. These purposes had been somewhat various, it is true : a pasture under the peaceful sway of the Dutch burghers, it had become, in the stormy times which preceded the Revolution, the gathering-place of the patriots—the cradle of Liberty. What Faneuil Hall was to Boston, was the Commons to New York. There the enthusiastic Sons of Liberty, under the chieftainship of Scott, Sears, Lamb and McDougall, assembled to denounce the obnoxious Stamp Act ; there they fought bravely in defence of their Liberty-Pole, the exponent of a right and a principle ; there they ended the battle of Golden Hill—the first battle of the Revolution—a contest undertaken, not from the impulse of sudden anger, but in defence of the liberties of the people ; there, too, were the Bridewell, the New Jail and the old Provost, the gloomy prisons of the victims of Howe and Clinton.

At this time, as heretofore, the Commons lay open.



uninclosed by any kind of fence or wall. On the north side, was the Alms House and House of Correction. The Bridewell stood at the west end of the present City Hall, and the New Jail, now the Hall of Records, occupied its present position. Between the Alms House and the Bridewell was the public gallows, which, transferred in 1756 from its place near the lower end of the Park to the foot of Catimut's Hill, in the vicinity of the Five Points, had been removed again to the Commons in 1784. In 1796, a new Alms House was built on Chambers street in the rear of the old one, now so dilapidated as to be unfit for further use, into which the inmates were removed in the course of the following year.

The Bridewell had been erected in 1775 on the site of the first Liberty-Pole, and within the bounds of the piece of land purchased for the second in 1770. This land was still the property of the Sons of Liberty, and in 1785, Isaac Sears, in whose name it had been purchased, claimed it on their behalf, and offered to release all right and title to it for eighty pounds sterling, with lawful interest ; the amount of the original purchase money. The claim was allowed by the corporation, and the sum ordered forthwith to be paid ; but the said payment was never made, and the grounds to the northwest of the City Hall still belong to the heirs of the New York Liberty Boys.

In 1790, the first sidewalks in the city were laid on the west side of Broadway from Vesey to Murray street, and opposite for the same distance along the Bridewell fence. These were narrow pavements of brick and

stone, scarcely wide enough to permit two persons to walk abreast. Above Murray street, Broadway was a succession of hills, having its highest elevation in the vicinity of Anthony street, where the road rose precipitously over a steep hill, then descended as abruptly on the other side to the valley at Canal street. In 1797, the grade of Broadway from Duane to Canal streets was established by the corporation, though some time elapsed before the proposed improvement was reduced to fact. The highest point of the projected grade was at the intersection of Broadway and Leonard street, whence it was to descend gradually to the bridge across the meadow at Canal street, where the land required to be raised about seven inches. But, in return, at Leonard street, it was necessary to cut through the hill to the depth of fifteen and a half feet, and at Anthony street to the depth of twenty-two feet nine inches. At Pearl street, the ground was four feet nine inches above the proposed grade.

The need of street numbers had been for some time rendered apparent by the increasing growth of the city, and in 1793, the corporation appointed a committee to prepare and report a feasible system. This was done, and the proposed method, beginning at the next house in every street terminating at either of the rivers, at the intersection of the main street next the river, and numbering all houses below these intersecting streets, beginning with No. 1, looking upward in all the main streets and downward in all the slips, and so on to the end of the street or slip, was adopted by the corporation.

From the evacuation of New York by the British

troops in 1783 to the organization of the Federal Government in 1789, the most exciting event that happened in the city was probably the riot, known since familiarly as the Doctors' Mob. During the winters of 1787 and 1788, a number of dead bodies had been dug up by stealth by medical students and others, not only from the Potter's Field and the Negroes' Burial-Ground—then reckoned lawful prey—but from the private cemeteries of the city; and the fact becoming known, excited a general ferment among the people, and awakened a violent prejudice against the medical profession. As is usual in such cases, the facts were greatly exaggerated by public rumor, the most absurd reports were circulated through the city, and the New York Hospital—at that time the only one—was regarded by the people with superstitious horror. On the 13th of April, while the public mind was in this excited state, some students thoughtlessly exposed the limb of a body from the window of the dissecting-room in sight of a group of boys who were at play in the rear of the Hospital. The news spread like lightning, and was instantly caught up by the unemployed crowds who were loitering in the streets to enjoy the leisure of the day. An immense multitude speedily assembled, and, besieging the Hospital, burst open the doors, and destroyed a collection of anatomical preparations, the most of which had been imported from abroad. Some fresh subjects were discovered, which were borne away and interred in triumph. The terrified physicians attempted to secrete themselves, but were dragged from their hiding-places, and would assuredly have been sacrificed to the fury of the crowd, had not



the magistrates interfered and lodged them in the jail for safety. Satisfied with their work of vengeance, the crowd dispersed, and the physicians flattered themselves that the affair was over.

They were mistaken ; it was but the beginning of the play. The next morning, the crowd assembled with fresh reinforcements, and avowed their purpose of searching the houses of the suspected physicians. Clinton, Hamilton, Jay and others remonstrated, assuring them that justice would be rendered them by the law ; and, after searching Columbia College and several of the suspected houses, they were at length persuaded to retire.

In the afternoon, matters grew more serious. A party of the more violent gathered about the jail, and demanded possession of the students who were lodged there. This demand was of course refused ; to have complied would have been to deliver over the victims to certain destruction. Alarmed at the hostile attitude of the gathering, the mayor promptly called out the militia, and, about three o'clock, dispatched a small party to the defence of the refugees, which was suffered by the mob to pass without much molestation. A reinforcement of twelve men, dispatched to their aid an hour after, were arrested and disarmed before they reached the jail. Elated with this success, the rioters next attacked the building, but were beaten back by the handful of militia which had first been sent there, and which maintained its ground against desperate odds.

The city became the scene of intense excitement. The mob, unable to force the jail, tore down the fences and

broke the windows, vowing destruction to every doctor in the city. The crowd about the building increased every moment, and the position of affairs grew so alarming that, about dusk, the mayor marched with a large party of armed citizens to the relief of the besieged. The friends of law and order hastened to the spot, and vainly exerted their eloquence to allay the tempest and prevent the shedding of blood. They were assailed in reply by a volley of stones and brickbats, one of which struck John Jay in the forehead while he was earnestly entreating the multitude to disperse, and felled him to the earth, wounding him severely. Finding all other arguments in vain, the mayor at length determined to fire upon the rioters. Baron Steuben interposed and implored him to desist, but, before he could finish the entreaty, a stone whizzed through the air and laid him prostrate. "Fire, mayor, fire!" cried he, before he had touched the ground. The mayor hesitated now no longer; the order was given, the militia obeyed, and a number of the rioters fell at the first volley, while the remainder dispersed without waiting for the second. Five persons were killed in the fray, and seven or eight severely wounded.

A ludicrous incident, illustrative of the height of the popular fury, occurred during the riot, which was nearly attended by disastrous consequences. While the excitement was at its height, a party of the rioters chanced to pass the house of Sir John Temple, then resident British Consul at New York, and mistaking the name of "Sir John" for "surgeon," attacked it furiously, and were with difficulty restrained from levelling it to

the ground. For some days, the militia kept guard about the jail, but no other attempt was made at violence. The offending students were sent into the country for a time, and the public excitement by degrees became allayed. But the venerable hospital was henceforth invested by the populace with a sort of horror, and became the scene of many a fearful resurrectionist legend.

By the Articles of Confederation, under which the States had continued to act since the close of the war, each State was constituted an independent sovereignty, governed exclusively by its own legislature, and only subject as a political body to the general Congress, which, even then, had no power to force compliance with its dictates, or to prevent one State from making war upon another. Without credit, without revenue, empowered only to advise, and uninvested with any executive authority, this Congress was, indeed, but a mere farce, and the Articles "a rope of sand," as they were termed at the time. The need of a closer union of the States and of an efficient general government, soon became apparent. The country was in an impoverished condition; besides a foreign debt of eight millions, a domestic debt of nearly thirty millions had been incurred by the war; yet Congress had no power to meet these obligations, but only to urge the States to raise money for the purpose. The officers and soldiers of the Revolutionary army, who had received but four months' pay, were clamoring for their arrears, but no money could be found to discharge the debt. Some of the States endeavored to meet these demands by levy-



ing heavy taxes upon the citizens ; but this proceeding excited general discontent, and in Massachusetts, an insurrection ensued, which was with difficulty suppressed by force. The State treasuries were exhausted, commerce was prostrated, the people, impoverished by the late war, were unable to support additional burdens, and, in the absence of a responsible general government, all hope of relief from credit was necessarily futile. In this exigency, a convention, growing out of a proposition of James Madison, of Virginia, was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, for the purpose of amending the Articles of Confederation. Their deliberations resulted only in paving the way for another convention, composed of delegates from all the States, which was held at Philadelphia in the following May, with George Washington as president. After four months' deliberations, on the 17th of September, 1787, the present Constitution of the United States was accepted by the Convention, and submitted to the different States for approval.

Notwithstanding the obvious need of a consolidated government, the proposed Constitution was opposed by a large portion of the inhabitants, who averred that it placed too much power in the hands of the Executive ; and the States came slowly into the Union. Since the restoration of peace, two political parties had sprung into existence in New York. One of the primary causes of this division was the bill disfranchising all who had adhered to the British government during the war, which had passed the Assembly of 1784, chiefly through the efforts of the Sons of Liberty who composed the

New York representation.\* This act bore heavily upon the loyalists, many of whom were also attainted for treason, and their estates confiscated to the government; and urgent efforts were made by them to procure its repeal, which were stoutly opposed by the Sons of Liberty, but were seconded by Hamilton and Schuyler. Through the influence of these powerful friends, the act was finally repealed on the 3d of February, 1787, and the loyalists reinstated in their privileges of citizenship. This act, denounced by the Liberty Boys as emanating from British influence, won the loyalists over to the side of Hamilton, and secured concurrence in his efforts for the adoption of the new Constitution. The opposite party, meanwhile, known familiarly as the "French party," for their sympathy with the struggle for independence now going on in France and their hatred of the opposing British influences, denounced the new Constitution in no measured terms, and exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent its acceptance by the people.

This new issue drew a marked line between the parties. The federalists, comprising the refranchised royalists, indorsed the new Constitution; the anti-Federalists opposed it with all its adjuncts. The Constitution had already been accepted by the nine States necessary for its adoption, beginning with Delaware and ending with Massachusetts; yet New York still held

\* John Lamb, Marinus Willett, Isaac Sears, Henry Rutgers, William Malcolm, Robert Harpur, John Stagg, Peter P. Van Zandt and Hugh Hughes, most of whom were well known as active Sons of Liberty, were the New York representatives to this first Assembly after the close of the war.

aloof. On the 17th of June, 1788, the Convention of the State of New York assembled at Poughkeepsie to deliberate on the matter. Governor Clinton, the president of the Convention, was a staunch anti-federalist; while Alexander Hamilton and John Jay assumed the leadership of the federalist party, which was in the minority in the Convention. The State, at this time, was emphatically anti-federalist; the city, on the contrary, eminently federalist. In the latter, a society had been organized some time before under the name of Federal-Republicans, with John Lamb as chairman and his son-in-law, Charles Tillinghast, as secretary, to concert measures to prevent the adoption of the Constitution with its opponents throughout the Union, and this party through their organ, Greenleaf's *Patriotic Register*—the *Holt's Gazette* of the Revolution—assailed the actions and motives of the federalists, and stimulated the opposition of their friends at Poughkeepsie. The federalists, on their side, spared nothing that might forward the success of their design. On the 23d of July, three days before the adoption of the Constitution, a thirty-two gun frigate, christened "the Federal Ship Hamilton," and manned by thirty seamen and marines under the command of Commodore Nicholson, was drawn by ten horses through the streets in procession from the Bowling Green to Bayard's Farm, in the vicinity of Grand street, where tables were spread in the open air, and a plentiful dinner provided for the whole company, consisting of four or five thousand persons. This demonstration, the first procession of the kind ever witnessed in the city, excited the curiosity of the



public to the highest degree, and thousands flocked to the town from the neighboring country to witness the spectacle. The *Patriotic Register*, however, indulged freely in sarcastic remarks on the occasion, and so incensed the federalists, that, on the announcement on the 26th of the adoption of the Constitution, the spirit of mobocracy broke forth with violence, and a crowd of rioters, proceeding to the office of the paper in Pine street, broke open the door with axes, and demolished the press and types. Greenleaf, with an apprentice, after vainly endeavoring to defend his property, made his escape at the rear of the building into Wall street.

Emboldened by this success, the rioters next made their way to the house of John Lamb in Wall street, about midway between Pearl and William streets ;\* but, anticipating the attack, preparations had been made for defence. The doors and windows were barred and the halls and stairways barricaded, and General Lamb, Colonel Oswald, and Major John Wiley, with two youths and a colored servant, were stationed in the second story with loaded muskets, while the youngest daughter of Gen. Lamb, with Miss Chapman, a visitor from Connecticut, and a colored servant, who had refused to quit the house, were stationed in the attic as a reserve force, with an ample supply of Dutch tiles and empty bottles to be launched at the heads of the rioters. The mob, now

\* John Lamb was at this time Collector of Customs for the port of New York, having been appointed to the office in 1784. A part of his residence was used for the Custom House, the business being not yet large enough to warrant a separate establishment.

increased to thousands, surrounded the house, yelling, shouting and threatening an attack, but to these the inmates made no reply ; and at length the rioters, concluding the house to be either deserted or strongly garrisoned, held a council of war, and determined to withdraw. The city soon subsided into a state of quiet, and the new constitution was gradually acquiesced in by the opposition.

On the 13th of September, 1788, the adoption of the Constitution was publicly declared, and the city of New York selected as the seat of the general government. This involved the need of more extensive accommodations. The City Hall in Wall street, in which the Continental Congress had been accustomed to meet, was falling to decay, and the exhausted city treasury furnished no means wherewith to make the necessary repairs. In this emergency, a number of wealthy gentlemen advanced the requisite sum ; the Hall was remodelled under the direction of Major L'Enfant, and placed by the corporation at the disposal of the general government. On the 4th of March, 1789, the day appointed for the assembling of Congress, bells were rung and cannon fired, and the hall was thrown open for the expected session ; but only a handful of the members made their appearance. Unable to transact business in the absence of a quorum, they issued a circular letter to their colleagues—and waited. Their patience was put somewhat severely to the test. The roads were bad, railroads and steamboats unknown, packets and stages few, and punctuality, withal, regarded as a thing of minor importance ; and it was not until the 6th of April

that enough of the straggling members of both houses had come in to constitute a quorum and enable them to declare the result of the election. On the day in question, both houses assembled in the Senate Chamber, the votes were opened and read, two lists made out, the House of Representatives withdrew to its chamber, the votes were counted, and George Washington was declared unanimously elected first President of the United States. John Adams, having received the next highest number, was declared elected Vice-President, and messengers were dispatched to the new officials to notify them of the result.

John Adams was the first to arrive. Reaching New York on the 21st of April, he was met at the boundary line by Governor Clinton, with a military escort, and conducted to Kingsbridge. Here he was received by the Senate and House of Representatives, together with several companies of militia, and escorted to the City Hall, where he delivered his inaugural address. Two days afterward, Washington arrived. His journey from Mount Vernon had been a march of triumph. Everywhere he was met with rejoicings, nor could he, with his utmost endeavors, extricate himself from these public expressions of their gratitude. He had wished to travel unostentatiously as a private citizen; but he found this impossible without harshly repelling the heartfelt welcome that was everywhere offered to him. At Alexandria he was greeted by a public entertainment, which was repeated at Georgetown; on the confines of Pennsylvania he was met by a large escort, headed by Mifflin, his ancient enemy, now governor of the State, who





Federal Hall and the Verplanck Mansion.



conducted him to Philadelphia, where a splendid ovation was prepared for him ; and at Trenton, the bridge over which he had once retreated before Cornwallis to fall on the enemy's forces at Princeton, was strewn with flowers by a band of maidens, and he was escorted into the town with military honors by an immense concourse of citizens. At Elizabethtown Point he was met by a committee from both houses of Congress, which, embarking with him in a barge which had been splendidly fitted up, escorted him to the landing-place at the foot of Wall street, where Governor Clinton was in waiting to receive him, attended by the State and city officers. Landing at the stairs at the foot of Murray's Wharf, which had been decorated for the occasion, he was escorted by a large procession to No 1 Cherry street, formerly occupied by Samuel Osgood, which had been prepared for his reception, whence he proceeded to Governor Clinton's to dinner. In the evening, the city was splendidly illuminated, and a brilliant display of fireworks closed the demonstrations.

The Federal Hall was not yet finished, and a week elapsed before the arrangements for the inauguration could be completed. For this, the outer balcony of the Senate Chamber, looking down on Broad street, was chosen ; Congress having prescribed that the ceremony should take place in public and in the open air. The 30th of April was fixed for the inauguration. At nine in the morning, religious services were performed in all the churches. A little after noon, a procession was formed from the house of the President elect, consisting of the city cavalry, with the members of Congress and the



heads of departments in carriages, followed by Washington alone in a carriage, his aid-de-camp and secretary, Colonel Humphreys and Tobias Lear, with the resident foreign ministers, also in carriages, bringing up the rear. Having reached the Senate Chamber, he was conducted by Vice-President Adams to his seat, then informed that all was ready for taking the oath of office. Upon this, he rose and proceeded to the balcony, followed by the Senate and House of Representatives. Adams, Knox, Steuben, and Hamilton, his old companions in arms and danger, grouped around him, Chancellor Livingston administered the oath, and, as he ended with the exclamation, "Long live George Washington, first President of the United States!" the multitude rent the air with shouts of applause. Returning to the Senate Chamber, he delivered his inaugural address, then proceeded on foot, with the whole assembly, to St. Paul's church, where prayers were read by Bishop Provost, lately appointed by the Senate as one of the chaplains of Congress; after which, he was escorted back to his residence. In the evening, there was a display of fireworks on the Battery, and the houses of the French and Spanish ministers were brilliantly illuminated. A month later, Mrs. Washington arrived, and was received at the Battery with the federal salute of thirteen guns, and escorted from the landing-place with military honors.

This ceremonial over, Washington's life in New York was simple and unostentatious. The new presidential mansion, to make room for which the old fort had been levelled in 1787-88, had not yet been completed, nor was it until after the removal of Congress, when it

became the residence of Governor Clinton, and was some time afterward transformed into the Custom House. During the first session of Congress, he continued to occupy the house which had been assigned him in Cherry street, the accommodations of which were so limited that three of his secretaries—Humphreys, Nelson, and Lewis—were obliged to content themselves with a single room. Tobias Lear, his principal secretary, with his assistants, Thomas Nelson, and Robert Lewis; his aides-de-camp, Colonel Humphreys and Major Jackson, and Mrs. Washington with her two grandchildren, formed his household. His house was handsomely but plainly furnished. On Tuesdays, from three to four, he held a public levee; on Thursdays, he gave congressional dinners; and on Friday evenings, Mrs. Washington held her receptions. The whole establishment savored of republican simplicity, the chief tendency toward luxury being shown in the horses, which were remarkably fine, and were groomed with scrupulous care. Washington was simple and abstemious in his habits. He rose regularly at four o'clock, and went to bed at nine. On Saturdays, he sought relaxation from his labors by riding into the country, either on horseback, or with his family in the coach-and-six. In the evening, he sometimes visited the theatre in John street, at that time the only one in the city, which had been erected during the occupation of the British, and used by the officers for amateur theatricals.\*

\* The earliest theatricals in New York were in a store on Cruger's Wharf, near Old Slip, where a number of young men used to meet and amuse themselves with amateur performances. The first regular theatre was a stone building, erected in 1750 in the rear of the Dutch Church in Nassau street. Mr. Hallam was the manager, with a

In this theatre, "which was so small," says Custis in his "Recollections and Private Memoirs of the Life and Character of Washington," "that the whole fabric might easily have been placed on the stage of one of our modern theatres;" the stage boxes were set apart for the President and Vice-President and adorned with appropriate emblems and decorations. The playbills were inscribed *Vivat Republica*. The performances were good, and the company included several players of merit, among whom was Morris, who had been the associate of Garrick in the beginning of his career. It was here that the national air of "Hail Columbia" was first played, having been composed by Fyles, a German musician, the leader of the orchestra, in compliment to the President. On Sunday morning, when the weather was fine, Washington and his family attended St. Paul's church, where his pew could long be seen; in the evening, he read to his wife, receiving no visitors. He laid it down as a rule to return no visits, and gave no dinner invitations except to officials and foreigners of distinction. For some time, the adoption of a title suitable to his position was discussed by Congress, but was finally abandoned by common consent, and the simple but dignified address of "President of the United States," first conferred on him by the House of Representatives in reply

tolerably good company; but, after a time, he removed to Jamaica, and the theatre was, in consequence, pulled down. The second was a wooden building, in Beekman street, a few doors below Nassau, erected with the permission of Lieutenant-Governor Colden, by Philip Miller in 1769. This was destroyed by the Liberty Boys during the days of the Stamp Act, in revenge for some insulting allusion in the play. The next in order was the theatre in John street, above cited.



to his inaugural speech, adhered to then and henceforth by the nation.

During the residence of Washington in Cherry street, he was attacked by a dangerous illness, which rendered a surgical operation necessary. The elder and younger Drs. Bard were his physicians. Washington bore the torture with surprising firmness. "Cut away—deeper, deeper still;" exclaimed the father to his son, whom he had deputed to perform the operation through distrust of his own nerves, "don't be afraid; you see how well he bears it." For a time, he was considered in a critical situation, and the greatest anxiety was manifested in the city. The pavement in front of his residence was strewn with straw, and chains were stretched across the neighboring streets; but the operation proved eminently successful, and his speedy recovery removed all cause of alarm. Upon his convalescence, he set out upon a tour through the New England States, from which he returned a short time before the opening of the second session of Congress on the 8th of January, 1790. About the same time, he removed to the Macomb House, No. 39 Broadway, afterward Bunker's Mansion House, where he continued to reside during his stay in New York.

This stay was not a long one. Since the first adoption of the federal constitution, the country had been in a ferment in respect to the location of the permanent seat of government. The eastern States preferred New York, Pennsylvania clamored for its return to Philadelphia or the vicinity, the people of New Jersey petitioned for its removal to the shores of the Delaware, while Maryland and Virginia, with the rest of the southern States, urged

the banks of the Potomac as the central location. During the first session, the banks of the Susquehanna had very nearly been chosen as the site ; and no sooner had the second session opened, than the discussion was renewed with unabated ardor. Each party persisted in urging its claims, and it was only by a somewhat curious compromise that an amicable arrangement was finally effected, and the District of Columbia selected as the capital of the United States.

Early in the session, Alexander Hamilton, then Secretary of the Treasury, threw a new apple of discord into the assembly by proposing that, for the maintenance of the public credit, the general government should assume, not only the public foreign and domestic debt, amounting to fifty-four millions, but also the debts of the States, contracted during the Revolution, and estimated at twenty-five millions. The foreign debt was assumed without hesitation, as was also the domestic debt after considerable opposition, but here the question rested. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, South Carolina and a part of Pennsylvania, joined in favoring the assumption of the debts of the States, while Maryland, Virginia, Georgia, New Hampshire and the remaining part of the Pennsylvania delegation opposed the measure with so much acrimony that, at one time, a dissolution of the Union seemed inevitable. The debts of most of the opposing States were small ; some objected to thus increasing the power of the general government ; others, on the contrary, advocated it as a federal measure ; but neither party could claim a majority. At this juncture, as a last

resort, a compromise was effected through the joint agency of Jefferson and Hamilton, and two of the Virginian representatives were induced to vote for the assumption ; while the Northerners, in return, ceded the other point at issue, and fixed the permanent seat of the general government on the banks of the Potomac ; though, by way of salvo to the feelings of the disappointed Pennsylvanians, it was agreed that it should first remain for ten years at Philadelphia. The precise location was left to the President, who was to appoint commissioners to choose a site within certain limits from the lands which had been proffered by Maryland and Virginia. These States, as well as Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in their eagerness to secure the capital of the nation, had not only offered to furnish the necessary ground, but also to appropriate money for the erection of the public buildings, and, in the impoverished state of the country, this saving of expenditure proved a strong argument in their favor. Both bills soon after passed the Senate, the former with various amendments ; the federal government agreed to assume the greater portion of the State debts in certain specified proportions, and the month of December, 1800, was fixed as the date of the opening session of Congress at the capital city of Washington in the new District of Columbia.

Since the close of the war, Indian affairs had been in an unsettled state along the western and southern frontiers. Soon after the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, treaties had been negotiated with the various tribes which had taken part against the United States during the war ; but these adjustments had proved



unsatisfactory, and the natives complained bitterly of the constant encroachments of the whites upon their boundaries. In the Carolinas and Georgia, discontent ripened into open war. The Cherokees, who claimed the northern part of the States as well as the greater portion of the State of Tennessee, were worsted in the strife and forced to flee to the Creeks for protection ; the latter, who inhabited Alabama and Georgia, strengthened by an alliance with the Spaniards in Florida, carried on the war with greater success, and, headed by their chief, Alexander McGillivray, severely harassed the settlements of the Georgians. McGillivray was a half-breed, the son of a Scotchman, who, educated by his father in the best schools of Charleston, had inherited the chieftainship through the line of his mother, according to the custom of the nation, and turned his talents and education to good account by devising ways and means to strengthen its power. Bred in a counting-house and familiar with mercantile affairs, he opened a profitable trade with the Spaniards, through whom he obtained the arms and ammunition necessary for the successful continuance of the war.

Led by an enemy of superior intelligence, this outbreak occasioned considerable alarm, and, soon after the opening of the first session of Congress, General Lincoln, Colonel Humphreys and David Griffin were dispatched as commissioners to the scene of contest to adjust the boundaries of the disputed territory. This was a tract of land, west and south of the Oconee River, which the Georgians claimed had been ceded to them by three successive treaties ; while the Creeks alleged that these

treaties had been obtained by force or fraud, and therefore could not be held as binding upon the nation. The commissioners were well received by McGillivray and his warriors, but, refusing to restore the lands, they effected nothing except to obtain a temporary cessation of hostilities.

The next year, Colonel Marinus Willett was dispatched by Washington to open a new negotiation. Disguising himself as a simple trader, in obedience to his instructions, he entered the Indian camp and sounded the disposition of the natives ; then, throwing off the mask, he avowed his errand, and invited McGillivray to go with him to New York to talk with the Great Father. To this proposal, McGillivray consented, and set out in the beginning of the summer, accompanied by twenty-eight chief and warriors of the nation. Their arrival excited considerable interest in the city. On landing, they were met by the Tammany Society, arrayed in Indian costume, which escorted them to their lodgings on the banks of the North River at the tavern known henceforth as the Indian Queen. Here they remained for more than six weeks, negotiating the terms of a treaty with General Knox, the commissioner appointed by Washington for that purpose, and, the matter being at length satisfactorily arranged, the treaty was ratified, in true Indian style in Federal Hall in Wall street, on the 13th of August, the day after the adjournment of the second session of Congress. At 12 o'clock, the Creek deputation was met by the President and his suite in the Hall of the House of Representatives, where the treaty was read and interpreted, after which, Washington addressed

the warriors in a short but emphatic speech, detailing and explaining the justice of its provisions; to each of which, as it was interpreted to them, McGillivray and his warriors gave the Indian grunt of approval. The treaty was then signed by both parties, after which Washington presented McGillivray with a string of wampum, as a memorial of the peace, with a paper of tobacco as a substitute for the ancient calumet, grown obsolete and unattainable by the innovations of modern times. McGillivray made a brief speech in reply, the "shake of peace" was interchanged between Washington and each of the chiefs, and the ceremony was concluded by a song of peace, in which the Creek warriors joined with enthusiasm. The warriors, indeed, had good reason to be satisfied with this treaty, which ceded to them all the disputed territory, and distributed presents and money liberally among the nation. Almost immediately after its ratification, the Creeks returned to their homes in the South, leaving their name as a memorial to their place of entertainment.

The visit of the Indians closed the official career of New York as the capital city of the nation, but this did not retard her prosperity, as at the time was greatly feared. Freed from the distractions of political excitement, the people turned their attention to mercantile pursuits, and soon made of their city the commercial centre of the western continent. In the autumn of 1789, James Duane was succeeded in the mayoralty by Colonel Richard Varick, who, since the evacuation, had been the city recorder. Colonel Varick was a popular lawyer of the city, who had won his military title in the



service of Schuyler in the northern army, and, after witnessing the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga and the defeat of Burgoyne, had been aid-de-camp to Arnold till the discovery of his treason, after which he had served Washington as secretary until the close of the war.

In 1793, war broke out between France and England, and on the 9th of April, just five days after the news reached New York, Citizen Genet arrived at Charleston as the accredited minister to the United States from the new French Republic. This war placed the nation in an embarrassing position. Bound on one hand to France by obligations of gratitude as well as by the conditions of a treaty of alliance, it was pledged on the other hand by the federal policy to preserve strict neutrality in European wars. The nation became divided, the anti-federalists warmly espoused the cause of the French party, while the federalists, with Hamilton at their head, insisted that the treaty had been annulled by the change in the French government ; or, at all events, did not apply in case of an offensive war. Washington inclined to the latter opinion, and, while he received Genet as the minister of the Republic, proclaimed a strict neutrality in respect to warlike operations. This greatly displeased Genet, as well as the anti-federalists, who, warmly attached to France and detesting England, cheered on their late allies in their struggle for liberty, and warmly seconded the French minister in fitting out privateers from their ports to cruise against nations hostile to France. The journey of Genet through the States was a march of triumph. Everywhere, he was fêted and caressed ; in Philadelphia, he met with an enthusi-

astic reception, and, in New York, where he arrived on the 8th of August, he was welcomed with ringing of bells and salutes of cannon in honor of the success of republican France. The opposition papers of the day—*Freneau's Gazette* and Bache's *General Advertiser* at Philadelphia, Greenleaf's *Patriotic Register* at New York, the *Chronicle* at Boston, and all the republican press beside, warmly espoused the cause of the minister, and commenced a crusade against the course of the government. Encouraged by these manifestations of popular sympathy, Genet fitted out numerous privateers from the American ports, manned in many cases by American seamen, which, in the course of a few months captured nearly fifty British vessels in direct violation of the President's proclamation of neutrality. On the 12th of June, the *Ambuscade*, which had brought Genet to the United States, arrived at New York, where her officers and crew were welcomed with enthusiasm by the anti-federalists, now first called democrats in derision, by reason of their sympathy with the Jacobins of the French Revolution. The Liberty-Cap was hoisted on the flagstaff of the Tontine Coffee-House, and all true patriots exhorted to protect it; tri-colored cockades were worn, the Marseillaise was chanted, and, for a season, New York seemed transformed into a veritable French city. On the 22d of June, the *Ambuscade* sailed on a cruise, from which she returned on the 14th of July. During her stay in port, an event occurred which greatly incensed the friends of Genet, and certainly reflected no credit upon British honesty. On the 21st, a frigate appeared off Sandy Hook, which was reported

by a pilot-boat that came in as the *Concorde*, a consort of the *Ambuscade*, and, too eager to await her arrival, the lieutenant with a boat's crew went out to meet her. Deceived by the tri-colored flag, which was hoisted on their approach, the party mounted the decks, and found themselves prisoners of war on board the British frigate *Boston*. This act of treachery was severely and deservedly denounced by the republicans, who urged Captain Bompard of the *Ambuscade* to accept the challenge sent directly after by way of bravado by the British captain to meet him at sea, and even entered the lists themselves for the coming contest. Escorted by a fleet of pilot-boats, filled with spectators, the *Ambuscade* sailed down the bay on the 30th of July, and encountered the *Boston* off Sandy Hook. A bloody action ensued, in which Captain Courtney of the *Boston* was killed, and his vessel disabled. Finding it impossible to hold out any longer, the British frigate at length bore away for Halifax, pursued for some distance by the triumphant *Ambuscade*.

On the 3d of August, a French fleet of fifteen sail arrived at New York, where the officers were warmly received by the republicans. On the 7th of the same month, Genet arrived at Paulus Hook on his way to the Eastern States, and was greeted with extravagant demonstrations of welcome. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and a great meeting held in the fields, at which a committee of forty was appointed to wait upon the ambassador and escort him into the city. The federalists, on the other hand, backed by the Chamber of Commerce, held counter-meetings, denouncing the conduct of the French minister, and warmly indorsing the



proclamation of neutrality. Soon after his arrival, Genet strengthened his interests with the republican party by espousing the daughter of its leader, Governor Clinton ; the marriage ceremony being performed at the Walton House in Pearl street.

The conduct of the French minister excited the indignation of the President and Congress, who ordered the captured prizes to be restored, and remonstrated with Genet against his contempt of their authority. Sustained by the powerful republican party, the ambassador openly justified his conduct ; and his correspondence at length grew so offensive, that even Jefferson and Randolph, who had hitherto defended him, joined with the opposite party in demanding his recall. Before the letter reached France, a great change had been wrought in the affairs of the republic. The Girondins, the friends of Genet, had fallen from power, the Reign of Terror, under the leadership of Robespierre, had commenced, and the Jacobins, now the dominant party, made no difficulty in conceding the President's request. Genet was formally recalled from the ministry, and Citizen Fauchet appointed in his place, with instructions to approve the proclamation of neutrality. Genet remained in the United States, and died at an advanced age at his residence on Long Island. His sons still continue residents of the city.

The subsequent tragedies of the Reign of Terror destroyed much of the popular sympathy with the French republic. America became the refuge of the *émigrés*, and this immense influx of foreign immigration wrought a visible change in the character of the people.

In New York, where the exiles mostly congregated, was this change most of all apparent. French manners, French customs, French cookery, French furniture, French fashions, and the French language, came suddenly in vogue, and for a season, New York seemed transformed into Paris. Another element was added to make up the cosmopolitan character of the city. It had been essentially Dutch and essentially English; it now became essentially French; and when the downfall of Robespierre recalled the exiles to their homes, and the city was vacated as suddenly as it had been filled, it still retained the impress of the invasion; nor has it ever been wholly effaced, as all will acknowledge who have observed how much more predominant is the French element in this than in the other northern cities.

In the summer of 1795, John Jay, the newly-elected federal governor of New York, arrived from England with a new treaty; rendered necessary by the repeated violations of the first, alleged by each nation against the other. The provisions of this treaty, which bound the United States to a strict neutrality in all wars between England and other nations, were denounced by the anti-federalist or republican party, as it had now come to be called, as a shameful repudiation of the obligations due by the country to France, and the most strenuous efforts were used to induce the President to refuse its ratification. In New York, the federalists were stronger in wealth—the republicans, in numbers. In the charter elections from 1783 to 1803, the federalists almost uniformly carried six out of the seven wards of the city; yet a large proportion of the inhabitants were non-

voters, deprived of the elective franchise by the property qualification, and many of these belonged to the republican party. This faction had sympathized warmly with Genet in his efforts to provoke a new war with England, insisting that the United States stood pledged by honor to return the aid extended her in the Revolution, and to take up arms in defence of the new republic.

No sooner had the new treaty become publicly known, than a mass meeting of the republicans was held in Boston, the treaty denounced as dishonorable and disadvantageous, and a committee appointed to state objections in an address to the President. A few days after, an anonymous handbill appeared in the streets of New York, calling on the citizens to meet in front of the City Hall on the 18th of July, to join with the Bostonians in expressing their opposition to the treaty. This was instantly met by a gathering of the federalists, who resolved to attend the meeting *en masse*, to present both sides of the question to the people.

On the day appointed, an immense concourse assembled in front of the City Hall. Aaron Burr and Brockholst Livingston, the brother-in-law of Jay, who, with Chancellor Livingston and the rest of that influential family, had espoused the cause of the Republican party, appeared as the leaders of the opposition; Alexander Hamilton and Richard Varick stood for the federalists and the treaty. The latter party at first took the lead, and succeeded in electing a chairman from among their number; then proposed at once to adjourn the meeting. This proposal, of course, was opposed by the republicans, as making of the whole thing a farce, and defeating the



purpose of the meeting. A motion was made to leave the matter to the decision of the President and Senate, and, the question being taken, both sides claimed the majority. A scene of violence ensued. Hamilton mounted the stoop of an old Dutch house which stood on the corner of Wall and Broad streets, with its gable end to the street, and attempted to speak in defence of the treaty, when he was rudely thrown from his place, and dragged through the streets by the excited multitude. A motion was made to appoint a committee of fifteen to report three days after, and a list of names was read and pronounced carried. The tumult soon increased to such a degree, that business became out of the question. "All you who agree to adjourn to the Bowling Green, and burn the British treaty, will say Aye," shouted some one from among the mass. The thunder of the "Ayes" shook the watch-house on the south corner of Broad and Wall streets to its foundation, and the turbulent opposition ran, shouting and huzzaing, to the Bowling Green, when the treaty was burned to the sound of the Carmagnole, beneath the folds of the French and the American colors. At the adjourned meeting, which was attended chiefly by the republicans, twenty-eight resolutions, condemnatory of the treaty, were reported by the committee, and unanimously accepted. The following day, a series of counter resolutions was adopted by the Chamber of Commerce, at this time composed almost exclusively of federalists, and on the 14th of August, the treaty was finally ratified by the Senate and signed by Washington.

In the autumn of 1791, the yellow fever broke out in

the vicinity of Burling Slip. Though soon checked in its ravages by the approach of frost, it excited a panic among the inhabitants, and cut down several well known citizens, among others, General Malcolm of the Revolution. In 1795, it again made its appearance, about the first of August, and raged with virulence during the remainder of the season, carrying off seven hundred and thirty-five of the citizens. But these visits were but the precursors of the coming pestilence. About the last of July, 1798, it again broke out with increased violence, heightened perhaps by the general alarm which at once diffused itself among the people. The whole community was infected with the panic, all who could fled the city, the stores were closed, the business streets deserted, and for many weeks the hearses that conveyed the victims of the pestilence to their last homes were undisputed possessors of the streets of the city. Most of the churches were closed ; Trinity, Christ's Church in Ann street, and the Methodist Chapel in John street alone remaining open. The Post-office was removed to the house of Dr. James Tillary on the corner of Broadway and Wall street, and the citizens came down for their letters from their retreats at Greenwich and Bloomingdale between the hours of 9 A.M. and sundown, the time at which the physicians pronounced it safe to visit the city. The greatest suffering prevailed, and contributions of money, provisions, and fuel poured in from the neighboring States for the relief of the poor, thus deprived of employment, and hourly threatened with the death from which their poverty forbade them to flee. From the breaking out of the pestilence to the beginning of Novem

ber, when it ceased, the deaths amounted to 2,086, exclusive of those who had fled the city; and this from a population of fifty-five thousand. Strangely enough, not a single case occurred on the Long Island or Jersey shores. The fever lingered in the city for several years, breaking out with violence at intervals, yet at no time did its ravages equal those of '98.

The contests between the federalists and republicans in the charter elections increased in violence, and the federalists began gradually to lose ground. In the election of 1800, the Sixth and Seventh Wards were carried by the republican party, and, elated by their success, the victors put forth renewed efforts in the election of the following year. To evade the property qualification, requiring every voter to be a landholder, an association of thirty-three young men purchased a house and lot in the Fifth Ward, jointly on the principle of a tontine, and having thus rendered themselves eligible according to law, presented themselves at the polls as republican voters.\* The same scheme was adopted in the Fourth Ward by a club of seventy-one members. The election returns showed four wards for the republicans, and three for the federalists; the Fifth Ward being carried in favor of the

\* The names of many of the members of this early Tontine Association afterwards became prominent in the politics of the State. They were as follows: Joshua Barker, S. Tiebout, A. Macready, Peter Black, Tenius Wortman, George I. Eachus, Daniel D. Tompkins, Richard Riker, Thomas Hertell, Edmund Ferris, Arthur Smith, William Boyd, William A. Davis, William Jones, Edmund Holmes, William P. Van Ness, John Sonnelle, Jas. W. Lent, Cornelius C. Van Allen, Jno. W. Woolf, Robert I. Livingston, John Jagger, Jas. Warner, Robert Swartwout, John L. Broome, David Thompson, Joseph Brown, Samuel Lawrence, Gideon Kimberley, Henry Post, Gordon S. Mumford, Maltby Gelston, John Drake.



former by a majority of six, and the Fourth Ward by thirty-five. This result was at once contested by the federalists on the ground of illegal voting by the Tontine Association, and, being submitted to the decision of the retiring board, the majority of which belonged to that party, was pronounced null and void and the balance of power restored to the hands of the federalists. The State election having been decided in favor of the republicans by the election of ex-Governor George Clinton, Edward Livingston, the brother of the well-known chancellor of that name, received the appointment of mayor of New York.

## CHAPTER XIX.

1801.

*New York in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.*

At this time, the city, though the metropolis of the western world, was a mere village in comparison with the city of to-day. The city proper was bounded on Broadway by Anthony, on the North River by Harrison, and on the East River by Rutgers streets; and even within these limits, the houses were scattering, and surrounded by large gardens and vacant lots. The farm-houses on Bowery Lane extended as far as Broome street; the fields and orchards on either side reaching from river to river. From the Battery to Cedar street, Greenwich street was the outside street on the shore; there, Washington street had been commenced and partly built upon one side to Harrison street, where it terminated abruptly in the river.

Above Broadway was a hilly country, sloping on the east to the Fresh Water Pond, not yet quite filled in from the surrounding hills, and descending on the west to the Lispenard Meadows; dotted with the picturesque country seats of wealthy citizens. Of the high hill at the junction of Broadway with Anthony street we have

already spoken. This descended precipitously to the arched bridge at Canal street, thus forming a valley, to the north of which rose another high hill, falling off abruptly to a pond in the space between Broome and Spring streets, through which Broadway was filled up and prolonged.

At this time, Broadway ended at Astor Place, where a pale fence, stretching across the road, formed the southern boundary of the Randall Farm, afterward the endowment of the Sailor's Snug Harbor. The Old or Boston Post Road ran eastward, below Madison Square along the Rose Hill Farm,\* by turn the property of Watts, Cruger, and General Gates, and wound its way by a circuitous route to Harlem; while the Middle Road, beginning in the Old Road near the entrance of the farm, afforded a direct avenue to the same village. The Kingsbridge or Bloomingdale Road, a continuation of the Bowery Lane, formed a junction with the Fitzroy and the Southampton Roads, and extended by the way of McGowan's Pass and Manhattanville to Kingsbridge, whence it continued to Albany. From the Bloomingdale Road, Love Lane, now Twenty-first street ran westward to the North River.

On the site of Washington Square was the new Potter's Field, lately removed from its original locality at the junction of the Greenwich and Albany roads, where it had been established in 1794, and which was deemed too near the public thoroughfares by the city authorities, by whom Washington Square was selected on

\* This farm covered some twenty-five blocks of ground in the Eighteenth Ward, and was the property of John Watts prior to the Revolution.



account of its retired location. The property owners in the vicinity of the latter protested strongly against the change, and even offered to present a piece of ground in another part of the city to the corporation, but the officials remained firm, and for many years the marsh in question continued to be used as a pauper burial-ground. The negro burial ground was at the corner of Broadway and Chambers street, on the site now occupied by Stuart's marble building. The churches, too, had their respective cemeteries, for it was not until 1813 that burials were first prohibited in the city below Canal street.

Public gardens were at this time favorite institutions, and were scattered in profusion over the city. On the shores of the North River in the village of Greenwich were the Indian Queen's and Tyler's, both favorite places of resort. Between Lafayette Place and Fourth Avenue, on the site of the Astor Library, was Vauxhall Garden—not the original Bowling Green Garden, afterwards Vauxhall, at the junction of Warren and Greenwich streets, the resort of the early Dutch settlers—which had been purchased about the middle of the eighteenth century by a Swiss florist named Jacob Sperry, and afterwards sold by him to John Jacob Astor, who leased it to a Frenchman by the name of Delacroix, the proprietor at the time of which we are speaking. Far up on the Bloomingdale road was the Strawberry Hill House, afterwards christened Woodlawn; and on the eastern side of the island was the fertile Kip Farm, which, though not numbered among the places of public resort, was noted for its variety of choice fruit and flowers, and was often visited by Washington and his cabinet during his stay in the city.

On the hill at the junction of Broadway and Anthony streets, was a frame house with a brick front, which retained its place until a few years since, and is probably remembered by many of our readers. On the east of this hill was the country seat of Colonel Barclay. Above, on the Bowery nearly opposite Bond street, was the residence of Andrew Morris, in the vicinity of which, on the corner of Third street, stood the Minthorne mansion. To the west, above Bleecker street, were the seats of John Jacob Astor and William Neilson, and in Laight street, just above St. John's Park, was the residence of Leonard Lispenard. At the northwest in the vicinity of Varick and Charlton streets was the celebrated Richmond Hill Mansion, built in 1770 by the British paymaster, Abraham Mortier, on grounds leased from Trinity Church, and occupied by Washington as his head-quarters during the Revolution. After the surrender of the city to the British, it became the residence of Sir Guy Carleton, afterward Lord Dorchester. It subsequently became the property of Aaron Burr, and was his residence at the time of his fatal duel with Hamilton, and it was here that he was found by Dr. Hosack a few hours after, calmly reading the Confessions of Rousseau in his bath, as if totally oblivious of the fatal tragedy. From his hands, it passed into the possession of John Jacob Astor, who converted it into the Richmond Hill theatre.

On the block bounded by Fourth, Bleecker, Perry and Charles streets, was the now venerable Van Ness House, then owned by Abijah Hammond. These grounds originally formed a part of the extensive farm of Sir Peter Warren, the brother-in-law of James and

Oliver De Lancey, whose son-in-law, the Earl of Abingdon, disposed of his share, consisting of fifty-five acres, in 1788 to David H. Mallen for the sum of twenty-two hundred dollars. From his hands, it passed into the possession of Mr. Hammond, and was soon after disposed of to Whitehead Fish, who resided on it until his death in 1819, when it was purchased by Abraham Van Ness, for fifteen thousand dollars.

On the block of ground between the Ninth and Tenth Avenues, and Twenty-second and Twenty-third streets, stood the old Chelsea House, built before the Revolution by the widow of Thomas Clarke, one of the veterans of the old French war, who had purchased the estate a short time before his death, and named it Chelsea as the retreat of an old soldier. This subsequently became the residence of Bishop Moore of Columbia College, and was afterwards donated by him to his son, Clement C. Moore, who continued to reside in it until the levelling the grounds about it compelled its demolition.

At Ingleuberg, now Murray Hill, lying between the Fourth and Sixth Avenues, and Thirty-sixth and Fortieth streets, was the residence of Robert Murray, the father of the grammarian, notable for having been the place where the worthy Quaker matron, by her cordial hospitality, detained the British generals long enough on the day of the capture of the city to secure to Silliman's brigade a safe retreat to Harlem. In the neighborhood, nearly opposite on the Bloomingdale road, was the Varian House, and higher up at Bloomingdale was the Apthorpe Mansion, where, as we have already narrated, Washington narrowly escaped capture on





Murray Hill Cottage.

the same eventful day, while anxiously awaiting the arrival of his troops from the city; and also the Grange, the residence of Alexander Hamilton. On the shores of the East River, near Turtle Bay, stood the celebrated Beekman House, built by Dr. James Beekman in 1764, and occupied in turn by the British commanders-in-chief as a country seat during the Revolution.\* Here, the unfortunate Nathan Hale was tried

\* The fine situation and extensive ground of this house made it a favorite residence of the British officers. During the Revolution, it was occupied from the 15th of September, 1776, by General Howe, seven and a half months; from the 1st of May, 1777, by Commissary Loring, one year and five months; from the 20th of October, 1778, by General Clinton, three years and six months; from the 1st of May, 1782, by General Robertson, eleven and a half months; from the 16th of April, 1783, by Mr. Beekman; and from the 16th of June, 1783, to the evacuation by General Carleton, five months; in the whole, seven years, one and a half months.

and sentenced to death, and confined in the greenhouse of the garden on the night preceding his execution. Near this, on the banks of the river, was the ancient Cruger Mansion, now tenanted by General Gates, and known as the rendezvous of the leading spirits of the day.

On the shores of the Harlem River, just below the High Bridge of the Croton Aqueduct, stood Colonel Roger Morris' House, a large, old-fashioned, two story building, commanding a fine view of the river from its elevated position, which had been the headquarters of Washington after his forced evacuation of the city. The old house is still standing, now known as the residence of Nelson Chase.

On the block bounded by Montgomery, Clinton, Cherry, and Monroe streets was the old Belvidere House, built on the banks of the East River in 1792 by thirty-two gentlemen, composing the Belvidere Club, and used for many years afterward as a place of public resort; and near this, in the vicinity of Cherry street, was the residence of Colonel Rutgers, with the cottage of Marinus Willett in close proximity.\*

In Pearl, opposite Cedar street, was the residence of Gov. George Clinton, the headquarters of Washington on assuming the command of the army at New York. Further down on the corner of Pearl and Broad streets, was the well-known Fraunces' Tavern, the headquarters of Washington after the evacuation of the city by the British troops, and the scene of his final parting with his officers. This house was built about 1730 by the De Lancey family, and was sold by Oliver De Lancey, in

\* Used also for a hotel.

1762, to Samuel Fraunces, who soon after opened it as a public tavern. It soon became notable as a Saturday night rendezvous of a gathering of choice spirits calling themselves the Social Club, and, though Fraunces was a well-known friend of the Liberty Party, was a favorite of both Whigs and Tories, who harmonized in their taste for the choice wines of the proprietor.

At the lower end of Broadway stood the Kennedy House, late the Washington Hotel, built in 1760 by Captain Kennedy, afterward Earl of Cassilis, and bequeathed by him to his son Robert, from whom it passed into the possession of the late Nathaniel Prime. This house was the headquarters of Putnam prior to, and of Howe and Clinton during the Revolutionary War, and the scene of André's last interview with the British general previous to his departure on the fatal West Point mission. Just above this was the King's Arms Tavern, a double house, two stories in height, with a front of yellow Holland brick, and a steep roof, covered with shingles in front and tiles in the rear, the headquarters of General Gage during his residence in the city. This afterwards became known as Burns' Coffee House, the well-known rendezvous of the Sons of Liberty, and the place from which emanated many of the patriotic resolves of the New York citizens. It was in this house that the first non-importation agreement of the colonies was signed by the merchants of the city of New York on the evening preceding the execution of the Stamp Act, and the first step thus taken toward the rebellion which ripened into their future independence. Here Arnold resided after the discovery of his treason, and it was from the



garden, which extended down to the river, that the chivalric Champe proposed to abduct the traitor and carry him off in triumph to the American lines in the Jerseys.

Above this, on the site of 39 Broadway—the reputed site of the first building ever erected on the island—was the Bunker Mansion House, the residence of Washington during the second session of Congress.

But a volume would scarce suffice to note all the landmarks, rendered interesting by some association of the past.

The penal institutions of the island were the New Jail,\* chiefly used for the imprisonment of debtors; the Bridewell, in which vagrants and minor offenders were confined, as well as criminals, while awaiting their trial, and the State Prison in Greenwich village on the shores of the North River, for convicts of a higher grade. The latter was a large stone building, surrounded by a high wall on which an armed sentry was constantly pacing. It was opened for the reception of convicts in August, 1796, and was the second State Prison in the United States. In the course of a few years, the number of prisoners in this institution, as well as in the Bridewell, became so great that it became necessary to erect another building for their reception, and a Penitentiary for the imprisonment of minor offenders was accordingly built on the shores of the East River at Bellevue. This

\* The first building used for a jail was on the corner of Dock street and Coenties Slip. After the erection of the City Hall in Wall street, the criminals were confined in dungeons in the cellar, while the debtors were imprisoned in the attic apartments, from the dormer-windows of which they used to hang out old shoes and bags to solicit alms of the passers by.

institution, which was opened on the 16th of May, 1816, was a stone building, one hundred and fifty feet in length by fifty in breadth, and three stories high. In close proximity to it stood the New Alms House, opened in the spring of the same year; a blue stone building, three hundred and twenty-five feet in front, with two wings of a hundred and fifty feet in depth each. In 1826, the Bellevue Hospital was built near by, and the three buildings, inclosed by a stone wall, including twenty-six acres, were known henceforth as the Bellevue Establishment. The criminals in these institutions were set to work for the benefit of the State at breaking stone, picking oakum, etc. Through the efforts of Stephen Allen, then mayor of the city, and others, the tread-mill system was introduced into the Penitentiary in 1822, but after a few years' trial, was found inexpedient and abandoned. Upon the opening of the new State Prison at Sing Sing in 1828, the convicts were removed to it from the prison at Greenwich, and their places supplied by the prisoners from the Bridewell and the New Jail. In 1838, the Bridewell was demolished, and the stone of which it was composed was worked up into the Tombs, then in process of erection. The New Jail had some time previously been transformed into the modern Hall of Records. When this change was made, the fire alarm bell, which had hung in the belfry during the Revolution, was taken down and placed upon the Bridewell, where it remained until the demolition of the latter. A cherished relic of the firemen, it was then transferred to the engine house of the Naiad Hose Co., in Beaver street, where it remained until it rung out its own funeral knell

for the great fire of 1835, which swept it to the ground and destroyed it forever.

In 1825, the penal institutions of the city were increased by the establishment of a House of Refuge for juvenile offenders, which was founded under the auspices of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, an outgrowth from the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, organized in 1818 by a number of the prominent philanthropists of the city. The House of Refuge was incorporated in 1824, and opened on the 1st of January, 1825, in the United States Arsenal in Madison Square, with nine inmates—six boys and three girls. On the destruction of the building by fire in 1839, the institution, now grown into considerable importance, was transferred to the fever hospital at the foot of Twenty-third street on the East River, where it remained for fifteen years, when, its increasing wants demanding enlarged accommodations, the present institution was erected on Randall's Island, and the inmates removed to it in 1854.\*

In 1801, the New York Hospital, the charter of which had been granted by Lord Dunmore, in 1771, to Peter Middleton, John Jones, and Samuel Bard, the three most eminent physicians of the day, and the corner stone of which had been laid in 1773, by Governor Tryon, was the only institution of the kind in the city. This building, which had been almost consumed by fire before its completion, then transformed into barracks for the British troops during the Revolutionary War, was

\* For many of these details we are indebted to Israel Russell, Esq.



enlarged and repaired after the restoration of peace, and opened for the reception of patients in 1791. In



The Tombs.

1807, a Lunatic Asylum was erected on the southerly side of the Hospital grounds, near the main edifice, and corresponding with it in the style of architecture, which was opened in the following year. This was used for its original purpose during fourteen years, when an asylum was built at Bloomingdale, overlooking the North River, on the west side of Tenth Avenue, near One Hundred and Seventeenth street, to which, in 1821, the patients were removed. The single dispensary for the aid of the out-door sick was the City Dispensary, located in a small building in the rear of the City Hall, fronting on Tryon Row, which had formerly been occupied by the Health office. This was instituted in 1790, and incorporated on the 8th of April, 1795, under the name of the New York Dispensary.

The only medical school in the city in the beginning of the nineteenth century was the Medical Faculty of Columbia College, organized in 1768 through the efforts of Drs. Bard, Middleton and others. In the Revolution, which followed soon after, the association was scattered and the college converted into a military hospital. In 1792, it was again revived, with Dr. Samuel Bard as dean of the faculty, and remained the only school of the kind in the city until the institution of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, with Dr. Romaine at the head, in 1807, under the patronage of the Regents of the University. In 1813, a fusion was effected between the two rival schools, who continued to work together until 1826, when differences arose, which finally resulted in a separation of the college, and the foundation of the Rutgers Medical College, located in Duane street near Broadway, with Drs. Hosack, MacNeven, Mott, Francis, Godman and Griscom as its first professors. Drs. John Augustine and Joseph M. Smith, Dana, Beck, Stevens, and Delafield formed the professorial staff of the rival college.

At the foot of Park Place, was the venerable Columbia College, opened in 1755 under the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Johnson ; then abandoned by its president, Myles Cooper, in the Revolution, and converted first into barracks and afterward into a military hospital. Upon the restoration of peace, a number of gentlemen were appointed by the Legislature, under the title of Regents of the University, to superintend the literary institutions of the State, and empowered to act as Trustees of the College. In 1787, the institu-

tion was reorganized, the royal charter confirmed by the legislature, and William Samuel Johnson, LL.D., appointed first president under the new régime. In 1801, he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Wharton, who resigned the office a few months after, when it was bestowed upon Bishop Moore, who had acted as president *pro tem.* in 1775, during the absence of Cooper.



Old Columbia College at the foot of Park Place.

The benevolent institutions were the Marine Society, incorporated in 1770, for the improvement of maritime



knowledge, and the relief of indigent sea-captains, their widows and orphans; the Chamber of Commerce, formed in 1768 and incorporated in 1770, "for the purpose of promoting and extending all just and lawful commerce" and for affording relief to decayed members, their "widows and children;" the Humane Society, established in 1787, for the purpose of affording relief to distressed debtors, and afterward extended so as to include the resuscitation of persons apparently drowned, as well as the relief of the poor in general, and incorporated in 1814; the Manumission Society, established chiefly by Friends in 1785 for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of negro slaves throughout the State and bestowing upon them an education, and incorporated in 1808; the Sailor's Snug-Harbor, founded by Captain Randall in 1801 for the benefit of worn out and decrepit seamen, and the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, formed in 1784, and incorporated in 1792, for the relief of the necessitous among their number, and for the support of the widows and children of those who might die in indigent circumstances. In 1821, the Mechanics' Institute in Chambers street between Chatham street and City Hall Place was built by the Society, and a school and library established for the education of its protégés. Besides the societies which we have mentioned, were the Society of the Cincinnati, founded at the close of the war by the patriots who, like their Roman namesake, had relinquished the sword for the plough, for purposes of general benevolence, and into which none but Revolutionary soldiers and their descendants were admitted: the Tammany Society or Columbian Order, founded

nearly at the same time, into which, in opposition to the exclusiveness of the former, all were admitted without regard to ancestry; the St. Andrew's Society, founded in 1756, and several masonic and other societies. Among the most remarkable of these was the Tontine Association,\* founded in 1790 and incorporated in 1794 by a company of merchants for the purpose of providing a centre for the mercantile community. By the plan of this association, each shareholder selected a nominee, during whose life he was to receive his equal proportion of the net proceeds of the establishment; but upon whose death his interest reverted to the owners of the surviving nominees. The original shares were assignable and held as personal estate, and the whole property was vested in five trustees, who were to hold the property until the number of the surviving nominees was reduced to seven, when the whole was to be divided among the fortunate seven shareholders depending upon them. Under these regulations, two hundred and three shares were subscribed for at two hundred dollars each, and with this sum the Association purchased a lot of ground a hundred feet square on the corner of Wall and Water streets, and in 1790 commenced the erection of the Tontine Coffee-House, to which, upon its completion in 1794, the Merchant's Exchange was removed from the dilapidated old building in the centre of Broad below

\* The plan of this Association originated from the scheme of Lorenzo Tonti, a Neapolitan, who introduced a similar scheme into France in 1653, during the reign of Louis XIV.; whence the word *Tontine* came to designate a loan advanced by a number of associated capitalists for life annuities with the benefit of survivorship.—See Valentine's Manual for 1852.



The Bible House, in Eighth Street, between Third and Fourth Avenues.

Pearl street where it had been located since the Revolution. After the erection of the new Exchange in Wall street, in 1825, the building was let for various purposes ; then, in May, 1855, was demolished to make room for the subsequent Tontine Building.

Many other societies sprang into being in the course of the next half century—the Bible and Common Prayer Book Society, instituted in 1809 ; the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, founded in 1810, and the American Bible Society, established in 1816. Next came the various Missionary Societies—the New York Sunday School Society, established in 1816—the outgrowth of a



little Sunday School opened in 1811 by a few young women of the Society of Friends for the purpose of teaching adult colored women; the American Tract Society, instituted in 1825, the City Tract Society, founded during the ensuing year, and many more beside.

The Reformed Dutch Church still continued predominant in the city which had been founded by its members. This was, indeed, the oldest denomination in America, having been organized in New Amsterdam with a handful of members as early as 1620. For a long time, the church continued to retain its distinctive customs and even language; the first English sermon ever listened to by the denomination having been delivered as lately as 1764 by Dr. Laidlie in the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau street. Even at this late date, the innovation of a foreign tongue was stoutly opposed by the ancient Knickerbockers, but was sanctioned by the Consistory as a matter of policy—the only means whereby they could restrain the younger members of their congregations, who had well-nigh forgotten the language of their sires, from straying off to listen to the more familiar English tongue as preached in the churches of other denominations. Laidlie, invited to become the English colleague of Domines Ritzma and De Ronde, at that time the officiating ministers of the South and Middle Dutch Churches, at once opened a crusade against the dances and merry holiday amusements which had come down from the genial times of the early settlers, and did much toward infusing the spirit of English asceticism among the descendants of the jovial sires of New Amsterdam. All the ministers who succeeded him preached in English

only, with the exception of Dr. Livingston and Dr. Kuypers, the latter of whom preached for many years in both languages. The last sermon in the Dutch language was preached in 1803.

The customs that prevailed in the Reformed Dutch churches were, indeed, peculiar ; many of them still exist among the denomination, nor are the traditions of any wholly lost. Unlike the plainly attired Puritan preachers, the domines invariably appeared in the high, circular pulpit, clad in a gown of black silk, with large, flowing sleeves ; and so indispensable was this livery deemed, that, at the installation of a domine in the beginning of the nineteenth century, who came unprepared with a gown for the occasion, the senior clergyman peremptorily refused to officiate, and the ceremony would have been postponed for a week, had not a robe been opportunely furnished by a friendly minister.

The tall pulpit was canopied by a ponderous sounding-board. The first psalm was set with movable figures, suspended on three sides of the pulpit, so that every one on entering might prepare for the opening chorus. Pews were set aside for the governor, mayor, city officers, and deacons, and the remaining seats were held singly by the members for their life, then booked, at their death, to the first applicant. The clerk occupied a place in the deacon's pew, and prefaced the exercises in the morning by reading a chapter from the Bible, and, in the afternoon, by chanting the Apostolic Creed, to divert the thoughts of the people from worldly affairs. All notices designed to be publicly read were received by him from the sexton, then inserted into the end of a

long pole, and thus passed up to the cage-like pulpit, where the minister was perched far above the heads of the congregation. It was his business, too, when the last grains of sand had fallen from the hour-glass which was placed invariably at the right hand of the domine, to remind him by three raps with his cane that the time had come for the end of the sermon. A story is told of a domine who, one hot summer's day, seeing the clerk asleep and the people drowsy, quietly turned the glass himself, and, after seeing the sands run out for the second time, remarked to the congregation that, since they had been patient in sitting through two glasses, he would now proceed with the third.

Before entering the pulpit, the domine raised his hat before his face, and silently offered a short prayer for a blessing on his labors. After uttering the concluding word of his text, he exclaimed, *Thus far!* before proceeding with his sermon. This custom is preserved to this day in some of the country churches.

When the sermon was over, the deacons rose in their places, and, after listening to a short address from the domine, took each a long pole with a black velvet bag attached to the end, from which a small alarm-bell was suspended, and passed about the church to collect alms for the poor. One of the bells used in the old Dutch church in Garden street, is still preserved in the office of the *Christian Intelligencer*, the present organ of the denomination in the city. In the earlier times, boxes strongly bound with iron, with a hole in the lid, which was fastened by a padlock, were placed at the door to receive the alms of the congregation on their exit.





Reformed Dutch Church, Corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first Street.



At the Lord's supper, the communicants, invariably dressed in black, stood round the communion-table at the foot of the pulpit, and received the emblems from the minister's own hands, while the clerk read a suitable selection from the Scriptures. The stone church built by William Kieft in 1642 having been destroyed by fire in the days of the negro plot, the oldest church edifice of this denomination at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was the South Dutch Church in Garden street. This was of an octagonal form, with a brick steeple large enough to afford space for a copistory room. The windows were large, with very small window-panes set in lead, and curiously emblazoned with the coats of arms of the church dignitaries ; several escutcheons also hung against the wall. In 1776, it was enlarged and repaired, but at the time of which we speak, it was not open for service. In 1807, it was rebuilt and repaired ; then destroyed in the conflagration of 1835 ; when two congregations arose from its ashes, the Dutch church on Washington Square, and the South Reformed Dutch Church on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-first street.

In Nassau street was the Middle Dutch Church, subsequently, the Post-office. This was at first built without pillars or gallery ; the ceiling forming an entire arch without support. On the introduction of the English service in 1764, the pulpit was removed from its original place on the east side to the north end of the church, and galleries were built on the east, west and south sides. Of its use while the city was in the hands of the British, we have already spoken ; in 1789-90, it was



restored to its primitive state, and continued unaltered until 1844, when it was purchased by the United States. On the Sunday evening before its final surrender by the congregation, the old building was thronged to its utmost capacity by those anxious to take a last leave of this relic of the olden times. The farewell exercises were conducted in Dutch and English by Drs. Knox and De Witt, a sermon was preached, a historical sketch of the structure given, a psalm sung, and the benediction pronounced—the last words of prayer that were uttered in the old building, being spoken in the language of the ancient Knickerbockers.\*

In William street was the North Dutch Church, a substantial building of brown stone, one hundred feet long by twenty wide, built originally with a tiled roof, for which

\* The bell of this church still summons the congregation of the Reformed Dutch Church in Lafayette Place, and has a curious history. It was presented to the church by Col. Abraham De Peyster, who died in 1728, while the edifice was in the process of erection, and directed in his will that the bell should be procured from Holland at his expense. It was made at Amsterdam in 1731, and it is said that a number of citizens cast in quantities of silver coin at the fusing of the metal. When, in 1776, the church was converted into a riding-school for the British dragoons, the bell was taken down by one of the De Peyster family, and secreted until some years after the evacuation of the city; when the church was repaired and opened again for service, and the bell restored to its rightful position. Upon the transformation of the church into the Post-office in 1844, it was removed to the church in Ninth street near Broadway, where it remained until 1855, when the building changed hands, and the bell was removed to the church in Lafayette Place. The bell is fancifully gilt, and bears the inscription: "*Me fecerunt De Gravæ et N. Muller, Amsterdam, Anno 1731.*"

"Abraham De Peyster, geboren den 8 July, 1657, gestorven den 8 Augustus, 1728. Een legat aan de Nederduytsche Kerke, New York. (A legacy to the Low Dutch Church at New York)." The silver baptismal basin procured for the Garden street church in 1793, is still used in the South Reformed Dutch Church in Fifth Avenuc.



Reformed Dutch Church in Lafayette Place.







Reformed Dutch Church, Corner of Fifth Avenue and Twenty-ninth Street.



shingles were afterwards substituted. This was demolished to make room for business in May, 1875. At Harlem was a small wooden church of great antiquity, and at Greenwich village was another, built also of wood in 1782, and afterward enlarged. Drs. Livingston, Kuypers and Abeel were at this time the pastors of the Reformed Dutch churches of the city, consolidated under the title of the Collegiate Church of New York.\*

The Episcopalian, the next oldest religious denomination, introduced soon after the cession of the city to the English, had at this time seven churches. Of these, the ancient Trinity, built in 1696, enlarged in 1737, burnt down in 1776, and rebuilt in 1788, was a Gothic edifice of considerable pretensions, surmounted by a tall spire, and furnished with a fine chime of bells, some of which still sound in the ears of our citizens. To this church two chapels were attached—a third was afterward added by the erection of St. John's in 1807—St. Paul's in Broadway, a substantial stone edifice, built in 1766; and St. George's in Beekman street, built in 1752; of these the Right Rev. Benjamin Moore was rector, with the Rev. Drs. Hobart and Beach as assistant ministers. In Ann street was Christ Church, a stone edifice, built in 1794, long under the care of the Rev. Dr. Lyell;

\* This was the third church of the Reformed Dutch Consistory, and the one furthest north, the first being the South in Garden street, and the second the Middle, in Nassau street. It was built on land given it by John Harbendinck, a wealthy tanner, at the intersection of Horse and Cart Lane, (so called from a tavern with the sign of a horse and cart in William street,) and Fulton street, and cost \$60,000. The corner-stone was laid July 2, 1767, and the church was dedicated May 25, 1769. The tall steeple was burned October 27, 1869. A series of noon prayer-meetings, begun in the church September 17, 1857, continued until its demolition.



St. Mark's in Stuyvesant street, built in 1795, with the Rev. Dr. Harris as minister ; Zion Church on the corner of Mott and Cross streets, built in 1801, and under the pastoral care of the Rev. Dr. Pilmore ; and the Eglise du Saint Esprit, the church of the early Huguenots in Pine street, which, stripped of pulpit and pews during the Revolution, had been repaired in 1794, but was not opened for service until some time after. Grace Church, the ancestor of the present splendid structure at the apparent head of Broadway, was built soon after on the site of the old Lutheran Church at the corner of Broadway and Rector streets.

Next in order came the Lutherans ; but their ancient church in Broadway had been swept away by the fire of 1776 ; and the only one that now remained to them was Christ Church, a stone building on the corner of William and Frankfort streets, under the care of the Rev. Dr. Kunze, soon afterward succeeded by the well-known Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer. In Nassau, near John street, was the German Reformed Church, erected in 1765, and differing slightly in tenets from the latter.

Next came the Presbyterian denomination ; the first church of which was a stone building, erected in Wall street in 1719, and enlarged in 1748. In 1810, it was rebuilt in handsome style, only to fall a victim to the conflagration of 1834. It was rebuilt soon after, and occupied for eight or ten years, when, tempted by the increasing value of the ground, the congregation disposed of it for secular purposes, and removed to their new edifice in Fifth Avenue, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets. The old church was taken down, stone



Trinity Church.







Grace Church.



by stone and put up again in Jersey city, where it still remains one of the most conspicuous objects of the town.



First Presbyterian Church, Fifth Avenue.

In Beekman street was the Brick Church, afterwards known as Dr. Spring's, built in 1767, on the angular lot traditionally known as "the Vineyard," which had been granted by the corporation at a rent of forty pounds per annum, to John Rogers and Joseph Treat, ministers, and John Morin Scott, Peter R. Livingston, and others,



trustees, for an indefinite period. More fortunate than its neighbor, the Brick Church escaped the great conflagration, and remained a landmark of olden times until the widening of Beekman street in 1856-7 demanded its demolition, when the congregation erected a new Brick Church on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-seventh street. The iron railing which had surrounded the church for so many years was taken down and removed to South Brooklyn, where it was set up about the residence of the Hon. J. T. Stranahan. These were Associated churches, and were under the care of the Rev. Drs. Rogers, McKnight, and Miller. The Rutgers street church, built in 1797, was a large frame building with a cupola and a public clock, and was under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Milledollar. In Cedar street was the Scotch Presbyterian Church, built in 1758, for and at this time under the charge of Dr. Mason; and in Chambers street was the Reformed Scotch Presbyterian Church, a frame building, erected in 1797, for the Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod. In 1807, a second Presbyterian Church was built in Cedar street for Dr. Romeyn, which became the ancestor of the Presbyterian Church in University Place, and that on the corner of Nineteenth street and Fifth Avenue, which was demolished a few years since.

The first Baptist church in the city was an edifice of blue stone, erected in Gold street, near Fulton, in 1790, of which the Rev. Mr. Parkinson was pastor. This church was taken down in 1840, and the stone of which it was composed worked up into the First Baptist Church on the corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets, which was subsequently sold to the Lutherans. In Oliver street,



Presbyterian Church, formerly Corner of Fifth Avenue and Nineteenth street.







St. Matthew's Lutheran Church, corner of Broome and Elizabeth streets.

was another stone church of the same denomination, built in 1795, and rebuilt and enlarged in 1819 ; and in Rose street was another, built in 1799.

The Methodist Church had its foundation in a small rigging loft in Horse and Cart Lane, now William street, where William Embury, a local preacher from Ireland, aided by Captain Webb, of the British army, formed a nucleus of the disciples of Wesley in 1766. Soon outgrowing this humble tenement, the society purchased a lot of ground in John street, and, in 1768, erected a stone edifice which they christened Wesley Chapel. This was removed in 1817 to Harlem, and in 1840 the present chapel erected on its site. A second was built in Forsyth street in 1790, and a third in Duane street in 1795.

Among the oldest of the religious societies was that of the Friends, whose first place of worship was erected in Green near Liberty street about 1706. This was rebuilt and enlarged in Liberty street in 1802, and afterward transformed into the seed store of the well-known Grant Thorburn. The second meeting-house of the denomination, erected in Pearl street, in 1775, was taken down in 1824, to make room for other buildings.

The Jews had a synagogue in Mill street—the street is now blotted out of existence—a neat stone edifice erected in 1730, nearly on the site of the small frame building which they occupied at first as a place of worship. The Moravians had a church in Partition, now Fulton, near William street, erected in 1751, of which



Old St. Patrick's Cathedral, corner of Mott and Prince streets.

the Rev. Benjamin Mortimer was pastor. The only Catholic church in the city was St. Peter's in Barclay street; a brick building erected in 1786. The next in order was St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the corner of Mott and Prince street, which was opened for service in 1815. This was burned in 1866.

The only library in the city was the Society Library, incorporated in 1772, a sketch of which we have already given. This was located in the library building in Nassau street opposite the Middle Dutch Church, then considered an architectural ornament to the city.

The Custom House was in the Government House, erected on the site of the old fort, in the place of the present Bowling Green Row. The Post-office was kept in the house of the postmaster, General Theodorus Bailey, on the corner of William and Garden streets,\* in a room from twenty-five to thirty-five feet deep, with two windows fronting on Garden street, and a little vestibule on William street containing about a hundred boxes. An extension was afterwards added in Garden street, but it remained in the same spot until 1827, when it was removed to the basement of the new Exchange in Wall street. In 1844, it was transferred to the Middle Dutch Church in Nassau street, where it remained until August 28, 1875.

Three banks were at this time in operation; the Bank of New York, chartered in 1791, with a capital of \$950,000, with Matthew Clarkson as president; the

\* This house was also the residence of Sebastian Bauman, the first postmaster of the city subsequently to the Revolution, appointed to the office by General Washington.



United States Bank, incorporated in the same year, with a capital of \$10,000,000, with Cornelius Ray as president, and the Manhattan Bank, incorporated in 1799, with a capital of \$2,050,000, with Daniel Ludlow as president. The Insurance Companies were three in number ; the New York Marine Insurance, incorporated in 1798 ; the Mutual Fire Insurance, incorporated the same year, and the Washington Fire Insurance, incorporated in 1801. Both the banks and the insurance companies were all located in Wall street.

Seven daily papers were now issued in the city—the *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, published by Lang & Turner ; the *New York Evening Post*, published by William Coleman and edited by M. Burnham ; the *American Citizen*, published by James Cheetham ; the *Commercial Advertiser*, published by Zachariah Lewis, and edited by J. Mills ; the *Public Advertiser*, edited by Charles Holt ; and the *Mercantile Advertiser*, published by Ramsay Crooks ; besides the *New York Weekly Museum*, published every Saturday by M. Harrison ; and two medical journals, the one published quarterly and the other semi-annually ; together with the *Churchman's Magazine*, by T. & J. Swords. This house, which commenced business in 1787, continued in existence till 1859, under the various titles of Stanford & Swords, Stanford & Delisser, and Delisser & Procter, and is notable for having been the first publishing-house established on a permanent basis in the city ; though books were issued occasionally from the presses of Gaine, Rivington, Hodge, Loudon, and other of the newspaper proprietors.

Three stages sufficed for the wants of the travelling

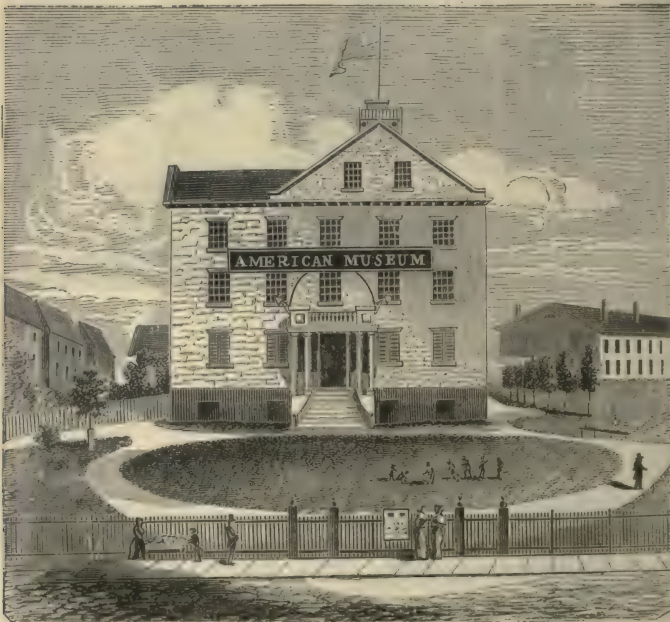
community—the pioneers of the army of omnibuses of the present day. One of these ran to and from Greenwich, one to and from Harlem, and one to and from Manhattanville. The first stopped at Baker's Tavern on the corner of Wall and New streets ; while the others started from the Bull's Head. The first omnibus seen in New York was in Broadway, in 1830.



The Park Theatre.

The only theatre in the city at the beginning of the present century was the Park, built in 1798, and opened three nights in each week. This theatre was burned in 1820, rebuilt and reopened in the following year, and burned again for the last time in 1849, when its site was covered with warehouses. This fronted the Park, from which it derived its name, between Ann and Beekman streets, and long retained the theatrical monopoly of the

city. Among those opened in the course of the next half century were the Chatham, erected in 1824, and growing out of the Chatham Garden, kept by Mr. Barrere ; the New York, now the Bowery, built in 1826 at the Bull's Head ; and the Lafayette opened in 1825 in Laurens near Thompson street, under the management of Mr. Dinneford. Beside these, were the Broadway and Mount Pitt Circuses, the latter situated in Grand street, opposite the upper end of East Broadway ; the American or Scudder's Museum, opened in 1810 in the New York Institution, once the Alms House, in Chambers street ; Peale's Museum in Broadway, opposite the Park ; the Chatham Museum established some



American Museum, at the North end of the Park.



time after by John Scudder, the son of the proprietor of the American Museum ; the Rotunda, erected in 1818 in the east corner of the Park, with its entrance on Chambers street, by John Vanderlyn, designed for the exhibition of paintings, and many more.

The markets of the city were four in number—the Exchange Market at the foot of Broad street ; the Oswego Market in Broadway at the head of Maiden Lane ; the Old Fly Market, which in 1822 gave place to the present Fulton Market ; and the Hudson or Bare, now Washington Market, between Fulton and Vesey streets. This curious appellation is thus accounted for by a contemporary of the times. After the great fire of 1776 had destroyed the greater part of the houses in that part of the city, it was thought advisable to establish a market there for the accommodation of the workmen who were building up the burned district. But the market-house was finished long before the streets about it were rebuilt and settled ; as there were few purchasers, the venders fell off, and thus in a very little time the strange anomaly was presented of a fine market-house bare of provisions. The present Washington Market-house was erected and opened in 1813.

There were two ferries to Brooklyn, one from Fly Market Slip near the foot of Maiden Lane, and the other from Catherine Slip ; one to Paulus Hook, now Jersey City ; one to Elizabethtown Point ; and another to Staten Island. The ship-yards were between Catherine street and Corlaer's Hook and between Corlear's Hook and Stanton street, in the part of the town then called Manhattan Island, and regarded as quite beyond the limits of the city.

The Fire Department consisted of a single engineer, who received his appointment from the Common Council and who was invested with absolute control over the companies, engines, and all else that pertained to the organization ; a number of firewardens, commissioned by the same authority to inspect buildings, chimneys, etc., and to keep order at fires ; and several voluntary companies under the direction of a foreman, assistant and clerk of their own choosing. A few engine-houses had been built ; the greater part of the hooks and ladders, buckets, etc., were deposited for safe keeping in the City Hall. Several of these pioneer companies continued to retain their organization until the substitution of the paid for the volunteer Fire Department system was effected.

The militia consisted of a single division under the command of Major-General Stevens. The United States Arsenal was at the junction of the Old and Middle Roads, now Madison Square, while the State Arsenal was situated at the junction of Franklin and Centre streets. In the rear of the Government House, near where formerly stood the lower barracks, was the old arsenal, yard, where a quantity of military stores was deposited, and to which, from time to time, curious relics made their way, well worth the attention of antiquarians. It was from the rubbish heaped up in this place that the mutilated statue of Pitt was unearthed after the Revolution.

The manners and customs of the citizens, now sixty thousand in number, were still very primitive. The Dutch language continued to be used largely in the city ;

very many of the signs over the stores were in Dutch, and in Hudson Market, the resort of the farmers from New Jersey, a knowledge of the language was absolutely indispensable. The lower part of Pearl street was at this time the fashionable part of the town, though Barclay, Robinson and William streets were beginning to dispute its claims. Each citizen swept the street in front of his own house twice a week; and the bellman came around every day with his cart for garbage. The streets were lighted by oil lamps. Coal was almost unknown; hickory wood was the principal article of fuel. The milkmen traversed the streets early in the morning, bearing a yoke on their shoulders, from which tin-cans were suspended, shouting: "Milk, ho!" in token of their coming; and water from the celebrated Tea Water Pump on the corner of Chatham and Pearl streets, was carried about in carts, and retailed at a penny a gallon. The chimneys were swept by small negro boys, who went their rounds at daybreak, crying: "Sweep, ho! sweep, ho! from the bottom to the top, without a ladder or a rope, sweep, ho!" with numerous variations.

Numerous quaint customs and street cries were in vogue at this comparatively modern time, all of which have now passed away, and are known to us only through tradition. A strange mosaic of different nations, with its successive strata of Dutch, English and French, New York was truly a composite city, gathering floating material from every nation under the sun wherewith to form and mold a new people, which should embrace the whole universe within the scope of its sympathy, and



vie with its adopted tongue in its broad and cosmopolitan character. Fit language, indeed, is the English for such a nation ; as yet a mass of crude material, gathered from the lexicons of every dialect that sprung from the confusion of tongues, to be molded by time, and use, and the master-hand of genius, into a symmetrical form, perfect because all-comprehensive, and fitting to become a universal language—the only tongue that should be spoken by the people of a New World.

## CHAPTER XX.

1801—1825.

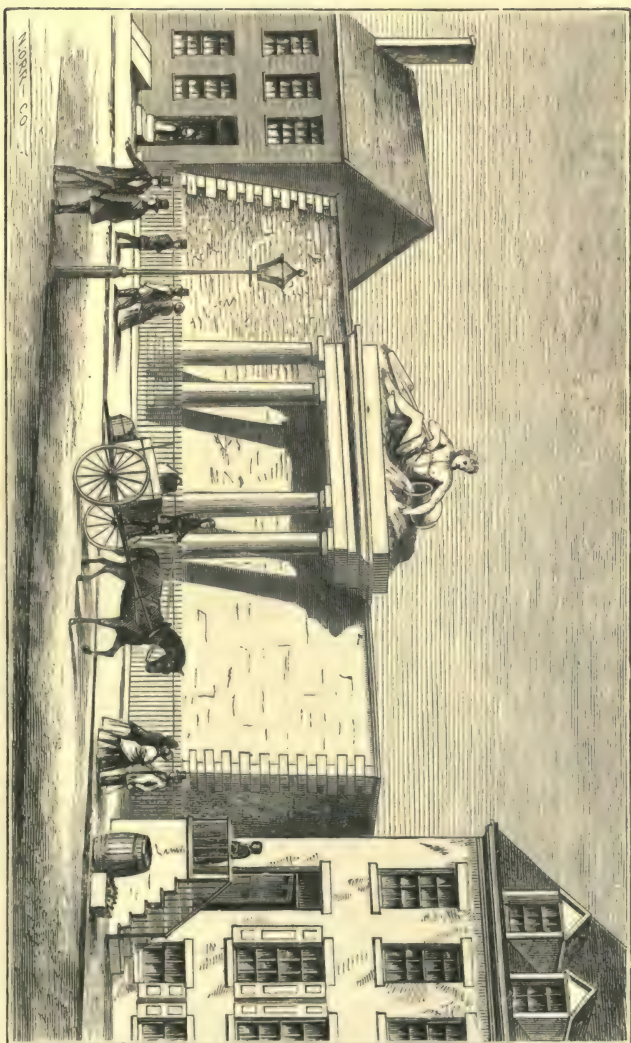
Progress of the City—War of 1812—Politics of New York—The Canal Celebration.

ONE of the first events that marked the mayoralty of Edward Livingston, was the construction of the Manhattan Water-works, the forerunner of the magnificent Croton Aqueduct and Reservoir of the present day. There had always been a scarcity of good water on the island. The spring of the celebrated Tea Water Pump in Chatham street was excellent, but this would not suffice for the wants of a whole city; and the water of the other wells and pumps, which were scattered in profusion over the island, was almost unfit for use. The initiative step toward supplying the city with water had been taken in 1774 by Christopher Colles, who had constructed a reservoir at the public expense on the east side of Broadway, between Pearl and White streets,\* into which water was raised from large wells sunk on the

\* These grounds comprised about two acres, and were purchased by the corporation of Augustus and Frederick Van Cortlandt, at the rate of six hundred pounds per acre.

premises and also from the Collect, then distributed by means of wooden pipes throughout the city. These works were completed in the spring of 1776, and placed under the superintendence of Mr. Colles; but the supply proved insufficient, the water was of an inferior quality, and in the ensuing foreign occupation of the city, the enterprise was neglected, then finally abandoned, and the citizens returned to the wells of their ancestors, which still continued to be located in the middle of the streets. In 1798, the subject was again taken into consideration, and a report having been made by Dr. Brown, affirming the impurity of the water on the island, Engineer Weston was directed by the corporation to investigate the matter, and report upon the most feasible method of bringing in water from the mainland. He recommended the raising of the Rye Ponds to a reservoir in Westchester County, the mills to be located on the Bronx River, where the surplus water would be used in raising the water, which would thence be carried to the Harlem River in an open canal, then conveyed across the river through an elevated iron pipe to a reservoir, where it would be filtered and then distributed through the city. After some discussion, the matter culminated in the formation of the Manhattan Water Company with banking privileges. This company obtained a grant from the corporation of the grounds formerly occupied by Colles, and, erecting a reservoir in Chambers street, between Broadway and Centre street, a locality then considered far out of town, pumped water into it from wells sunk in the vicinity, whence it was distributed, by means of bored logs,





Reservoir of Manhattan Water Works in Chambers Street.



through the city. But this water proved both scarce and bad ; the company, neglecting the ostensible purpose of its organization, soon turned its attention almost exclusively to banking affairs, and thus lost the confidence of the community, and it was not long before the new works were voted a failure.

A new City Hall was determined on about the same time, and in 1802, a premium was offered for the best plan, which was awarded to Messrs Macomb and Mangin.



City Hall and Park.



On the 20th of September, 1803, the corner-stone of the new edifice was laid in the Park by Mayor Livingston, in the presence of the corporation and the few of the citizens who had not fled from the yellow fever, which at this time was prevailing in the city. This edifice, which is too well known to our readers to require from us a detailed description, was finished in 1812, at a cost of half a million of dollars. The front and both ends were built of white marble from the quarries of Stockbridge, Massachusetts ; for the Chambers street front, red sandstone was used from motives of economy, it being thought that the material of this side was of little consequence, as so few citizens would ever reside on that side of the town.

In 1803, Edward Livingston resigned his office, and De Witt Clinton was appointed mayor in his stead. Clinton was a native of the State of New York and a resident of the city from early youth, having been the first graduate of Columbia College after its change of name. Few of her sons have contributed more largely to the glory and prosperity of the city. Under his auspices, the Historical Society was founded, the Public School Society instituted, the Orphan Asylum established, the City Hall completed, and the city fortified for the war of 1812. He continued in the mayoralty with two years' intermission until 1815, when he resigned it to enter public life on a more extended scale as governor of his native State, and to mature the gigantic scheme of canal-navigation, which won for New York the proud title of the Empire State, and for its projector the lasting remembrance of posterity.

The charter election of November, 1803, was warmly contested by the two opposing parties. Since the last election, two new wards had been added to the city, and this change gave the republicans strong hopes of success. The contest resulted in favor of the federalists, who carried the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Eighth, and Ninth Wards, the two latter by a small majority, leaving the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh in the hands of the republicans. The result was accounted a gain by the latter, who now added the Fifth Ward to the Sixth and Seventh which they had carried uniformly since the election of 1800. This was the dawning of success; in the election of the following year, some changes in the franchise regulations having opened the polls to a larger number of voters, they succeeded in electing their candidates in all the wards excepting the First and Second. In 1805, they carried the Second Ward, also, by a majority of two, and thus gained undisputed ascendancy in the city government. The First Ward clung persistently to the fortunes of the federal party until 1820, when the republicans, for the first time, succeeded in electing their candidate for alderman by a small majority.

The violent political disputes of this period gave rise to a fatal duel between two of the most prominent citizens of New York; Alexander Hamilton, who, though born in the West Indies, had been a resident of the city from early youth, and his political antagonist, Aaron Burr, at this time the third Vice-President of the United States. The quarrel arose in political antagonism. In the State election of 1803, Burr, who had lost the con-

confidence of the republican party, had been nominated for governor by the federalists, in opposition to Morgan Lewis, and, although the latter were at this time the leading party in the State, was defeated by his opponent by a large majority. This defection in the federal ranks he attributed to the influence of Hamilton, then the most prominent man in the party, who had denounced him in secret as an unprincipled politician and warmly opposed his election; and, smarting under the influence of his defeat, he sent him a challenge, to which Hamilton demurred at first, then afterward accepted. At sunrise on the 11th of July, the parties met on a plateau on the Jersey shore, about half a mile above Weehawken. Hamilton was mortally wounded at the first fire, and fell, discharging his pistol in the air. He was conveyed across the river to the house of Mrs. Bayard, over the site of which Horatio street now passes, where he breathed his last on the afternoon of the following day. The fatal result of this affair caused the deepest sorrow, not only in the city but throughout the whole country. Hamilton had been the bosom friend of Washington, his talents were of the highest order, he was a consummate statesman, and his moral character was without a stain. Few men stood higher than he in the esteem and confidence of the community, and even those who had been his bitterest political opponents regarded his loss as the greatest evil that could happen to a community—the loss of a man of unblemished integrity from off its stage of action. His remains were escorted, on the 14th inst., by a large procession to Trinity Church, where the funeral oration was pronounced by Gouverneur Morris, and the body interred





The Grange, Kingsbridge Road. The Residence of Alexander Hamilton.



with military honors in the cemetery of the church. A monument was afterward erected over his grave by the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was a member ; while the St. Andrew's Society, to which he also belonged—his father having been a Scotchman, an indispensable requisite to membership in this society—caused a monument to be erected over the spot on which he fell.

On the first of November, 1804, the foundation of the present Historical Society—a body to which, more than all others, the city of New York is indebted for the preservation of those documents and records which alone can preserve her true history to the world—was laid in the picture-room of the City Hall by eleven persons, who organized themselves into a society, and choosing DeWitt Clinton as the first president, pledged themselves to use their utmost efforts to collect whatever might relate to the natural, civil, literary and ecclesiastical history of the United States in general, and of the State of New York in particular. The foundation of this society was chiefly due to the instrumentality of Judge Egbert Benson and John Pintard, Esq. The association soon grew into favor, and its numbers increased slowly, but steadily. For some time, the meetings continued to be held in the City Hall, where the first historical festival of New York was held on the 4th of September, 1809, the two hundredth anniversary of the discovery by Hendrick Hudson of the island of Manhattan. In the same year, the society removed to rooms in the Government House, where it remained until the demolition of the building, in 1815 ; after which it located itself, first on the corner of Broadway and Chambers street, then in the Stuyve-



sant Institute, and afterward in the New York University, whence it removed for the last time in 1857 to the new library building on the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh street, which is fast becoming too small for its valuable and varied collection.

The same year was marked by one of those terrible fires which were wont to ravage the city periodically before the introduction of fire-proof buildings, together with an efficient Fire Department. The conflagration broke out on the 18th of December in a grocery store in Front street, and raged with fury for several hours, burning the old Coffee House on the corner of Pearl and Wall street, the scene of so many patriotic gatherings in the days of the Revolution, with many other of the old landmarks of the city. Forty stores and dwellings were destroyed by this fire, which was supposed to have been the work of an incendiary. The loss of property was estimated at two millions of dollars.

The following year witnessed the initiatory movement of a noble institution which, matured and perfected, is destined to be the crowing glory of our country—the Free School. The credit of this is due chiefly to some members of the Society of Friends, who, aided by the efforts of De Witt Clinton, obtained the incorporation of the Public School Society, in 1805, with Clinton as its first president. The first school, No. 1, was opened on the 17th of May, 1806, in Madison near Pearl street, with forty scholars, the instruction being gratuitous to some and almost nominal to all. Not content with thus placing the means of education within the reach of every one, the society did more; it employed persons to go



St. George's Church







First Public School House.

about the city and gather the destitute and untaught children into the schools that they might receive the needed instruction. The experiment proved successful, and soon won the public approval, at first withheld or cautiously bestowed on the innovation. In 1808, the corporation donated the old State Arsenal, on the corner of Chatham street and Tryon Row, to the society, on condition that they should educate the children in the Alms House ; and, in 1811, School No. 2 was built in Henry street, on ground given by Colonel Rutgers. The pioneer school was afterwards removed to William street, where it long stood numerically at the head of our public schools.

The society continued to flourish and rapidly to increase the number of its houses until 1842, when a new school law was passed, providing for the establishment of Ward Schools, to be wholly gratuitous and supported by taxation. The two systems continued to work together harmoniously under the supervision of

a Board of Education until 1853, when the Public School Society resolved to make over their property to the corporation, and to relinquish their charter, which was accordingly done. Fifteen of the trustees were admitted into the Board of Education for two years, the remaining eighty entered the local boards, and the venerable Public School Society passed out of existence. Yet its name will ever be honored by the friends of education as the efficient pioneer of public instruction. From the single school with its forty scholars have sprung up between two and three hundred schools, beside the Free Academy, now the New York College, established in 1847, for the purpose of placing a university education within the reach of every youth of the city.

Of a different nature but not less important was the event which marked the year succeeding the organization of the Public School Society—a year which will ever be memorable in the annals of our city for the successful introduction of steam navigation. In 1798, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston had received from the Legislature, as the discoverer of this new power, the exclusive right of steam navigation in all the waters within the limits of the State for twenty years, provided that within twelve months, he should produce a boat, the average speed of which should not be less than four miles an hour. This he failed to do, and the grant remained in abeyance until 1803, when, having made the acquaintance of Robert Fulton in France, and aided him in some encouraging experiments, he obtained a renewal of the monopoly for the twenty years ensuing, on condi-



New York College, Twenty-third Street, corner of Lexington Avenue.







Portrait of Robert Fulton.

tion that he and Fulton, his partner in the grant, should fulfill the required conditions within the space of two years.

They immediately set to work to realize their design. Fulton took up his residence in New York, and commenced the construction of the Clermont, the first of the steam vessels. No one believed in the possibility of his success; the citizens looked jeeringly at the craft, and christened it in derision, "The Fulton Folly." Nothing daunted by their taunts, the sanguine projector persevered in his task, and on the 7th of August, 1807, announced his vessel as ready for the trial trip to Albany. The boat was launched from Jersey City. At the time appointed, thousands of spectators thronged the temporary staging that had been erected along the sloping shore, to witness the failure of the chimerical enterprise. As the wheels revolved, slowly at first, then increasing in velocity, and the vessel was propelled toward the middle of the river, the cry of "she moves, she moves!"



The Clermont—Fulton's first Steamboat.

run through the unbelieving crowd ; while the sailors on the other vessels, on witnessing the strange craft as she came puffing and snorting up the stream, fell upon their knees, and prayed to be delivered from the evil one. Fulton enjoyed his triumph as the speed increased, and the new power which he had chained to his bidding, bore him, in defiance of wind and tide, far from the sight of the discomfited citizens. Stopping a single night at the seat of Chancellor Livingston, he reached the place of his destination in thirty-two hours and secured the monopoly of steam navigation over the waters of New York.

But Fulton had not been alone in the pursuit of this lucrative monopoly. John Stevens with his son, R. L. Stevens, of Hoboken, had long cherished the idea of availing themselves of the power of steam, and almost simultaneously with Fulton, but *just too late*, had



effected their purpose in the steamer *Phoenix*. Anticipated in the scheme by his successful rival, Mr. Stevens struck out into a new field, and, sending his steamer round to Philadelphia by sea, first won the mastery over the waters of the ocean as Fulton had done over those of the rivers. It was not long before the monopoly was set aside, and the Stevens again entered the lists of competition, producing an improved steamboat, capable of making thirteen and a half miles an hour, which convinced the doubters and persuaded them that the age of miracles was not yet past.

One of the most important uses of this new power which had thus been forced into the service of mankind was in bridging the rivers which separated the city from the opposite shores. The ferries, especially those of Long Island, had always borne an important part in the history of the city; from their rent a great part of its revenue had been derived, and the proprietorship had been a constant source of dispute between the citizens and the residents at the opposite terminus. We have noted the progress of the ferries from time to time, in the preceding pages, but we propose to give here a brief review of their history, the better to explain the bearings of the vexed ferry question.

The first ferry was naturally established between New York and Brooklyn, its earliest neighbor. To avoid as much as possible the labor of stemming the strong current, the narrowest part of the river was chosen, though this was far above the furthest limits of the city, being from a point below Peck Slip on the New York to Fulton street on the Long Island side of the river. This

ferry—the Old Ferry, as it afterward came to be called—was maintained as a private speculation until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when a regular ferry was established, and made a source of revenue to the city. The first ferry-house in New York was on the corner of Broad and Garden streets, now Exchange Place, a low, one story house, with two dormer windows in the high, steep pediment roof, built in conformity with the Knickerbocker style of architecture, and an iron boat, oars and anchor for a sign, the principal landing-place of the ferry-boats, both from the Long Island and Jersey shores. The Brooklyn ferry-house at the foot of Fulton street was a commodious two story house, with stables and outhouses attached—for unlike the ferry-houses of the present day, these were also taverns for the accommodation of travellers. This ferry-house was burned in 1748 by the Sepoys of Long Island by way of revenge for the infringement on their rights by the corporation of New York.

The dispute originated in this wise. As we have already said, the ferry was at first a private speculation, established in 1642 by Cornelius Dircksen, who kept a small inn near Peck Slip and owned a farm in the vicinity. William Jansen was his successor.

In 1652, the Burgomasters of New Amsterdam made an unsuccessful application to Governor Stuyvesant for the ferry to Breukelen to defray the city expenses. In 1654, an ordinance was passed, regulating the rates of ferriage, and in 1658, Harmanus Van Borsum hired the ferry from Governor Stuyvesant, at auction, at an annual rent of three hundred guilders, and became the

successor of his father Cornelius who had died a short time before.

Upon the cession of the city to the English, the new rulers assumed control over the waters, and made the ferry pay toll to the city government. The people, however, insisted on their right to ferry themselves and their neighbors across the river, provided that they did not interfere with the landing-places of the corporation, and so formidable became the opposition of these private ferries that the lessees of the government abandoned their enterprise in despair. John Airensen, John Euwatse and Dirck Benson successively tried the experiment and abandoned the lease, and the corporation became convinced that they must adopt some new policy or abandon all hope of revenue from the ferries. Hitherto they had been balked in their endeavors to crush these private enterprises from the fact that they could claim no jurisdiction over the neighboring shores; but, in 1708, they obtained a charter from Lord Cornbury, which not only confirmed them in their title to the old ferry, but also invested them with a grant of all the land lying between high and low-water mark on the Long Island shore from the Wallabout to Red Hook, with the privilege of establishing additional ferries within these limits. The farmers along the shore were still permitted to ferry themselves and their produce across the river, but were strictly forbidden to carry any passengers.

This charter incensed the Brooklynites greatly, and they did all in their power to evade its conditions. Urging that the instrument was worthless in the absence of



some technical formality, they continued their ferries and so harassed the corporation that in 1740 the latter obtained a more explicit renewal of their grant in the Montgomerie charter, and also procured the passage of an act by the Provincial Assembly, prohibiting private citizens from ferrying passengers across the river under penalty of a fine. After vainly endeavoring to obtain the repeal of this act, the people determined to have recourse to the law, and instituted a suit which was carried from court to court of the province, and finally referred by appeal to the king, when the vexed questions of the day were put to rest by the Revolution. Upon the restoration of tranquillity, it was again revived, and has ever since furnished food for litigation, though the people have, as yet, been worsted in the contest.

Until the year 1810, row-boats or pirogues were the only ferry-boats upon the rivers. Next came the horse-boats—twin-boats, with the wheel in the centre, propelled by a sort of horizontal treadmill worked by horses, the first of which was introduced on the 3d of April, 1814, upon the Catherine street ferry. This was a boat of eight-horse power, crossing the river in from twelve to twenty minutes. The first improvement was made in the substitution of steam for horses as the motive power, and the first steamboat, the Nassau, was put on the Fulton ferry on the 8th of May in the same year; but the new agent being found as expensive as expeditious, it failed to find favor in the eyes of the Company, and, for many years, this remained the only steam ferry-boat upon the river. In 1824, the monopoly which had been granted to Fulton and Livingston was set aside by order

of the Supreme Court, the use of steam was thrown open to public competition, and the horse-boats soon became obsolete institutions.

The first improvement in the steam ferry-boats was the single boat with side-wheels; the first of which was the Hoboken, built by R. L. Stevens in 1822. Simultaneously with these came the floating bridges which rise and fall with the tide, aided by counterbalancing weights on the shore—the invention of Fulton—and the spring piles, constructed by R. L. Stevens. These improvements soon found favor on the ferries, the plan of bridging the river by an arch was abandoned, in the face of this new agent, which set time and space at defiance, and the genius of steam gained undisputed dominion over the waters.

In the charter election of 1806, the federalists succeeded in regaining the ascendancy in the city, of which they had been deprived, and carried the First, Second, Third and Fourth Wards, together with the Fifth through an independent candidate to whom they had given their support. De Witt Clinton was in consequence removed from the mayoralty by the Council of Appointment at Albany, and the veteran Marinus Willett was appointed in his stead; while the recorder, Pierre C. Van Wyck, was superseded in his office by Maturin Livingston. Disaffection was now springing up in the republican ranks. The scope of our work does not permit us to trace the rise and progress of the numerous political parties that sprung suddenly into existence from time to time, and as suddenly vanished; it will suffice to say that, at this time, a deadly feud

existed between the Clintons and the Livingstons, that Governor Lewis, who was related to the latter, threw his influence in their favor, that the section of the republican party which still clung to Burr made common cause with these, and that with these cliques was allied that of the Madisonian republicans, who supported Madison for president in opposition to George Clinton, the ex-governor of the State.

In the following year, the Clintonians regained the ascendancy, De Witt Clinton was again appointed mayor, and Pierre C. Van Wyck was restored to the recordership. In the charter election, the First, Second and Ninth Wards alone were carried by the federalists. These were increased in the election of 1808, by the addition of the Third and Sixth wards, making an equal division of power. During this year the Tenth Ward was added to the city.

At the State election of 1809, the federalists for the first time since 1799, carried the State, upon which the appointment of the mayor depended.\* This change was owing to the declaration of war which was now pending, and against which there was strong opposition. At the charter elections, the regnant party achieved a similar success, electing their candidates for aldermen in all the wards except the Fifth and Tenth, and gaining fifteen out of twenty of the whole common council. At the first meeting of the Council of Appointment at Albany, De Witt Clinton was again removed from the mayoralty,

\* The mayor was at this time appointed to office by a Council of Appointment, consisting of a senator chosen by the Legislature from each of the four districts of the State, with the governor as chairman of the council.



and Jacob Radcliff appointed in his stead ; while Pierre C. Van Wyck was again removed from the recordership to make room for Josiah Ogden Hoffman. In the following year, the latter was restored to the office, then removed for the third time in 1813, and Hoffman again appointed in his place.

In the charter election of 1810, the republicans gained a majority in the Fifth, Seventh, Eighth and Tenth wards. This success was followed up by a victory in the State election, which restored De Witt Clinton to the mayoralty, in which he continued until 1815. During this time, the politics of the city were fluctuating. The charter election of 1811 made no change in the Board. The election of 1812 gained to the federalists the assistant alderman of the Tenth Ward, and in 1813, the republicans gained the Sixth Ward, thus securing an equal division of power. This was recovered by the federalists in the following year ; when the great issue upon which the parties had been divided was ended by the termination of the war.

From this brief sketch of the political affairs of the city during the beginning of the century, we will return to its local changes and improvements. In 1807, a new missionary enterprise was undertaken by Trinity Church by the erection of St. John's Chapel in Varick street, on what was then deemed the outskirts of civilization. This was located opposite a dreary marsh, covered with brambles and bulrushes and tenanted by frogs and watersnakes, and was regarded by the citizens at large almost as a proof of insanity on the part of the church authorities.

A curious fact discovered on the records of a Lutheran church of New York by one of the antiquarians to whom the city is so deeply indebted for preserving its traditions of the past, will serve to illustrate the popular faith at this period in the rise and progress of real estate in the upper part of the town. The church was at this time involved in pecuniary difficulties, contributions were solicited in its aid, and, to relieve it in its embarrassment, a friend proposed to donate to it a tract of six acres of ground in the neighborhood of the stone bridge on the corner of Broadway and Canal street ; but, after mature deliberation, the trustees refused the gift, alleging that the land in question was not worth the trouble of fencing in.

The commencement of the United States Navy Yard at Brooklyn in the beginning of the century called the attention of the citizens to an act of duty which had too long been delayed. The first stroke of the spade into the sand-hill upon which the new buildings were to be erected opened a terrible mine to the eyes of the public. The whole shore, the slope of the hill, the sand island in the vicinity—all were filled with the bones of the prison-ship martyrs, who had been thrust coffinless into the ground and literally piled one upon another. The horrible revelation reminded the citizens of the too-long neglected duty ; the relics were carefully collected and placed in the charge of the Tammany Society, and, on the 8th of May, 1808, escorted by one of the grandest processions that New York had ever witnessed, were conveyed to their final resting-place in a vault in Jackson street, not far from the spot of their original inter-

ment. Thirteen coffins filled with the bones were carried in the procession, and eighteen hogsheads besides were gathered from the sands and deposited in the vault. The corporation attended in a body, the bells were tolled and minute guns fired during the procession, and the whole city seemed clad in mourning.

In 1811, the city was again devastated by a terrible conflagration, which raged with fury for several hours, destroying nearly a hundred houses, and baffling for a long time all the efforts of the firemen. The steeple of the Brick Church and the cupola of the New Jail took fire and were barely saved, the one by the prompt action of a sailor by the name of Stephen McCormick, the other by the presence of mind of a prisoner on the premises. Both were afterward rewarded by the corporation.

One of the most important events of this period was the adoption of a plan of the future city, to which we owe the parallel streets and broad avenues of the upper part of the island, which contrast so strongly with the narrow streets and crooked lanes of the down-town locality. This plan was due to Simeon Dewitt, Gouverneur Morris, John Rutherford and S. Guel, who had been appointed by the Legislature in 1801, as commissioners to lay out and survey the whole island to Kingsbridge into streets and avenues. By the proposed plan, the streets, beginning with the first on the east side of the Bowery above Houston street, numbered upward to the extreme end of the island. These were intersected by twelve avenues, numbering westward from First Avenue, the continuation of Allen street, to Twelfth Avenue upon the shores of the North River.



As avenues were afterward laid out to the eastward of the former, they were designated by the names of the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C and D. By this plan, the island was laid out with admirable regularity, while the squares and triangles which were formed by the junction of those time-honored thoroughfares which could not be removed, were converted into public parks for the adornment of the city. The despised Potter's Field became the beautiful Washington Square; the Bowery and Broadway met amicably in Union Square; Madison Square was formed from the union of the Old and the Middle roads; the great salt meadow on the eastern side of the city was drained, and Tompkins Square, with hundreds of city lots, sprung up from its depths; valleys were filled up, hills were levelled, and art seemed destined to surmount all the difficulties of nature, and to make every inch of New York Island inhabitable ground.

During the occurrence of these events, the progress of the city had been greatly retarded by the threatening aspect of affairs with England. Despite the provisions of the treaty of 1795, the English had not ceased their aggressions upon American commerce. In the war that existed between England and France, the hostile powers blockaded each other's ports, and captured all American vessels that attempted to enter, despite the neutrality which was strictly maintained by the nation. Nor was this all; the British cruisers, on the motto, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," persisted in boarding and searching American vessels, and taking thence all naturalized citizens as subjects of the

British crown. These constantly recurring grievances irritated the people, and fast prepared them for an open rupture.

As early as 1806, an affair of this kind occurred almost within the port of New York, which excited universal indignation. In April, the British frigate *Leander*, commanded by Captain Whitby, while cruising off Sandy Hook, fired into the sloop *Richard*, an American coasting vessel, and killed one of her men. The corpse was brought up to the city and buried at the public expense; and the citizens joined in demanding reparation of the British government for the unprovoked outrage; but, though Captain Whitby was sent home to England and tried by a court-martial, he was speedily acquitted without punishment or censure.

On the 22d of June of the following year, the American frigate *Chesapeake*, when off the coast of Virginia, was fired upon by the British man-of-war *Leopard*, and forced to surrender four of her men, who were claimed as subjects to the crown of Great Britain; three of whom were afterwards proved to be American citizens who had been impressed by the British but had escaped from their service. This outrage was followed by a proclamation from President Jefferson, forbidding British armed vessels to enter the harbors of the United States until reparation for the attack upon the *Chesapeake* had been made by the British government, and security given against future aggressions.

War was now raging between England and France, and, in November of the same year, the British government issued "orders in council," prohibiting all trade



Church of the Ascension, corner of Fifth Avenue and Tenth Street.

with France and her allies. By way of retaliation, in the following month, Bonaparte issued the celebrated Milan decree, forbidding all trade with England and her colonies, and thus struck the death-blow to American commerce.

It now became evident to all that war was inevitable ; and, in order to call home and detain the American ships and sailors, and to put the country in a posture of defence, on the 23d of September, 1807, an embargo



was laid by Congress on all the vessels in the harbors of the United States. The result was most disastrous, business was instantly paralyzed, failures occurred on every side, and the whole country seemed in a state of stagnation. This measure revived the disputes between the federalists and the republicans; the latter sustaining the action of the administration, the former insisting that, if war were made at all, it should be against France as the principal aggressor.

On the 1st of March, 1809, the embargo which, while failing to obtain from France and England the desired acknowledgment of American rights, was ruinous to the commerce of the country with other nations, was repealed by Congress, and a strict system of non-intercourse substituted in its stead. Relying on the promise of Mr. Erskine, the British minister, that the obnoxious "orders in council" should be repealed before the 10th of June, President Madison, lately elected to the office, proclaimed that commercial intercourse with England should be renewed on that day. The promise, however, was not kept, the government disavowed the pledge of the minister, and on the 19th of August, non-intercourse with England was again proclaimed.

In March, 1810, the hostile decrees of the French were revoked, and commercial intercourse was renewed with the nation. The English, meanwhile, continued their aggressions, stationing ships of war before the American ports, to intercept the outward-bound vessels and take possession of them as lawful prizes. Scarce an American vessel was safe on the seas, and, finding that

no satisfaction was to be obtained from the British government, Congress resolved at length to bring matters to a crisis, and on the 4th of April, 1812, laid an embargo upon all vessels within the jurisdiction of the United States, which was followed on the 19th of the ensuing month by the President's proclamation of war against Great Britain.

Although the citizens had differed greatly in opinion in respect to the expediency of the projected war, no sooner had it been declared, than they pledged themselves heart and hand to aid in its accomplishment. The news reached the city on the 20th of June, and on the 24th, the citizens assembled in large numbers in the Park to concert measures for future action.

The meeting was called to order at 12 o'clock, noon, with Col. Henry Rutgers as president and Col. Marinus Willett as secretary. The law of Congress declaring war and the President's proclamation were read, and a preamble and resolutions, approving the action of the government, and pledging to its support "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor," were unanimously adopted by the Assembly.\* Copies of these resolutions

\* These resolutions we transcribe entire—the preamble from which they are deduced is too long to be inserted here.

"*Resolved*, That we have viewed with pleasure and approbation the increasing efforts of our government to preserve to our country the blessings of peace; that we duly appreciate their able negotiations, and admire their unwearied patience to promote so important an end; and that we consider them standing justified in the eyes of their fellow-citizens in all the restrictive measures to which they have resorted, as temporary expedients, with the hope of preventing thereby the evils of war.

"*Resolved*, That while solicitous of peace, and ardently attached to its blessings, we believe that the crisis had arrived when it could be no longer with honor

were ordered to be forwarded to the President, to Congress, and to the press for publication, and the people dispersed, fully determined to make their words good whenever they should be called upon to redeem their pledges. So vigorously were they backed by individual enterprise that, within four months after the declaration of war, twenty-six privateers were fitted out from the port, carrying two hundred and twelve guns and twenty-two thousand and thirty-nine men.

The city, in the meantime, was ill prepared for defence, although, taking warning by the indications of the gathering storm, the government had for some time past been busy with its fortification. In the beginning of 1807, the city was entirely defenceless. The Narrows and the Sound were open and undefended, not a fortification was to be seen in the harbor or on any of the islands, and a small force might have sailed up to the city without opposition, and captured it as did Nicolls in the days of Stuyvesant. Awakened to a sense of the impending danger, in the spring of 1807, the general government began to take measures to fortify the harbor of New York; but the work went on slowly, and it was

"retained; that we therefore hold our government justified in its appeal to arms  
"against Great Britain, and yield to its decision our unqualified and decided appro-  
"bation.

"*Resolved*, That as our government has now appealed to the sword, it becomes  
"the duty of all good citizens, at such an eventful period, to lay aside all party  
"animosity and private bickering, to rally as becomes brethren, equally involved in  
"the welfare of their common country, around the national standard, and to yield  
"to their government an undivided support.

"*Resolved*, That in placing our reliance in the Most High, and soliciting his  
"benediction on our just cause, we pledge to our government, in support of our  
"beloved country, 'our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'"



not until the war had been prosecuted for two years, and the city was threatened with invasion by a British fleet, that the citizens took the work into their own hands, and succeeded in rendering the defences available.

In the spring of 1814, the blockade of the southern ports, which had been maintained by the British since the beginning of the war, was extended along the entire coast, and the Common Council, alarmed by this hostile demonstration, issued a public call, urging the citizens to come together and concert measures for the defence of the city. In pursuance of this call, the people assembled in the Park in front of the City Hall on the 11th of August, 1814, to redeem the pledges of the former meeting. Colonel Henry Rutgers was again chosen chairman, and Oliver Wolcott secretary; and Drs. Mitchell and McNeven, with Messrs. Wolcott, Riker, Anthony, Bleecker and Sampson, were appointed as a committee to draft resolutions to be presented to the meeting; pending which, the veteran Willett addressed the audience in a stirring speech, reviewing the events of their first struggle for independence, and urging them not to falter, but to support their leaders to the end. His speech was received with shouts of enthusiasm. In a short time, Richard Riker presented a preamble and resolutions in behalf of the committee, declaring their resolve to unite in arms on the first approach of the enemy, and to defend the city to the last extremity, and urging all the citizens to enroll in the militia and the naval service, to assist in the public works, and, by every means in their power, to aid the authorities in their efforts to secure the public

State, in March, 1815, De Witt Clinton was removed from the mayoralty and John Ferguson appointed in his stead. Ferguson was at this time the naval officer of the customs. Being incapacitated by law from holding both offices, he resigned the new appointment in the ensuing June, and Jacob Radcliff, who had already acted as mayor in the last interregnum of Clinton's civic administration, was appointed in his stead, while John Ogden Hoffman was at the same time superseded in the recordership by Richard Riker. In the same year, the time of the charter elections was changed from November to April. The election of this year was warmly contested, and resulted in favor of the federalists, who carried six wards as in the previous election.

In the charter election of 1816, the republicans for the first time adopted the name of *Democrats*, an appellation which was for some time confined only to the party in the city. In this election, they achieved a signal triumph, carrying six wards out of the ten and effectually routing the opposite party. This result was repeated in the election of 1817.

From this time, the ancient federalist party steadily declined, while new factions rose from its ruins, and allied themselves with off-shoots from the republican party. The issues that gave rise to these divisions are too complicated for any but a political history of the times; leaving all details of this nature, therefore, to those to whom it properly belongs, we shall briefly make mention of the questions of the day, and outline the career of the rival parties.

At this time, the republican party was divided into the

two great divisions of Madisonians and Clintonians. To the former belonged the greater part of the Tammany party, familiarly known as "bucktails," from the deer's tail worn as an emblem in their caps by one of the orders of the society—an appellation by which the whole section of the party opposed to Clinton afterward came to be known. Of this party, Martin Van Buren became the most prominent leader.\*

The state election of 1818 placed De Witt Clinton in the governmental chair by the unanimous vote of all the parties in the field. In the charter election, there was less unanimity. The First, Second, and Third wards were won by the federalists without opposition, the Clintonians carried the Fourth Ward by a small majority, and the remaining six wards were won by the bucktail party. The republicans being again in the ascendancy in the State, Radcliff was removed from the mayoralty, and Cadwallader D. Colden, grandson of the former lieutenant-governor of that name, of the Clintonian section, was appointed in his stead, Governor Clinton giving the casting vote necessary to secure his election in the Council of Appointment. In the following year, Richard Riker was removed from the office of Recorder, and Peter A. Jay appointed in his stead.

The charter election was won by large majorities by the bucktails ; the federalists carrying only the First and

\* The section of the republican party opposed to De Witt Clinton originated as early as 1806 in the "Martling men," who took their name from their place of meeting at Martling's Long Room, on the site of the Tract House. (Tammany Hall, which was built in 1811) afterward became the rendezvous of the Madisonians, whence the section derived the name of the Tammany party.



Second wards entire and electing the alderman of the Third.

The charter election of 1820 resulted in a still more decided victory to the bucktails, who carried all the wards in the city, the Second alone excepted, for the first time electing an alderman in the First Ward. The State elections of the fall for the members of the Legislature resulted also in their favor, and, having thus succeeded in gaining a majority in the Council of Appointment, they removed Colden from the mayoralty to make room for Stephen Allen, and restored the recordership to their favorite, Richard Riker.

At the municipal election of 1821, the bucktails, now known as the republicans, a name to which both they and the Clintonians laid claim, succeeded in electing their candidates in all except the First and Second wards. Their success in the following election was still more decisive; and their candidates were elected in every ward without opposition or by large majorities.

In the charter election held in November, 1823, a new division arose in the politics of the city. The ancient federalists were well-nigh extinct; and the chief point at issue was the nomination of a successor to James Monroe, now on the eve of quitting the presidency. William H. Crawford, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and John C. Calhoun were presented by their respective cliques as candidates for the nomination; and this competition excited new party differences. Another question that arose at this time was in respect to the appointment of electors; a portion of the people advocating the existing system by

which they were appointed by the Legislature ; and others urging that this law should be repealed and the choice of the electors submitted directly to the people. The bucktail party, styled by its antagonists the "Albany Regency," which supported Crawford, avowed itself in favor of the existing system, while the friends of the other candidates, fusing on the point at issue under the name of the "people's party," united in urging the repeal of the law. The charter election was closely contested, and resulted in the election of five aldermen and six assistants on the people's ticket, thus giving to the party a majority. In the course of the year, the power of appointment of the mayor was transferred from the Council of Appointment at Albany, to the city corporation, who soon after superseded Stephen Allen in the mayoralty by the appointment of William Paulding, the former competitor of Colden. Richard Riker was also removed from the recordership to make room for Samuel Jones ; then restored to the office in the following year.

In the elections of the two following years, the politics of the city were strangely complicated. New factions sprung into existence, and independent candidates were put in nomination. The people's party retained its ascendancy in the election of 1824 ; in the following year the republicans regained their power, electing their candidates in a majority of the wards. Since the last election the Eleventh and Twelfth Wards had been added to the city. In the course of the year, William Paulding was removed from the mayoralty, and Philip Hone, a native-born citizen and a federalist of



St. Paul's Chapel.





the old school, appointed in his stead ; not from any influence of his party in the council, but in consequence of a quarrel between the friends of Paulding and William P. Van Ness, the candidates of the rival democratic factions.

Having thus glanced briefly at the political fluctuations of the city during the first quarter of the century, we will resume the narration of the events of general interest which transpired subsequently to the termination of the war of 1812. This war left the country in an impoverished condition, but commerce soon began rapidly to revive ; so rapidly, indeed, that the unnatural growth brought on a commercial crisis in 1818-19, which occasioned many failures and much suffering.

In 1817, the first regular line of packet ships to Liverpool—the “Black Ball Line”—was established by Isaac Wright and Son, Francis Thompson, Benjamin Marshall, and Jeremiah Thompson. This line consisted of four ships from four to five hundred tons—the Pacific, Amity, William Thompson, and James Cropper, which sailed regularly on the first day of every month. The “Red Star Line” was next established by Byrnes, Trimble, & Co., with four ships, the Manhattan, Hercules, Panthea, and Meteor. These sailed on the 24th of each month. About six months after, the proprietors of the “Black Ball Line” added four more ships to their line to sail on the 16th of each month, which were soon after followed by the establishment of the “Swallow Tail Line” by Messrs. Fish, Grinnel & Co., and Thaddeus Phelps & Co., consisting of four ships, to sail on the 8th of each month, thus making a fleet of sixteen

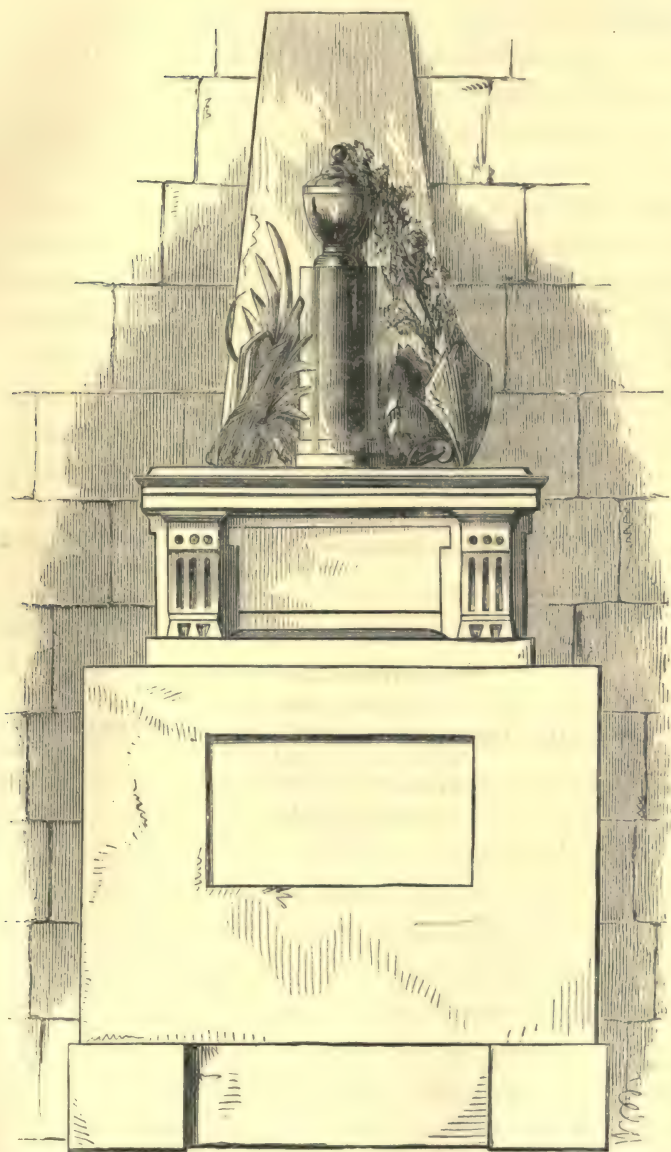
packets, with a weekly departure. This was a desideratum which the citizens had had an opportunity to learn to appreciate; as, previously to this, the departures of the European packets had been very irregular and had occasioned much inconvenience to merchants and travellers.

On the 8th of July, 1818, the remains of Gen. Richard Montgomery, the hero of Quebec, were transferred from their Canadian resting-place to the city, and deposited with military honors beneath the mural tomb in the front of St. Paul's Chapel, which had been erected to his memory in 1776 by order of the Continental Congress. Montgomery, though of Irish parentage, was allied to many of the prominent families of the city, through his marriage with the sister of Chancellor Livingston, and this transfer of his remains occasioned a lively interest among the people.

In 1819, the first Savings Bank—the institution now located in Bleecker street—was organized under the auspices of Thomas Eddy, Dr. John Griscom, John Pintard, and other well-known citizens, and opened in the basement of the New York Institution, once the Alms House, in Chambers street, with William Bayard as its first president.

The charter of the United States Bank, granted in 1791 through the efforts of Hamilton, had expired in 1811 by its own limitation, and, after endeavoring in vain to procure its renewal, the friends of the banking system, in 1812, applied to the New York Legislature for a charter for a proposed "Bank of America," in the city of New York, with a capital of six millions, five millions to be subscribed at their option by the stockholders of





Tomb of Montgomery, in the front wall of St. Paul's Chapel.—(*For Inscription, see p. 712.*)

This Monument is erected by the order of Congress,  
 25th Jan'y, 1776, to transmit to posterity a grateful remem-  
 brance of the patriotism, conduct, enterprize & perseverance  
 of Major General Richard Montgomery,  
 Who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging  
 difficulties Fell in the attack on  
 Quebec, 31<sup>st</sup> Decr. 1775, Aged 37 years.

Invenit et sculpsit, Parisiis J. J. Caffieri, Sculptor Regius, Anno Domini mdcclxxvii

THE STATE OF NEW YORK  
 Caused the Remains of  
**MAJOR GENL. RICHARD MONTGOMERY,**  
 To be conveyed from Quebec  
 And deposited beneath this Monument,  
 the 8th day of July,  
 1818.

the deceased United States Bank. This measure, which was warmly supported by the federalists as well as by a section of the republican party, was as zealously opposed by Governor Tompkins, who, finding the bill likely to pass both houses, prorogued the Legislature for sixty days, in the hope, by gaining time, to secure its defeat. But this delay availed him nothing ; the Legislature, on reassembling, made it its first business to incorporate the bank, the capital of which was subsequently reduced to four millions. The City Bank, with a capital of two millions, and the New York Manufacturing Company, the ancestor of the Phoenix Bank, with a capital of one million two hundred thousand, were also incorporated during the same session by the Legislature. These were followed by a new National Bank, chartered in 1816 for twenty years, with a capital of thirty-five millions, a branch bank of which was established in New York, in Wall street.

In 1819, the city was visited by the yellow fever, which soon disappeared, to return with increased violence in 1823, when its reappearance excited universal consternation. This time, the disease broke out in a new quarter. Hitherto, it had invariably made its first appearance on the eastern side of the town ; it now commenced in Rector street, near the North River—a neighborhood which had always been peculiarly healthy, and confined its ravages to that quarter of the city. Although the fever had visited the city so often that it might almost have been considered a naturalized disease, with the appearance of which the citizens had grown familiar through habit, it seemed this year to be regarded



with especial consternation. All who could, fled the city: the banks and custom house were removed to Greenwich village, the streets below the Park, comprising the infected district, were walled up, and all intercourse with them strictly prohibited, and the residents therein who were unwilling to quit their homes were forcibly removed by the Board of Health. For a time, business was entirely suspended, and the city wore the aspect of absolute solitude, broken only by the rumbling of the hearses, and the shadows of the nurses who remained to watch the dying and care for the burial of the dead. But these precautions tended greatly to check the ravages of the disease. From the commencement of the fever, on the 17th of June, to its disappearance, on the 2d of November, the deaths numbered but two hundred and forty, being far less than in most of its previous visitations. The quarantine, established at Staten Island in 1821, soon checked the periodical recurrence of the disease, which appeared for the last time during this summer.

In the summer of 1824, news was received that General Lafayette was on his way to New York, and the corporation at once prepared to welcome him as the guest of the city upon his arrival. The idol of the whole country, he was especially such of the city of New York, made up in great part of the so-called "French party," which had sympathized warmly with France in the struggle for independence, headed in the first place by Lafayette; which had denounced the neutrality of the American government as cowardly and dishonorable, and which let no opportunity slip for

demonstrating its attachment to France, and its corresponding detestation of her rival, Great Britain. Not less was he beloved by the opposite party—the friend of Hamilton, the adopted brother of Washington, the favorite of all his companions in arms, he had won golden opinions from all ranks and parties by his frankness and valor in the American Revolution, and his visit was a continuous march of triumph throughout the country. On Sunday, the 15th of August, he arrived in the ship *Cadmus*, and landed on Staten Island, where he remained till the next day at the residence of Daniel D. Tompkins, at this time Vice-President of the United States. On Monday, he was escorted up to the city by a large naval procession, and landed at Castle Garden amid the ringing of bells, the salutes of artillery and the shouts of the enthusiastic multitude, assembled to welcome the guest of the nation. From the Battery, he was escorted to the City Hall, where he was welcomed by the corporation, assembled there to receive him, and congratulated by Mayor Paulding on his safe arrival, then conducted to Bunker's Mansion House, where free quarters had been provided for him and his suite. During his stay in the city, he visited the navy yard, fortifications and public institutions, and held a daily levee in the City Hall, where he was waited upon by thousands of the citizens. At his departure, he was escorted by a large detachment of troops to Kingsbridge, whence he set out for his proposed tour through the States. The beginning was but the augury of the future. Everywhere, the same welcome and the same festivities awaited him, and when he returned to New York in September

1825, having accomplished a tour through the whole country in the space of thirteen months, despite his lameness and his eighty-six years, the citizens bade adieu to him in a fête at Castle Garden which surpassed anything of the kind before witnessed in the country.

The year 1825 witnessed the completion of a public work to which the city owes much of its present importance—the Erie Canal. This gigantic enterprise grew out of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, incorporated in 1792, with fifty members, for the purpose of improving the navigation of the Mohawk River and of opening a communication by canal to Seneca Lake and Lake Ontario. Of this company, General Philip Schuyler was president, and Barent Bleecker, Jeremiah Johnson and Elkanah Watson of Albany, with Thomas Eddy and Walter Bowne of New York, the most active members. The Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company was also organized about the same time for the purpose of opening a communication between the Hudson River and Lake Champlain. The route in question was carefully surveyed by Mr. Weston, a civil engineer from England, in company with Thomas Eddy; and their reports, added to a tour of observation made by himself in 1800 through the western part of the State, suggested to Gouverneur Morris, who was actively interested in the enterprise, the idea of a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Erie. The proposal attracted general attention; the aid of the federal government was solicited in the matter, and, failing to obtain this, a resolution calling attention to the subject was introduced into the State Legislature, in 1808, by Joshua Forman, of Onondaga



County, and the surveyor-general directed to have the route in question explored and surveyed, the sum of six hundred dollars being appropriated for the purpose. The survey was made by James Geddes, and a report of it furnished to the surveyor-general in 1809. On the 13th of March of the following year, the subject was brought up in the Senate by Jonas Platt, and De Witt Clinton, at this time a member of the Senate, was induced to give his support to the measure. From this time, dates the interest of Clinton in the canal; and, though he was not the original projector of the scheme, it may safely be affirmed that to his practical talent, his indomitable energy and his obstinate perseverance is due the successful termination of the stupendous work—the giant of canals and the pride of the Empire State. Through his influence, the project was received with favor in the Senate, and a committee appointed consisting of Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, Thomas Eddy, Peter B. Porter, Robert R. Livingston, and Robert Fulton, of which Morris was chairman, to survey the track of the canal, take levels, make estimates and form plans. In 1811, a report was furnished in behalf of the committee by Gouverneur Morris, accompanied with a finely executed map of the whole route; upon the receipt of which, a bill was brought into the Legislature by Clinton and passed on the 8th of April, vesting the canal commissioners with full executive power in respect to the navigation between the Hudson and the Lakes—and now the struggle began. The war, breaking out almost immediately, greatly retarded the progress of the work. The magnitude of

the undertaking startled the citizens, many of whom sneered at it as visionary, and termed it, in derision, "Clinton's big ditch;" and the opponents of Clinton made of the scheme a political issue, and thus strengthened the opposition by the prejudice of party. Clinton and Morris, after vainly soliciting aid from the national government, appealed for assistance to individual States, and, aided by their friends, struggled long and earnestly for the success of the enterprise. How much the public expression of sympathy in the city of New York contributed to the ultimate success of their endeavors will best be told in Clinton's own words. "At the commencement of the year 1816," says he, in his reply to the New York Address, "a few individuals held a consultation in the city of New York, for the purpose of calling the public attention to the contemplated Western and Northern Canals. The difficulties to be surmounted were of the most formidable aspect. The State, in consequence of her patriotic exertions during the war, was considerably embarrassed in her finances; a current of hostility had set in against the project; and the preliminary measures, however well intended, ably devised or faithfully executed, had unfortunately increased instead of allaying prejudice. And such was the weight of these and other considerations, that the plan was generally viewed as abandoned. Experience evinces that it is much easier to originate a measure successfully, than it is to revive one which has already been unfavorably received. Notwithstanding these appalling obstacles, which were duly considered, a public meeting was called, of which William Bayard

“was chairman and John Pintard secretary; a memorial  
“in favor of the canal policy was read and approved,  
“and a correspondent spirit, which induced the Legisla-  
“ture to pass a law authorizing surveys and examina-  
“tions, took place in every part of the State.”

On the 17th of April, 1816, a law was passed, appointing a board of commissioners with authority to lay out the track of the canals, and appropriating twenty thousand dollars for the purpose. De Witt Clinton was appointed president of the board, then removed from the office in 1824, in direct opposition to the wishes of the friends of the undertaking. On the 10th of March, 1817, the commissioners presented an elaborate report of their proceedings to the Legislature; and on the 17th of April, 1817, a law was passed amid the most strenuous opposition, providing funds for the construction of a grand canal, three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, with a surface of forty feet in breadth, declined to eighteen feet at the bottom, and containing a depth of four feet of water, sufficient for conveying vessels of more than one hundred tons burden, which should connect the waters of the Great Lakes with the Atlantic ocean, and form, next to the great wall of China, the longest line of continued labor in the world.

On the 4th of July, 1817, the ground was first broken for the canal by James Richardson, on the middle section in the vicinity of Rome, and from this date the work did not cease for a single day until its completion in 1825. On the 22d of October, 1819, the first boat sailed on the Erie canal from Rome to Utica, with De Witt Clinton.



then governor of the State, Chancellor Livingston, Gen. S. Van Rensselaer, and a large party of friends of the enterprise on board. This was a passenger-boat, named the Chief Engineer, in compliment to Benjamin Wright, and was dragged by a single horse.

The work completed, the city of New York was naturally selected as the most suitable place for the canal celebration. On the morning of the 26th of October, 1825, the first flotilla of canal-boats left Buffalo for New York, where the intelligence of its departure was received one hour and twenty minutes after by the sound of cannon stationed along the line. The answer was returned in the same time ; and thus, in less than three hours, Buffalo had spoken to New York and received a reply. In our days of telegraphs, this seems slow conversation ; but the electric wire had not then girdled the earth, and this rapid transmission of news seemed almost a miracle.

On the 4th of November, at about five o'clock in the morning, the fleet, consisting of the Chancellor Livingston, in which were Clinton and his party, with a long line of canal packet-boats in tow, arrived at New York and anchored near the State Prison at Greenwich, amid the ringing of bells and the salutes of artillery. Here they were met by the steamship Washington, with a deputation from the Common Council on board, to congratulate the company on their arrival from Lake Erie. The fleet soon after weighed anchor, and, rounding the Battery, proceeded up the East River to the Navy Yard, where salutes were fired, and the visitors were met by the corporation. Here a grand naval procession was

formed, consisting of nearly all the vessels in port, gaily decked with colors of all nations, and escorted to the United States schooner *Dolphin*, moored within Sandy Hook, where the great ceremony of the day was to be performed. The actors in the programme having entered the schooner, the vessels in the procession formed a circle about the spot, and Clinton poured a keg of the fresh water of Lake Erie into the waves, thus wedding the inland seas with the Atlantic ocean. Following in his footsteps, Dr. Mitchill poured into the waves waters which he had gathered from every zone—from the Ganges and the Indus, the Nile and the Gambia, the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine and the Danube, the Mississippi and Columbia, the Orinoco, the Plate and the Amazon, in token of the varied commerce which would gather about the island, destined to become the commercial centre of the world. On the land, the celebration was not less imposing. A civic procession four and a half miles in length, numbering nearly seven thousand persons, paraded with banners and music through the principal streets of the city, then proceeded to the Battery to meet the corporation on their return from Sandy Hook. A magnificent display of fireworks was given in the evening in the Park, the public and private buildings were illuminated, and the whole city wore an air of festivity. Not a single accident occurred to mar the harmony of the day, and the Erie Canal celebration may justly be ranked as one of the most successful pageants ever witnessed in the city.

Governor Clinton did not long enjoy his triumph, but expired suddenly of disease of the heart while sitting in

his library on the 11th of February, 1828. The news of his decease occasioned deep grief in the city of which he had been the greatest benefactor. Suitable public testimonials of respect were offered by the corporation to his memory, and, on the Canal anniversary of 1853, a colossal bronze statue of him, executed by H. K. Brown, of Newburgh, to the order of several private citizens of New York, was set up with appropriate ceremonies in Greenwood Cemetery. Mr. Clinton was twice married; first, to Miss Maria Franklin, daughter of an eminent merchant of the city, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters; and lastly, to Miss Catherine Jones, daughter of Dr. Thomas Jones of New York, who survived him.



## CHAPTER XXI.

1825—1855.

Gas Companies—The Italian Opera—Journalism in the city—Great Fire of 1835—Commercial Panic in 1837—The Croton Aqueduct—Astor Place Opera House Riot—Crystal Palace—Position of Affairs in 1855.

NOR was the Erie Canal—a work, of all others, relevant to the history of the city, to the growth of which it has contributed so largely—the only public improvement that sprung into existence during the year 1825 ; gas-pipes, joint-stock companies, the opera, the Sunday press, and the Merchants' Exchange, all made their first advent in the great metropolis in the course of the same year.

First, of the introduction of gas into the city. Hitherto, the streets had been dimly lighted with oil ; and though efforts had been made to substitute something better, and experiments had even been made in the Park with gas-lights as early as the summer of 1812, nothing definite was done until March, 1823, when the New York Gas Light Company was incorporated with a capital of \$1,000,000, with the privilege of supplying all that part

of the city south of Canal and Grand streets. In May, 1825, it commenced the proposed improvement by laying gas-pipes in Broadway on both sides of the street, from Canal street to the Battery. From these, they were gradually extended over the southern part of the island, though for years the city presented a checkered appearance, with one block dimly lighted by the ancient oil-lamps, and the next brilliantly illuminated from the works of the new gas company. In 1830, the improvement was extended to the northern part of the island by the incorporation of the Manhattan Gas Light Company, with a capital of \$500,000, for the purpose of supplying the upper part of the city, not included within the limits of the New York Company. The innovation soon grew into favor; both companies have been eminently successful, and at the present day, nearly the whole of New York Island is veined with a net-work of pipes, both of gas and water, bringing the two elements into the homes of the citizens, ready to gush forth at the touch of the obedient faucet.

Not so beneficial in their results were the joint-stock companies, which, following in the lead of the speculative fever which was raging at this time so fiercely in England, rose only to lead an ephemeral existence, and to fall again in the course of the following year with a terrible crash, involving the all of thousands in a common ruin. The history of these is of too recent a date to be classed as yet among historical facts, nor would our limits permit it, were we disposed for the investigation; it suffices to say that the commercial panic of 1826, brought on by the failure of numerous joint-stock com

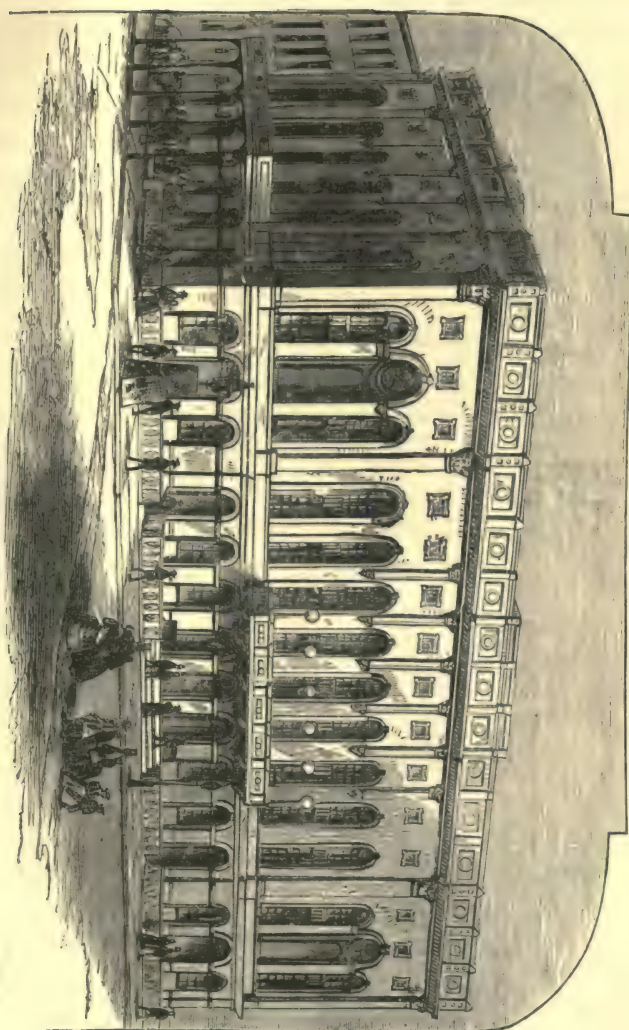
panies, some under the control of fraudulent stock-jobbers, and others of visionary enthusiasts, honest in purpose, yet misled themselves and misleading others by the bubble of colossal fortunes, built up in a day by a fortunate stroke, destroyed, for a time, all confidence in business, and utterly paralyzed the commerce of the city. But this state of affairs was of short duration ; business gradually revived on a surer basis, the public lost confidence in the lotteries, bogus banks, and kindred schemes with which the whole country had previously been flooded, and the chaos resulted in good to the whole community.

This year witnessed the first effort to introduce the Italian opera to the shores of the New World. The theatre was already a fixed institution ; the stage of the old Park Theatre had witnessed the performances of Cooke, Kean, Cooper, Booth, Wallack, Conway, Mathews and many others ; Incledon, Braham, Phillips and other vocalists had also been received with favor by the New York public ; yet no attempt had been made at operatic performances. In 1825, the Garcia troupe arrived, and, on the 29th of November, made their first appearance at the Park Theatre in the opera of "Il Barbiere di Siviglia," in which Signorina Garcia, afterward the celebrated Malibran, then but seventeen years of age, made her *debut* before the American public, and was received with unbounded enthusiasm. The genius of the great artist was quickly recognized, and the press of the city teemed with her praises. The first opera was continued for thirty consecutive nights, then replaced by others with equal success. She afterward appeared in English opera at the Bowery Theatre, opened for the



first time in October, 1826, where she received ten thousand dollars for seventeen nights' performances. But the attempt was premature ; the country was still too young to afford the necessary encouragement to art, and, finding their success not commensurate with their wishes, the artists determined, after two years' trial, to abandon the enterprise, and, in 1827, set sail for France, where the youthful prima donna won herself a world-wide reputation as the acknowledged Queen of Song, then expired in the midst of her triumph, at the early age of twenty-eight. Other attempts to establish the Italian Opera on a permanent basis soon followed with like success. Palmo, with a choice troupe of artists and a tasteful little Opera House, seemed likely for a time to succeed, but was forced at last to abandon the enterprise. The Astor Place Opera House, built in 1848, bore the stamp of failure from its very foundation, and, passing in 1852 into the hands of Donetti, was converted into a menagerie ; then, in 1854, was purchased by the Mercantile Library Association and transformed into the present Clinton Hall. The Academy of Music was opened in 1855, and, after repeated failures, Max Maretzek succeeded in naturalizing the Italian opera within its walls. It was burned on the night of May 21, 1866, together with the Medical College in Fourteenth street, but was immediately rebuilt, and was formally reopened by a masked ball, March 1, 1867.

This was also the epoch of the introduction of marble as a building material. Marbles abounded of every shade and texture, and of a fineness unsurpassed by any in the Old World, yet so strong was the prejudice exist-



Academy of Music.





ing against them that when the American Museum, the first marble-fronted building in the city after the City Hall, was built in 1824, not a workman could be persuaded to put up the edifice, and, as a last resort, a convict was pardoned out of the State Prison at Sing Sing on condition that he would perform the work. This museum was built by John Scudder, who removed his collection thither from the rooms which he had formerly occupied in the New York Institution. It remained in his hands and those of his heirs until 1840, when it was purchased by P. T. Barnum, who soon after added to it the collection of Peale's New York Museum, located in Broadway near the corner of Murray street, which had been purchased of the proprietor in 1838 by the New York Museum Company.

In 1825, the erection of the Merchants' Exchange in Wall street was commenced and finished in 1827, when the Post-office was removed to the Rotunda, where it remained until its destruction by the conflagration of 1835. The New York University, the Masonic Hall in Broadway, nearly opposite the New York Hospital, the Arcade in Maiden Lane, and many other buildings of more or less interest were also erected about the same time.

The approaching presidential election of 1828, rallied the parties together for a new contest. John Quincy Adams, the regnant President, was the candidate of the National Republicans, the lineal descendants of the old federal party; while the pseudo "Albany Regency party," with the republicans at large, supported the claims of General Andrew Jackson, the hero of New



The New York University.

Orleans. The friends of the latter at this time assumed the name of *Democrats*; a term which had first been bestowed on them in derision in the days of the French Revolution, and which originated, like most of the partisan names, in New York city. The city, increased in 1827 by the addition of two wards, was now again under the rule of Mayor Paulding, who had superseded Mayor Hone in 1826. The democrats had clearly gained the ascendancy, and in the charter elections of 1826, '7, '8 and '9, succeeded in electing a majority in both boards

of the Common Council. In the federal election, they also obtained the victory, and placed their candidate in the presidential chair of the United States.

This was also the epoch of the anti-masonic excitement, arising from the abduction and supposed murder, in 1826, of William Morgan, a recreant Mason of Batavia, who had threatened to expose the secrets of the fraternity. This charge was soon converted into a political weapon, a combination was formed against the Masons, at this time a large and flourishing society, the most extravagant rumors of diabolical practices in their secret conclaves were put in circulation, and at the elections of 1827, the people, forgetting the ancient party divisions, ranked themselves as Masons or anti-Masons at the polls. The persecution of the luckless society was fanatical in the extreme ; a number of prominent papers opened a crusade against it, public meetings were held at which seceders from its ranks denounced it as the sum and substance of all wickedness, and a prejudice was excited throughout the community which paralyzed it for years, and seemed for a time to threaten its existence. Before the presidential election, the anti-Masonic colors were adopted by the enemies of Jackson, while the democrats ranged themselves on the side of the hunted Masons, but, though the latter succeeded in electing their candidates at the polls, their efforts could not save the fated society from the unpopularity which long checked its growth. The fate of Morgan was never positively known ; a body found in Lake Ontario was declared to be his by the anti-Masonic party—"a good enough Morgan till after the election," the friends of the Masons



called it ; and much doubt there was indeed of its identity. The society became almost a dead letter, and it is only within a short time that it has revived from the paralysis and regained its former position.

In the course of the year 1829, Walter Bowne, a merchant of New York, and a prominent politician of the democratic party, was appointed mayor in the place of William Paulding. Mr. Bowne was a lineal descendant of John Bowne, the leader of the Quakers at Flushing, who had been imprisoned for his faith by the order of Stuyvesant ; then released by the West India Company, who would sanction no religious persecution within their dominions.

On the 7th of April, 1830, an amended charter was granted to the city, which provided for separate meetings of the two boards, and excluded the mayor and recorder from the Common Council, giving the mayor, however, the power of approving or disapproving the acts of this body. In the course of the following year, the Fifteenth Ward was added to the city.

New political issues arose on the approach of the presidential election of 1832, and with them new divisions of party. The workingmen's party, suddenly arising in the State election of 1830 to secure for mechanics a lien on the buildings which they had erected for the better security of their wages and electing Throop as governor, then as suddenly vanishing from existence, had not interfered with the charter elections of the city. The democrats still preserved their ascendancy, electing a majority in both boards, though enough national republicans were found in the city to insure a warm contest

at the polls. The first steps toward the organization of the whig party were taken by the latter in 1830, at a meeting held in the city of New York, at which Henry Clay was nominated to the Presidency.

The party lines were now distinctly drawn, and for more than twenty years the people continued to be divided into the two great sections of Whigs and Democrats. The former, first adopting their distinctive appellation in the charter elections of 1833, rallied at first by the name of the Clay party under the banners of Henry Clay, in favor of a protective tariff together with the preservation of a national bank; the latter supported the reelection of Jackson, who had lately doomed this bank to dissolution by his veto of the bill passed by Congress to grant it a new charter in 1836, when the first would expire by its own limitation. The democrats were everywhere successful, electing Jackson as President and William L. Marcy as governor of the State, and gaining large majorities in both boards of the Common Council. In the following year, Mayor Bowne was superseded in the mayoralty by Gideon Lee, a New York merchant of eastern extraction, notable for having been one of the pioneers of the leather business in Ferry street.

In 1832, New York, now freed from the periodical ravages of yellow fever by the strict enforcement of quarantine regulations, was visited for the first time by the Asiatic cholera, which raged to a fearful extent, almost depopulating the city and creating a universal panic among the inhabitants. It returned two years after, modified in violence, then disappeared entirely until 1849, when it broke out early in the summer, and

raged fearfully until late in autumn. In 1855, it again appeared, nor has it since wholly abandoned the city, but remains lurking in its midst, striking down a few victims here and there every summer, yet reserving its force for some future devastation.

One of the most important events in the history of this era in its bearings upon the city as well as the whole country, was the establishment of the penny press ; an institution which opened the way for cheap literature, and, by placing the daily journals within reach of every citizen, disseminated general knowledge, and tended emphatically to make of our people what they are now acknowledged to be—the greatest reading nation of any on the globe.

At this time, there were about fifty daily, weekly, semi-weekly and monthly journals in New York. Foremost among these were the *Commercial Advertiser*, the oldest of the city papers, at this time under the charge of Col. William L. Stone ; the *Evening Post*, edited by William Coleman ; the *Morning Courier* of James Watson Webb and the *New York Enquirer* of Mordecai M. Noah, blended in 1829 into the *Courier and Enquirer* ; the *Journal of Commerce*, commenced in 1827 under the editorship of David Hale ; the *Standard*, edited by John I. Mumford, and the *Spirit of the Times*, just issued by William T. Porter. The *New York Mirror*, edited by George P. Morris, in which N. P. Willis was first attracting public attention by a series of piquant European letters, and the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, commenced in 1833 under the auspices of Peabody and subsequently sold by him to Louis Gaylord Clark and Clement M.





Old Church of the Messiah in Broadway.

Edson, were the only literary papers of the city. In these, Irving, Cooper, Paulding, Bryant, Simms, Fay, and a host of others, now well-known veterans in the literary world, made their first essays as candidates for public favor, and won an earnest of their future laurels.

The dailies were sixpenny journals, and were distributed to regular subscribers. Newsboys were unknown, and though, upon the occurrence of some unusual event,

a hundred extra copies were sometimes struck off in view of a possible outside demand, the chances for the sale of these were so hazardous, that few of the distributors cared to take the trouble and responsibility of offering them for sale. On the 29th of October, 1832, the *New York Globe*, a two-cent paper, was issued by James Gordon Bennett, the founder of the *New York Herald*, who had been for several years connected with the *National Advocate* and the *Courier and Enquirer*; but the experiment proved unsuccessful, and the paper expired just one month after the date of its birth.

The idea of the possibility of a penny paper first originated in the brain of Dr. Horati David Sheppard, a young medical student, rich in hopes but lacking in money, who vainly endeavored to persuade his friends of the feasibility of the scheme. Convinced as he was that a spicy journal, offered everywhere by boys at the low price of one cent, would be bought up by the crowd with avidity, he found the idea scouted by all the journalists of the city to whom he in turn applied, and when he finally succeeded in prevailing upon Horace Greeley and Francis Story, who were on the point of setting up a printing establishment, to print his paper and give him credit for a week, he could only secure their coöperation by fixing the price at two cents per copy. On the 1st of January, 1833, he issued the *Morning Post*, his projected paper, in the midst of a violent snow-storm, which checked the sale and disheartened the few newsboys engaged in the enterprise. At the end of the first week, he met the promised payment, during the second, his receipts scarcely covered half his expenses, and at the

expiration of the third, the young printers, themselves almost destitute of capital, finding him wholly unable to meet his engagements, were compelled to refuse him further credit, and thus to stop the publication of the paper. Discouraged at his ill success, Dr. Sheppard abandoned the ranks of journalism and returned to his profession.

The idea fell into other hands. On the 3d of September, 1833, Benjamin H. Day, who, in 1829, had commenced the publication of the *Daily Sentinel*, which he afterward sold to George H. Evans, issued the *Sun*, the first penny paper ever published in New York. He soon discovered that he had struck a vein. Sneered at and despised by its more pretentious contemporaries, the cheapness of the little paper commended it to the mass, and in less than a year, its circulation increased to eight thousand copies.

Entering the lists of competition with its powerful rivals without subscribers, and the acknowledged organ of no party, the proprietor of the new journal struck upon the method for insuring its circulation first projected by Sheppard, and, advertising for boys to work for him at two dollars per week, dispatched them with a hundred and twenty-five copies each to different parts of the city to cry the papers for sale to the passers-by, with a promise of more at a reduced rate as soon as these should be disposed of. In the course of two or three hours, the papers were sold, and the boys came back for a fresh supply, which was given them at the rate of nine cents per dozen; and from this period may be dated the origin of the race of newsboys, now



naturalized in almost every city in the Union. The experiment soon proved successful ; and the boys made the business profitable both to themselves and their employer. Ere long, the other publishers, taking the cue from this success, published an extra edition of their papers for the newsboys, while, by way of exchange, several of the regular distributors of these, finding that the profits of the boys amounted to more than their small weekly salaries, set to work to procure subscribers to the *Sun*, and to establish newspaper routes as private speculations.

The most curious fact in the history of this first penny journal, was the publication of the celebrated "Moon Hoax," or Discoveries in the Moon, written by Richard Adams Locke, at that time editor of the *Sun* and subsequently one of the proprietors of the *New Era*. This paper, which purported to be an account of Sir John F. W. Herschel's discoveries at the Cape of Good Hope, taken from the *Supplement of the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, was written with every appearance of consistency. After disarming suspicion by a scientific description of an ingeniously-invented telescope by which these discoveries had been made, the author proceeded to delineate the geographical features and the inhabitants of the moon with such graphic power and show of probability, that the gravest journals swallowed the bait, and took the account as a historical fact, piqued as they were at the lucky chance which had thrown the earliest intelligence of so important a discovery into the hands of the despised penny paper. One journal, indeed, gravely assured its readers on the day after the

publication in the *Sun* of the lunar discoveries, that it had also received the account by the same mail, and was only prevented from publishing it by want of sufficient space. The papers throughout the country copied and commented on the article, keeping its much despised origin as far as possible out of sight, and, in many cases, leaving it to be supposed that they themselves had copied it from the Edinburgh "Supplement." Sir John Herschel was everywhere extolled as the greatest discoverer of the age, and enthusiasts even began to speculate on the possibility of opening a telegraphic communication with their newly-descried neighbors. The discovery of the hoax excited universal merriment; but the offence was not soon forgotten or forgiven by the cheated contemporaries of the paper which had issued the *canard*. In 1838, Mr. Day disposed of the *Sun* establishment to Moses Y. Beach for thirty-eight thousand dollars.

Stimulated by the success of this enterprise, in 1834, William J. Stanley, Willoughby Lynde, and Billings Hayward, commenced the publication of a second penny paper called the *Transcript*. This proved tolerably successful, and was continued until 1839. Soon after its publication, the *Moon* was issued by George H. Evans, the printer and publisher of the *Working Men's Advocate*. This, which was also a penny paper, survived but two or three years. The fourth penny paper, the *Morning Star*, was published soon after by Lincoln & Simmons; but this proved a failure, as did also the *Morning Dispatch*, published in 1839, by Day, the former proprietor of the *Sun*, and edited by H. Hastings Weld.

At this time, some of the best known journalists of the present day made their *début* in the ranks of their profession. On the 22d of March, 1834, Horace Greeley, Jonas Winchester, and E. Sibbett, commenced the publication of the *New Yorker*, printed at first on a large folio sheet, and afterward in two forms, folio and quarto, the former at two and the latter at three dollars a year. This paper, though literary in its general character, leaned strongly to the side of the whig party. Park Benjamin was an occasional contributor to its columns, and in 1840 Henry J. Raymond, afterwards editor of the *New York Times*, then a recent graduate of Burlington College, Vermont, began his editorial career upon a salary of eight dollars per week. On the 6th of May, 1835, the *New York Herald* made its appearance as a two-cent paper, under the auspices of James Gordon Bennett and Anderson & Smith, a printing firm in Ann street. A few months after, the office of the paper, together with the whole printing establishment, was destroyed by fire; upon which Anderson and Smith withdrew from the firm, leaving the paper in the charge of Bennett, who subsequently retained absolute control of its columns. In June of the same year, the *New York Express* was first issued by James and Erastus Brooks, and on the 10th of April, 1841, the *Tribune* appeared as the avowed organ of the whig party, edited by Horace Greeley with the assistance of Henry J. Raymond. This was a daily penny paper, about one-third the size of the present *Tribune*. In the ensuing July, Greeley formed a partnership with Thomas McElrath, and soon after merged the *New Yorker*, together with



the *Log Cabin*, a small paper which he had issued during the Harrison campaign, into the *Weekly Tribune*. Raymond quitted the paper two years after to form a connection with the *Courier and Enquirer*, which he maintained for several years; then, on the 18th of September, 1851, issued the first number of the *N. Y. Daily Times*, at first a penny sheet, which, the following year, was doubled in price and size, and thus placed on a par with the most prominent of the rival dailies.

At the time of the establishment of the *N. Y. Tribune*, a hundred periodicals and twelve daily papers were published in the city of New York. Of these, the *Commercial Advertiser*, *Courier and Enquirer*, *New York American*, *Express*, and *Tribune*, supported the whigs; the *Evening Post*, *Journal of Commerce*, *Sun*, and *Herald*, inclined to the democratic party, and the *Signal*, *Star*, and *Tatler* were neutral. The *Commercial Advertiser*, was then, as now, the oldest journal in the city, having been first issued on the 9th of December, 1793. Next was the *Evening Post*, which, commenced as a federal paper in 1800, had, in 1830, espoused the cause of the democratic party.

The year 1835 will long be remembered as the era of the most fearful conflagration that ever devastated the city of New York. The fire broke out on the night of the 16th of December, in the lower part of the city. The night was intensely cold—colder than any that had been known for more than half a century; the little water that could be obtained froze in the fire-hose before it could be used, the buildings were mostly old and wooden; in short, everything favored the work of destruction.

The flames raged fiercely for three days, completely laying waste the business part of the city, and consuming 648 houses and stores with \$18,000,000 worth of property; among which were the marble Exchange in Wall street, hitherto deemed fire-proof, and the South Dutch Church in Garden street. Some buildings were finally blown up by gunpowder by order of the mayor, and the work of ruin was thus arrested. But the destruction had been fearful, and not less terrible were the consequences. Unable to meet the heavy demands of the sufferers, the insurance companies unanimously suspended payment, and the city seemed almost beggared at a blow.

Close upon this calamity followed the commercial distress of the winter of 1837, which succeeded the sus-



Wall street looking toward Broadway.

pension of the United States Bank. For a time, the business world seemed utterly paralyzed, bankruptcy followed bankruptcy in quick succession, and ere long the banks of the State unanimously suspended payment for one year, having been authorized to do so by the State legislature. But the elasticity of the city was not long depressed by these misfortunes, a reaction took place before many months had passed, and business revived more briskly than before.

Cornelius W. Lawrence was at this time mayor of the city, for the first time elected to the office by the votes of the people in April, 1834, in conformity with a recent amendment to the State Constitution. Mr. Lawrence was the candidate of the democratic party, which still retained its ascendancy in the politics of the city. Two new parties had recently arisen ; the native American, whose policy it was to exclude all foreigners from a voice in political affairs ; and the equal rights or agrarian party, which, crystallizing in 1829 through the influence of the lectures of Frances Wright, then on her second visit to the country, had grown into a powerful faction, and now aspired to the leadership of the democratic party, from whose ranks it had first sprung. This name was also claimed by the Tammany party. The two factions assembled together at the primary meetings at Tammany Hall, the acknowledged democratic headquarters, each assuming precedence in the councils of the party, and scenes of violence often ensued. A curious accident fastened the name of " loco foco " on the friends of equal rights, a name which afterward came to be applied to the whole democratic party.



Loco foco matches—an outgrowth from the phosphorized splinters with their accompanying vial of acid and cotton which, in 1825, had superseded the ancient tinder-box, with its flint and steel—had recently come into use with the penny newspapers, and were still regarded as a novelty by the community at large. At a ratification meeting held in Tammany Hall in 1835, at which the Tammany men, finding themselves in the minority, suddenly turned off the gas and left the assembly in darkness, a box of the newly invented matches was opportunely produced by the opposite party, which was henceforth derisively styled “loco foco” by its opponents. The faction, however, accepted the name, and, idealizing it into an emblem of promptitude, proudly wore it as a badge of honor, and it was not long before the once despised nickname was adopted and acknowledged by the whole democratic party. It is a curious fact that most if not all of the party appellations which have served at various times to distinguish the politics of the country first originated in this city—republican, federalist, whig, democrat, loco foco, and many more.

The Sixteenth Ward was created in 1835, as was also the Seventeenth during the following year. At the spring election of 1837, Aaron Clark was elected mayor by the whigs, who also succeeded in gaining majorities in both boards of the Common Council. The election of the following year was attended with the same result, but in the spring of 1839, Mr. Clark, who had been for the third time nominated by his party to the mayoralty, was defeated by Isaac L. Varian, the candidate of the democrats, who carried twelve wards out of the seventeen by

small majorities. Mr. Varian retained his office until 1841, when he was succeeded by Robert H. Morris, who was elected by the still triumphant democratic party.

On the 23d of April, 1841, the attention of the citizens had been aroused by a new event, which was fraught with interest to the mercantile portion of the community—the arrival from England of the steamships “Sirius” and “Great Western,” the first ocean steamers ever as yet seen in the harbor of New York. This new bond of union between the Old World and the New was hailed with an enthusiasm scarcely equalled by that displayed on the late announcement of the success of the Atlantic cable, and schemes were at once projected by the busy speculators for the establishment of a line of steamers between the continents, which were realized a few years after by the Cunard and the Collins lines.

The spring election of 1835 decided another important event in the annals of the city. The Manhattan Works had long since been voted a failure, but though various schemes had been from time to time devised for bringing water into the city from the Bronx and various other rivers in the suburbs, nothing had been accomplished, and the people had been forced to return to the wells and pumps of olden times. But the growth of the city had now rendered it impossible to be longer delayed, and after much consideration, a plan for constructing an aqueduct from the Croton River was approved by the corporation, and the question of “Water” or “No Water” submitted to the people at the following election, and decided in the affirmative by a large majority, though those were not wanting who bewailed

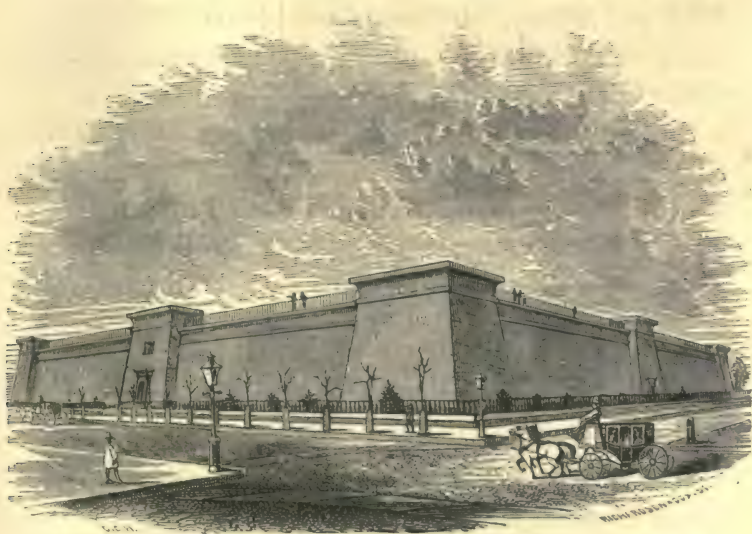


High Bridge—Croton Aqueduct.

the extravagance of the measure, and thought that the water which had served their ancestors would answer very well for the present generation. The popular verdict rendered, the Croton Aqueduct was at once commenced at a distance of forty miles from the City Hall and about five miles from the Hudson River, where a dam was thrown across the Croton River, creating a pond five miles in length, covering an area of four hundred acres and containing 500,000,000 gallons of water. From this dam, the aqueduct proceeded, now tunnelling through solid rocks, then crossing valleys by embankments and brooks by culverts until it reached the Harlem



River, which it crossed by the magnificent High Bridge, built of stone, 1,450 feet long, with fourteen piers, eight of eighty feet and six of fifty feet span, one hundred and fourteen feet above tide water to the top, at a cost of \$900,000. From this bridge, at the foot of One Hundred and Seventy-fourth street, the aqueduct proceeded to the Receiving Reservoir at the corner of Eighty-sixth street and Sixth Avenue, covering thirty-five acres, and containing 150,000,000 gallons, whence the water was conveyed to the Distributing Reservoir on Murray Hill,



Croton Reservoir, on Fifth Avenue, between Fortieth and Forty-second Streets.

of a capacity of 21,000,000 gallons, and thence distributed by means of iron pipes through the city. The work progressed rapidly. On the 4th of July, 1842, the water was let into the reservoir, and the event was celebrated by an imposing procession. But these immense

reservoirs have since grown too small for the increasing wants of the city; and a mammoth reservoir has since been constructed in the Central Park of a capacity exceeding any other in existence.

Next came the Magnetic Telegraph, first opened to the New Yorkers through the New York, Philadelphia and Washington line, constructed in 1845—the second in the United States, the first having been constructed in 1844 between Washington and Baltimore. In the following year, a line was opened between Boston and New York, and another the year after, between New York and Albany. Others followed in quick succession, and New York was soon placed within speaking distance of the chief cities of the Union.

On the 19th of July, 1845, another great fire, second only in its ravages to that of 1835, broke out in New street in the vicinity of Wall, and burned in a southerly direction to Stone street, laying waste the entire district between Broadway and the eastern side of Broad street, and consuming several million dollars' worth of property. The explosion of a saltpetre warehouse in Broad street during this conflagration, gave rise to the vexed question, "Will saltpetre explode?" which furnished food for some research and much merriment to the savans of the day.

In 1844, James Harper was elected mayor of the city by the native American party, aided by the support of a large number of whigs. In the elections of the two following years, the democrats were triumphant, electing William F. Havemeyer and A. H. Mickel to the mayoralty. In 1847, the whigs regained the ascendancy, elect-

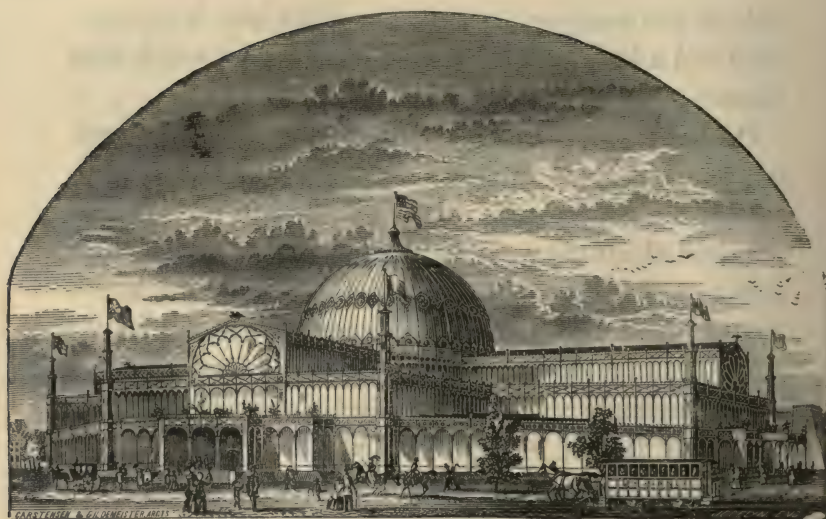
did not end until several valuable lives had been sacrificed and a host of bitter feelings engendered which time has not yet been able to efface.

On the expiration of his term of office, Mayor Woodhull was succeeded by Ambrose C. Kingsland, the candidate of the whig party. Many local events and changes occurred about the same time, which are of too recent a date to require more than a brief notice at our hands. Among these were the visit of Jenny Lind to the United States, and her first appearance in Castle Garden on the 7th of September, 1850, the subsequent visits of Parodi, Catherine Hayes, Sontag, Grisi and many other European celebrities; the new municipal regulations imposed by the amended city charter of 1849, the trial of the caloric ship Ericsson, the Grinnell expedition to the Arctic regions, and the arrival of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, on the 5th of December, 1851.

At the November election of 1852, Jacob A. Westervelt was elected mayor by the democratic party. During the ensuing session of the Legislature, the city charter was again amended in some important particulars, among which was the institution of a Board of Councilmen, composed of sixty members, to be chosen respectively from the sixty districts into which the Common Council was directed to apportion the city, in the place of the long-standing Board of Assistant Aldermen.

The chief event which characterized the administration of Mayor Westervelt, was the opening of the World's Fair for the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, on the 14th of July, 1853, at the Crystal Palace in Reservoir Square, near the Distributing Reservoir of the





Crystal Palace.

Croton Aqueduct. The fairy-like Greek cross of glass, bound together with withes of iron, with its graceful dome, its arched naves, and its broad aisles and galleries, filled with choice productions of art and manufactures gathered from the most distant parts of the earth—quaint old armor from the Tower of London, gossamer fabrics from the looms of Cashmere, Sèvres china, Gobelin tapestry, Indian curiosities, stuffs, jewelry, musical instruments, carriages and machinery of home and foreign manufacture, Marochetti's colossal equestrian statue of Washington, Kiss's Amazon, Thorwaldsen's Christ and the Apostles, Powers' Greek slave, and a host of other works of art beside—will long be remembered as the most tasteful ornament that ever graced the metropolis. Contemporary with this, was Franconi's Hippodrome on Madison Square, covering an

area of two acres of ground, an exotic from France, which flourished for a few months, then disappeared from the city. Scarcely more lasting was the existence of the beautiful Palace, which vanished in the short space of half an hour before the touch of the fiery element on the 5th of October, 1858, and fell, burying the rich collection of the Fair of the American Institute, then on exhibition within its walls, in a molten mass of ruins.

On the 10th of December, 1853, the printing and publishing establishment of the Messrs. Harper & Brothers, in Franklin Square, was destroyed by fire. This establishment was the largest of its kind in the world, consisting of nine five-story buildings, and combining all the departments necessary for the manufacture of books. Over six hundred persons were thrown out of employment by this conflagration, which destroyed more than a million of dollars. The enterprising proprietors immediately set to work to retrieve their loss, and in 1854 erected a magnificent structure on the site of the burned buildings, covering half an acre, and extending from Franklin Square to Cliff Street. As this New York publishing house is the most extensive in the world, as well as the largest and now the oldest in the city, the growth of which it serves well to illustrate, it deserves special mention at our hands. It had its origin in a small book and job printing office, established in 1817, by James Harper, the future mayor, and his brother John. In 1823 the third brother, Joseph W. Harper, became a member of the firm, and in 1826 the fourth brother, Fletcher Harper, in turn entered the establishment. At that time their printing office had become

the largest in the city, though it employed but fifty persons and did its work on ten hand presses. In 1825 the Messrs. Harper removed to 81 and 82 Cliff street, where they entered more largely upon the publication of books on their own account. At the time of the destruction of their establishment, they kept in constant operation thirty-three Adams' power-presses of the largest and best description, and their current publications numbered nearly sixteen hundred. The present establishment presents an imposing appearance, with its ornamental iron façade, five stories high, and one hundred and twenty feet wide on Franklin Square, opposite the old Walton House, the palace of the last century.



## CHAPTER XXII.

1855—1860.

Consolidation of Brooklyn, Williamsburgh and Bushwick—Hard Winter—Mayor Wood's Administration—Charter of 1857—Castle Garden transformed into an Emigrant Dépôt—Rachel and Thackeray in New York—The Central Bark—Amended Charter of 1857—Burning of the Quarantine Buildings—Changes in the City—Ridgewood Water Works—Police Riots—Financial Distress—Burdell Murder—Potter's Field—Broadway Tabernacle—Burning of Crystal Palace—Japanese Embassy—Great Eastern—Lady Franklin—The Prince of Wales in New York—Election of Mr. Lincoln.

ON the 1st of January, 1855, Mayor Westervelt was superseded in office by Fernando Wood, the successful candidate of the democratic party. High hopes were founded on the new mayor, who inaugurated his rule by advocating numerous municipal reforms, among others the suppression of the Sunday liquor traffic and the passage of the Prohibitory Liquor Law, which was enacted in the course of the winter, only to be declared unconstitutional the following season by the Court of Appeals. The contest respecting the sale of intoxicating beverages, which has been continued to our time, was fairly inaugurated, and assumed gigantic proportions at this epoch.

The same date was marked by an event of great importance to the sister city of Brooklyn, which is so closely identified in interests with New York, that they can scarcely be separated in thought. On the first of

January, 1855, the act which had recently been passed for the consolidation of the cities of Brooklyn and Williamsburg and the town of Bushwick took effect, and Brooklyn suddenly leaped from the rank of the seventh to that of the third city in the Union, with a territory of twenty-two square miles, and a population of at least 200,000. It had been incorporated as a city just twenty years before, with a population of 24,000. On the same territory the population had sextupled, and the wealth quintupled at this time. The new city was divided into two districts, the Eastern and the Western ; the former comprising the territory north and east of the Naval Hospital and Flushing avenue, or Williamsburgh and Bushwick, and the latter the region south and west of the aforesaid boundaries, or Brooklyn proper. The two districts had separate fire departments and distinct machinery for the collection of taxes ; in all other respects they were practically one, with their common centre at the Brooklyn City Hall. By a somewhat singular coincidence the first mayor of the newly-consolidated city was George Hall, who had been the first mayor of Brooklyn after its original incorporation, twenty years before. Many of the citizens of Brooklyn desired its annexation to New York, and a bill for this purpose was ineffectually introduced the next year into the Legislature.

The winter of 1855 was a hard one for the poor. Work was scarce and laborers plenty. Scarcely had the year opened when the cry of famine was raised. Thousands of suffering men, unable to find employment or bread, gathered in the Park and elsewhere, and proclaimed their destitution, or paraded the streets with

banners and mottoes appealing for aid, and cases of want and starvation appeared on every side. New York is never deaf to such a cry. Measures for relieving the needy were at once devised, both by private individuals and the municipal authorities, ward relief associations were formed, soup kitchens were opened in every part of the city, where the hungry were fed from day to day, and a system of visitation was organized for the purpose of allaying the suffering. In the Sixth Ward alone, in one day in the month of January, nine thousand persons were fed by public charity; not one of whom, it may be remarked in passing, was an American. In this connection we will mention an incident which manifests the rapid changes of the panorama before our eyes, so rapid, indeed, that we do not take note in the whirl how the marvels of to-day become the cast-off baubles of to-morrow. The residence of Dr. Townsend, on the corner of Thirty-Fifth street and Fifth avenue, was completed the same season, and was regarded as such an example of almost royal splendor, to use the language of the day, that it was thrown open for exhibition to the public for the benefit of the Five Points House of Industry. In this short lapse of time the so-called palace has been ruthlessly demolished to make room for a still more sumptuous structure; and doubtless the latter will ere long be eclipsed by some private dwelling of still greater magnificence.

The year 1855 was an uneventful one to New York. Various schemes were agitated for the erection of a new Post-office,—the old Dutch church in Nassau street having long been inadequate to the needs of the city,—an up-town Post-office and a new City Hall; but nothing



was done. The summer witnessed the transformation of Castle Garden into an emigrant *dépôt*, a change which at first seemed desecration, for the old fort at the foot of the Battery, with its beautiful grounds, was hallowed to the people by many associations, and was not even yet regarded as too far off from the private residences for a place of public resort. Castle Clinton was first granted to the city of New York by an act of March 16, 1790, it having been previously reserved in the Montgomerie Charter. After the war of 1812, being no longer needed for military purposes, it was used for many years as a place of public amusement. There the annual fairs of the American Institute were held, and there circuses, menageries, concerts, theatricals and operas followed each other, from the Chinese Junk to Bosio, Sontag, Alboni, Jenny Lind and Grisi. But the necessities of the case were urgent; New York had become the great centre of immigration, and it was imperatively necessary that some place should be provided where these ignorant and friendless foreigners would find a safe refuge on first reaching our shores. After much debate, therefore, Castle Garden was surrendered to the Commissioners of Emigration, who adapted it to its new purpose, and on the 1st of August, 1855, it was opened for the reception of the emigrants, who were landed there direct from quarantine.

In the latter part of the same summer the great tragedienne, Rachel, arrived at New York, where she first appeared at the Metropolitan Theatre, and was received with unbounded applause. In the autumn of the same year Thackeray reached this city, and delivered his first lecture, on George I., at Dr. Chapin's church, on

Broadway, between Spring and Prince streets, on the 1st of November.

In the winter of 1855-56, an important improvement was made in the streets of the city by extending Canal street from Centre street across Baxter to Mulberry street, where it intersected Walker street, and widening the latter street twenty-five feet to East Broadway. Park Place and Duane street were likewise widened. A broad thoroughfare was thus made across the city, which was also greatly improved by the extension of the Bowery and Chambers street.

By far the most important event of 1856 was the establishment of the Central Park, now the pride of the city. The need of a large public park had long been felt, and various schemes had been mooted from time to time for supplying the deficiency; but these had all proved abortive, and as the city extended and became denser, its breathing-places diminished rather than increased; for the Battery was transformed into an emigrant dépôt, and the City Hall Park, crowded with public buildings, in noway served the purpose for which it was originally designed. In the beginning of the century, as we have already narrated, a plan was set on foot to surround the Fresh Water Pond with ornamental grounds, and thus to secure to New York a natural feature of rare beauty possessed by few cities—a magnificent lake in its midst; but the scheme met with no support, and the crystal Kolck, instead of being preserved, was gradually filled up and became the site of the Five Points district, the most noisome spot in the city. Later, when Gouverneur Morris laid out a map of the upper part of the city, he planned a park containing

three hundred acres, to be bounded by Twenty-third and Thirty-fourth streets, and Third and Eighth Avenues ; but these spacious grounds dwindled down in reality to Madison Square with its six acres, while the remainder became the fashionable quarter of the town. A few other parks were scattered over the city—Tompkins Square, Gramercy Park, Stuyvesant Park, Union Square, Washington Square, and St. John's Park ; but these were altogether insufficient for the wants of the population, being simple promenades, in some cases private, and possessing no facilities for riding or driving. It was of the utmost importance to secure the unappropriated lands of the city for this purpose while there was time. On the 5th of April, 1851, Mayor Kingsland had made a report to the Board of Aldermen, urging the selection of a site for a public park. This was referred to the Committee on Lands and Places, who concurred in the report and recommended the purchase of Jones's Wood, a fine tract of forest land extending along the East River, and bounded by the Third Avenue and Sixty-sixth and Seventy-fifth streets. Their report was adopted by the Common Council, and an application was made to the Legislature for authorization to secure the lands in question, which was granted, and the Jones's Wood Bill was passed July 11, 1851.

This was but a first step. Various objections were raised to the proposed site, both on account of its limited space and the monotonous character of the ground, and its situation at the extreme east of the city, and a more central location was urged. On the 5th of August, 1851, the Board of Aldermen appointed



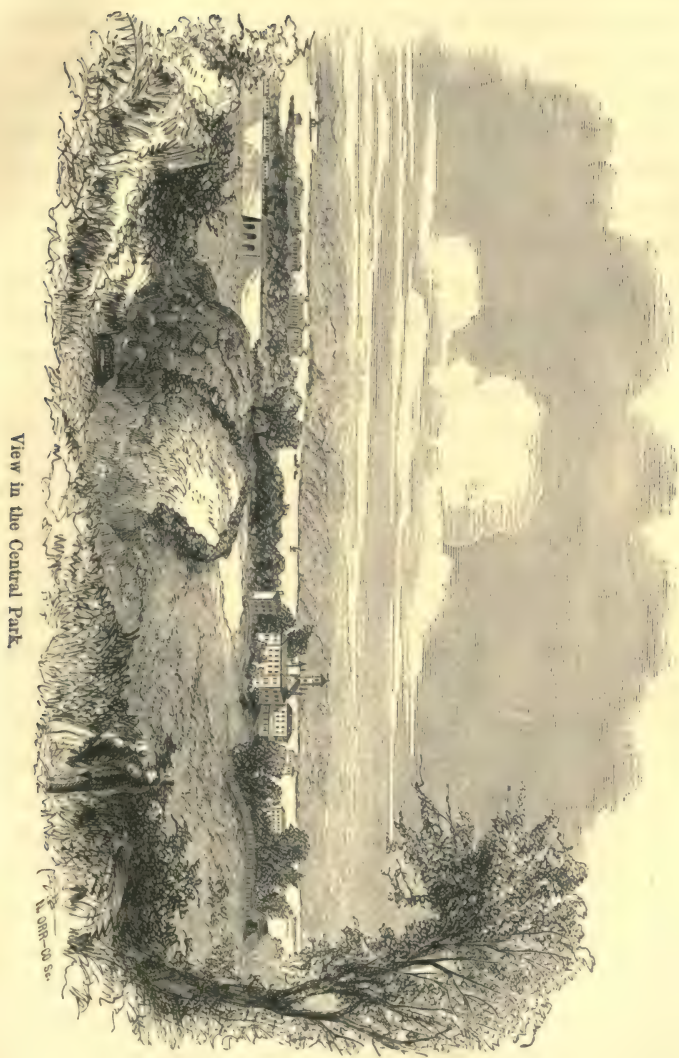
Commissioners to examine and report upon the merits of the different sites suggested. After mature deliberation, the Committee made choice of a tract of land bounded by Fifty-ninth and One Hundred and Sixth streets and Fifth and Eighth Avenues, about two and a half miles long by half a mile wide, and comprising  $776\frac{71}{100}$  acres. The report was approved, and on the 23d of July, 1853, the Legislature passed an act authorizing the purchase of the Central Park. On the same day, the friends of the Jones's Wood Park obtained a similar act in favor of their chosen location, the previous one having remained a 'dead letter on account of some technical flaw ; and thus the matter stood until the following spring, when the Jones's Wood Act was finally repealed.

On the 17th of November, 1853, five Commissioners of Estimate and Appraisement were appointed by the Supreme Court to take land for the Central Park. They completed their labors in the summer of 1855, valuing the land at \$5,398,695 ; and on the 5th of February, 1856, their report was confirmed by the Common Council and the purchase consummated, \$1,658,395 of the amount being levied on the owners of the adjacent property. The State Arsenal and grounds were afterwards purchased at a cost of \$275,000.

At first sight, the spot selected seemed an unpromising one. The land was as wild and uncultivated as in the days of the aborigines of Manhattan. The surface was greatly diversified, presenting a succession of rocky hills and marshy valleys, covered with brush and brambles, with a sprinkling of fine trees, and intersected by a few

little rivulets that took their rise among the marshes on the west and flowed eastward to the river. Yet it was admirably designed by Nature for its purpose, lacking nothing but trees, a want that could be supplied by time, and susceptible of becoming a spot of rare beauty in the hands of a skillful landscape gardener, as time has abundantly proved. In area it equaled Hyde Park and Kensington Gardens united, and was seven times larger than all the public parks and squares of New York combined. As its name indicated, it was central in location; lying at an equal distance from the East and North Rivers and the Battery and Kingsbridge, the new park embraced ground rich in historic association—McGowan's Pass, the scene of the battle of Harlem Plains, the old Boston post road of the early Dutch settlers, and the fortifications of the War of 1812. Yet fully as we realize the utility of our beautiful Central Park at this day, and disposed as we are to increase rather than lessen it, the citizens of that time were not equally alive to its importance; bitter complaints were made of the exorbitant sum expended in the purchase of such an unnecessary extent of land, and such earnest endeavors were made to narrow its limits, that the Common Council at last passed a resolution to petition the Legislature to reduce the size of the new park. This resolution, happily, was vetoed by the mayor.

On the 19th of May, 1856, the Common Council adopted an ordinance creating the Mayor and Street Commissioner, Commissioners of the Central Park. The latter immediately invited a number of private citizens, distinguished for their taste and knowledge, to attend the meetings, and form a Consulting Board. In pursu-



View in the Central Park

W. ORR—Del.





ance with this invitation the Consulting Board met, for the first time, on the 29th of May, 1856, and elected Washington Irving president. Under the united superintendence of these bodies, preliminary surveys were made, and a plan offered by Lieutenant Viele, under whose superintendence the survey had been made, was adopted, though nothing further was done for the want of the necessary appropriations. To meet this exigency, on the 17th of April, 1857, the control of the Park was placed by the Legislature in the hands of a Board of Commissioners, not to exceed eleven in number, who were to hold office for five years, and who were empowered to expend the moneys to be raised by the issue of stock by the Common Council. Upon consideration, the plan already adopted was abandoned by the new Commissioners, who advertised for fresh plans, and in April, 1858, adopted that of Messrs. Olmstead and Vaux, and at once commenced its execution. On the 2d of April, 1859, an act was passed by the Legislature extending the Northern boundary of the Park to One Hundred and Tenth street, and thus including a high hill west of McGowan's Pass, which embraces a view of the whole island. In 1864, the Park was again enlarged by the annexation of Manhattan Square, a rugged tract of unimproved ground, covering a space of  $19\frac{45}{100}$  acres, and bounded by Seventy-seventh and Eighty-first streets, and Eighth and Ninth Avenues. The whole area of the Park was thus increased to  $862\frac{59}{100}$  acres. The largest of the London parks has but 403 acres.

Under the skillful and judicious management of the Board of Commissioners, to whom too much praise cannot be awarded, the admirable plan of Messrs. Olmstead

and Vaux was executed as rapidly as possible, and the barren waste transformed into pleasure grounds almost unrivaled in natural and artistic beauty, and which are of inestimable value to the citizens of New York. Free alike to all classes, with no restriction save that of good conduct, the poor man, who has no other escape from brick walls, here finds a place where he can drink health and life from the pure breezes in the moments snatched from labor, and enjoy the beauties about him far more than his richer brethren who whirl past him in gilded carriages along the gay drive ; for pedestrians alone can appreciate the Park to the full ; the shaded by-paths, sheltered nooks, and fascinating views of the romantic Ramble are accessible to them alone ; and the riders only obtain a bird's-eye view of the place, without ever penetrating to its inner arcana.

At present, the Park is well-nigh completed, as far as the general design is concerned. Time will heighten its beauties and complete its collections. The cost to the city, thus far, has been over \$15,000,000, and never was money more judiciously expended. By successive acts of the Legislature, the entire control of the reservoirs, and the laying out and grading of the adjacent streets, has been given to the Park Commissioners, who are thus enabled to carry out their plans untrammelled. The Park, itself, is too well known to require more than the briefest description at our hands ; we will only attempt to specify a few general features. It is virtually divided into two parks, an upper and a lower, by the old Croton reservoir, covering an area of thirty acres in the centre of the grounds, and the new reservoir, just above the latter, which comprises one hundred and six





Skating Scene in the Central Park.



acres. The lower park is most highly finished ; here are found the arsenal, now used as a museum ; the lake, covered by gondolas and filled with swans in summer, and the resort of merry skaters in winter ; the mall, the water-terrace and fountain, the magnificent bridges, with their exquisite sculpture, the shaven lawns, the music-pavilion, and the bewildering Ramble, with its cave. The upper park is wilder, and more in the state of nature : here are the lofty hill of which we have spoken, the fortifications and block-house of 1812 ; Harlem Lake, and two smaller sheets of water ; Mount St. Vincent, which was occupied, for more than three years, as a soldiers' hospital during the late war ; the rugged cliffs, and the broad meadows. At the west, on Manhattan Square, is the Museum of Natural History ; at the east, the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The number of animals, both foreign and domestic, that are already in the Park, is considerable ; stately Cape buffaloes, timid deer, and placid southdown sheep, with abundance of rabbits and squirrels, are met in the grounds. A fine collection of birds and animals form the nucleus of the proposed zoological gardens. Statues, also, are in process of erection. Choice shrubs and flowers everywhere adorn the grounds, through which wind over ten miles of carriage-road and thirty miles of walks ; in short, everything gives promise that the Central Park will, in time, be unsurpassed by any public park in existence.

On the 7th of April, 1856, considerable interest was awakened by the launch of the *Adriatic*, the largest steamship as yet afloat. In the same spring, a well-known landmark passed away from New York ; namely, the Brick Church in Beekman street, which, erected in



1767-68, on the edge of the Swamp, or what was formerly a portion of the estate of Jacob Leisler, had reared its tall spire there for nearly a century. On the 25th of May, 1856, service was held for the last time in the old church, which was soon afterwards replaced by the Times Building, one of the finest structures in the city.

The great popular excitement of the spring of 1856 was the assault on Senator Sumner by Preston Brooks, which roused the indignation of the whole North, and created great excitement in New York City. This excitement found expression in an immense mass meeting at the Broadway Tabernacle, the largest ever held in that well-known hall. George Griswold was chosen president, and a large number of the most influential citizens acted as vice-presidents. Speeches were made and resolutions adopted expressive of sympathy for Mr. Sumner, and indignation for the outrage which he had suffered.

In July, 1856, the first statue of modern New York was set up; namely, the equestrian statue of Washington, at the lower end of Union Square. Since the demolition of the Pitt statue in Wall street and the statue of George III. on the Bowling Green, the public places of the city had remained unadorned by works of art. A resolution was adopted by the Common Council in the same month, authorizing the erection of a monument to General Worth, whose remains had been brought from San Antonio at the close of the summer of 1855, by the city, and deposited in Greenwood Cemetery. The triangle formed by the intersection of Fifth Avenue and Broadway, west of Madison Square, was

selected as the site of the monument. Even at that late date, this location was regarded as far out of town, almost beyond the inhabited part of the city.

On the 31st of July, 1856, the ground was broken for the construction of the Ridgewood Water Works, designed to supply the city of Brooklyn with water. The sources of supply were a number of small lakes, nineteen miles distant, the chief reservoir being in the vicinity of Cypress Hill Cemetery, six miles from Brooklyn. This great public work was completed within three years. The inauguration of the Ridgewood Water Works was celebrated in an imposing manner on the 28th of April, 1859. The reservoir covered twenty-seven acres, and contained 173,000,000 gallons of water.

The year 1857 was a disastrous one to New York; a year of mob rule; beginning with civil strife and ending with financial ruin. Many defects in the city charter called for remedy, and the growing abuses in the municipal government of New York, proceeding from the ignorant majority that controlled the elections, seemed to demand that certain powers should be transferred from the keeping of the city to that of the state, which was so deeply interested in the welfare of the great American Metropolis. It began to be more and more realized that there were two peoples in New York, the property owners, or *bona-fide* citizens, who were for the most part respectable, orderly, and law-abiding men; and the poor and illiterate masses, chiefly of foreign birth, who owned scarce a rod of land or a dollar, yet who ruled the city by their votes, and elected to office only such men as would pander to their

vices. Nevertheless, the latter class represented and still represents New York City in the eyes of many ; a most unjust judgment.

In the spring of 1857, the State Legislature passed several bills relating to New York, and amended the charter in several important particulars. The charter and state elections, which had hitherto been held on the same day, were separated ; the first Tuesday in December being fixed as the date of the former. The comptroller, as well as the Corporation Council and mayor, were to be elected by the people. The city was divided into seventeen aldermanic districts, from each of which an alderman was to be elected by the people once in two years. The Board of Councilmen was composed of six members elected annually from each senatorial district, or twenty-four in all. The Alms-house and Fire Departments remained unchanged ; and the superintendence of the Central Park was given to a Board, to be appointed by the State Government. The most important innovation, however, was the transfer of the Police Department from the city to the state. By the Metropolitan Police Act, a police district was created, comprising the counties of New York, Kings, West Chester and Richmond ; and a Board of Commissioners was instituted, to be appointed for five years by the governor and Senate, to have the sole control of the appointment, trial and management of the police force, which was not to outnumber two thousand, and to appoint the chief of police and the minor officers. This Board was composed of five members. The Police Commissioners were to secure the peace and protection of the city, to ensure quiet at the elections, and to



look after the public health. The first members of the Board appointed were Simeon Draper, General James W. Nye and Jacob Chadwell, of New York; James S. T. Stranahan, of Kings County; and James Bowen, of Westchester County; the mayors of New York and Brooklyn being members *ex-officio*.

This was the signal for war. Mayor Wood, who had strenuously opposed the action of the Legislature, announced his determination to test the constitutionality of the law to the uttermost, and to resist its execution; he refused to surrender the police property or to disband the old police; and for some time the city witnessed the curious spectacle of two departments—the Metropolitan Police under the commissioners, and the Municipal Police under the mayor—vying for mastery. After exhausting all the resources of the law to evade obedience to the act, the mayor and municipal government finally caused it to be referred to the Court of Appeals. Before the final decision came, blood was spilled. On the 16th of June, matters were brought to a crisis by the forcible ejection from the City Hall of Daniel D. Conover, who had been appointed street commissioner by Governor King, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the former incumbent. The deputy commissioner meanwhile claimed his right to hold the office, and a third competitor, Charles Devlin, had been appointed by Mayor Wood, who claimed the appointing power. Mr. Conover immediately obtained a warrant from the recorder to arrest the mayor on the charge of inciting a riot, and another from Judge Hoffman for the violence offered him personally, and, armed with these documents, and attended by fifty of

the Metropolitan Police, returned to the City Hall. Captain Walling of the police at first attempted in vain to gain an entrance with one warrant. Mr. Conover followed with the other, but met with no better success. The City Hall was filled with armed policemen, who attacked the new comers, joined by the crowd without. A fierce affray ensued, during which twelve of the policemen were severely wounded. The Seventh Regiment chanced to be passing down Broadway, on its way to take the boat for Boston, whither it had been invited to receive an ovation. It was summoned to the spot, and its presence almost instantly sufficed to quell the riot. Mr. Conover, accompanied by General Sandford, entered the City Hall and served the writ on the mayor, who, seeing further resistance useless, submitted to arrest. The Seventh Regiment resumed its journey ; nevertheless the city continued in a state of intense excitement, and nine regiments were ordered to remain under arms. Their services were not needed, however, and the Metropolitan Police Act being declared constitutional by the Court of Appeals on the first of July, the mayor seemed disposed to submit, and the disturbance was supposed to be ended.

The city, however, had become greatly demoralized by this ferment. Amidst the civil strife of the police, the repression of crime had been neglected. An organized attempt seems to have been made by the ruffians of the city, to take advantage of the prevailing demoralization to institute mob rule, in order to rob and plunder under cover thereof. The national holiday afforded an opportunity for this outbreak. On the evening of the 3d of July, the disturbance commenced

by an altercation between two gangs of rowdies, the one styled the Dead Rabbits or Roach Guard, from the Five Points District, and the other the Atlantic Guard or Bowery Boys, from the Bowery. The next morning the Dead Rabbits attacked their rivals in Bayard street, near the Bowery. The greatest confusion followed; sticks, stones and knives were freely used on both sides, and men, women and children were wounded. A small body of policemen was dispatched to the spot, but it was soon driven off, with several wounded, and the riot went on. The rioters tore up paving stones, and seized drays, trucks and whatever came first to hand, wherewith to erect barricades; and the streets of New York soon resembled those of Paris in insurrection. The greatest consternation and horror prevailed through the city; the Seventh Regiment, which was still in Boston, was summoned home by telegraph, and several regiments of the city militia were called out; but the riot was not quelled until late in the afternoon, when six men had been killed and over a hundred wounded. There was little fighting the next day until about seven in the evening, when a new disturbance broke out in Centre and Anthony streets. The militia were summoned to the spot, and dispersed the crowd. Several regiments were ordered to remain under arms, but no other troubles occurred.

This riot aroused the citizens to the danger of the position, and intensified the prejudice against the Municipal Police, which was accused of abetting the rioters. Vigorous measures were taken to organize the Metropolitan Police and secure its efficiency in spite of the factious resistance which still existed. The rioters were



by no means quieted, however; and on the 13th and 14th of July, another outbreak occurred among the Germans of the Seventeenth Ward, who had hitherto held aloof from the disturbance, which had been almost wholly confined to the Irish. The riot continued for two days, but was finally quelled by the police without the assistance of the militia, who were under arms, awaiting the signal for action. The peace of the city was not again disturbed, and the elements of disorder were gradually restrained.

The scourge of civil war was quickly succeeded by that of financial distress. In the autumn of 1857, a great monetary tempest swept over the United States. For several years, the country had been in the full tide of prosperity. Business was flourishing, commerce prosperous, and credit undisputed both at home and abroad; the granaries were overflowing with the yield of a luxuriant harvest, and everything seemed to prophesy a continued era of prosperity. In the midst of the sunshine, a thunderbolt fell upon the country. The credit system had been expanded to its utmost limits, and the slightest contraction was sufficient to cause the commercial edifice to totter on its foundation. The first blow fell on the 24th of August, 1857, by the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, an institution hitherto regarded as above suspicion, for the enormous sum of seven millions of dollars. This was followed by the suspension of the Philadelphia banks, September 25, 26, succeeded by the general suspension of the banks of Pennsylvania, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Rhode Island. An universal panic was the result; the whole community

seemed paralyzed by an utter lack of confidence ; the credit system fell to the ground, carrying with it the fortunes of half the merchants, and business was prostrated. Failure followed failure. A run upon the banks forced the State Legislature to pass an act, October 13, 14, authorizing a general suspension of specie payment by the banks for one year ; the city banks, however, resumed payment on the 24th of December. The Massachusetts banks suspended payment on the same day. The panic spread through the United States, and thence extended across the ocean, involving the European nations in the general ruin. The manufactories stopped work throughout the country, thus throwing thousands out of employment and reducing them to a state of utter destitution. A state of terrible suffering ensued. Crowds of the unemployed workmen gathered in the Park, clamoring for bread and threatening to procure it at all hazards, while many more, as needy and less demonstrative, perished silently of cold and starvation. For some time, serious danger was apprehended from the rioters, who accused the speculators of being at the root of the evil and threatened to break open the flour and provision stores and distribute the contents among the starving people. Prompt measures were taken by the corporation to alleviate the suffering and provide for the public safety. Many of the unemployed were set to work on the Central Park and other public works, soup-houses were opened throughout the city, and private associations were formed for the relief of the suffering ; but this aid failed to reach all, and many perished from sheer starvation, almost within sight of the plentiful harvests at the West, which lay moldering

in the granaries for the want of money wherewith to pay the cost of their transportation. Money abounded, yet those who had it dared neither trust it with their neighbor, or risk it themselves in any speculative adventure; but, falling into the opposite extreme of distrust, kept their treasure locked up in hard dollars in their cash-boxes as the only safe place of deposit. As spring advanced, business gradually revived, the manufactures slowly commenced work on a diminished scale, the banks resumed payment one by one, and a moderate degree of confidence was restored; yet it was long before business recovered its wonted vitality. The failures during the year numbered 5123, and the liabilities amounted to \$291,750,000.

Various landmarks had been displaced in the course of the year. On the 29th of January, 1857, the remaining portion of the Columbia College grounds, in Park Place, was sold, and the college was removed to Fiftieth street, between Fourth and Fifth Avenues. The fifteen lots of ground on which it stood were purchased for the sum of \$576,350.

On the 31st of January, the city was thrown into a state of unwonted excitement by the murder of Dr. Harvey Burdell, a well known dentist, residing at 31 Bond street, who was found in his room frightfully mangled. Frequent as murders are in a great city like New York, the horror of the event and the peculiarly mysterious circumstances attendant thereon, absorbed the attention of all, and for days and weeks it continued the chief topic of conversation. Mrs. Cunningham, a widow who hired the house of Dr. Burdell, and who claimed to have been privately married to the murdered



man, with two of her lodgers, Messrs. Eckel and Snodgrass, were deeply implicated by circumstances, and were arrested on suspicion ; but nothing was proved ; the parties were all acquitted, and the affair remained enveloped in mystery.

In April, 1857, the city government resolved to remove the hundred thousand bodies that filled the Potter's Field, or pauper burial ground, from the city limits to Ward's Island, where seventy acres had been purchased for the purpose. Previous to 1823, the Washington Parade ground had been devoted to this use, after which the ground now occupied by the distributing reservoir, on the corner of Forty-second street and Fifth Avenue, was taken for a public cemetery. At the expiration of two years, the bodies were removed from both Washington and Reservoir Squares to the new Potter's Field, bounded by Forty-eighth and Fiftieth streets, and Fourth and Lexington Avenues. This site was granted by the city, in the following year, to the State Woman's Hospital, founded in 1857, by Dr. J. Marion Sims, and subsequently conducted by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the grandson of the eminent lawyer of that name, whose monument forms one of the prominent features of St. Paul's Churchyard, and the grand-nephew of the celebrated Irish patriot.

The same year witnessed the demolition of the old Broadway Tabernacle, the spacious hall of which had long been known as the usual scene of the large public assemblies, as well as the centre of congregational worship in the lower part of the city. This building had been erected in 1835-36, by a society formed for the purpose of establishing a free church in that quarter.

The undertaking failed through lack of funds, and the church was sold in 1840. In 1845 it was purchased by the Tabernacle congregation, who continued to meet there, under the charge of the Rev. Joseph P. Thompson, until, April 23, 1857, it was finally closed. A new Tabernacle was erected by the Society on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Thirty-fourth street, which was dedicated on the 24th of April, 1859.

On the first Tuesday in December, 1857, the date fixed by the amended charter for the annual election of municipal officers, Fernando Wood, who was again a candidate for the mayoralty, was defeated by Daniel F. Tiemann, a prominent merchant of the city. The new mayor was duly installed in office on the 1st of January, 1858.

A great revolution followed the stirring scenes of 1857. The next few years were not marked by many events of municipal importance. The destruction of the quarantine buildings by the populace of Staten Island, in July, who were determined that their shores should no longer be appropriated to this purpose, occasioned great excitement, indeed, during the summer of 1858, and gave rise to a controversy which has continued till the present time. During this year the new State Arsenal was erected on the corner of Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fifth street; and the Cooper Institute, built by Peter Cooper at the cost of over \$600,000, for the purpose of furnishing free courses of lectures and other facilities for popular instruction, was thrown open to the public. The School of Design for Women, an admirable institution for the training of women in drawing, painting, wood-engraving, etc., found a home

in this building. On the 15th of August the corner-stone of the new Roman Catholic Cathedral on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Fiftieth street was laid by Archbishop Hughes, in the presence of an immense concourse of people. This structure is in the form of a Latin cross, three hundred and twenty-eight feet long by one hundred and seventy-five feet wide, and is the largest church edifice in America, with a capacity for accommodation not exceeded by any Gothic building in the world. It was consecrated May 25, 1879.

The great fire of the year was the conflagration, before mentioned, of the Crystal Palace, during the fair of the American Institute, which vanished like a dream on the 5th of October, 1858, leaving naught but dust and ashes. On the 13th of February the hospital on Blackwell's Island had been burned, and the physicians, with five hundred patients, had barely escaped with their lives. The hospital was rebuilt in the course of the year. The City Hall also narrowly escaped burning on the occasion of the great cable celebration, of which we shall speak hereafter.

On the 3d of July, 1858, the remains of President Monroe were removed from the cemetery in Second street, where they had long reposed, to Richmond, Virginia, escorted by the Seventh Regiment of New York. The regiment returned bearing the corpse of one of their beloved comrades, Lieutenant Hamilton, a descendant of Alexander Hamilton, who had died on the way, and whose remains were interred in Trinity church-yard.

In the summer of 1860, the Atlantic Garden, at No. 9 Broadway, formerly Burns's Coffee-House, the Faneuil



Hall of New York, was demolished to make room for business, and a warehouse took the place of the ancient Cradle of Liberty.

During the years that intervened between the great financial crisis and the civil war, little occurred of peculiar interest to New York City ; which nevertheless was deeply stirred by national events, the Kansas troubles, the John Brown raid, and the great presidential election of 1860. Fernando Wood resumed the mayoralty at the opening of the latter year, having been elected in December, 1859. Despite the impending storms, the year 1860 seemed especially devoted to festivities. An unusual influx of distinguished personages from abroad visited the city, and were received with lavish hospitality. First came the members of the Japanese Embassy, who reached New York on the 16th of June, 1860. The arrival of these strangers from an almost unknown country excited universal curiosity and interest. They were made the guests of the city during their stay, and entertained with all possible respect. On their arrival at Castle Garden, they were escorted by the National Guard to the Metropolitan Hotel, where preparations had been made for their reception ; at night a grand serenade was given them, and the hotel and surrounding buildings were illuminated in their honor. On the 18th of June a grand ball was given them at Niblo's Theatre. They spent some days in visiting the public institutions, and finally left the city and country on the 1st of July. Their visit was of peculiar significance, as being the first voluntary overture on the part of their hitherto secluded nation to open communication with the rest of the world, and

deserved especial notice from New York, the commercial metropolis of America.

Close in the wake of the Japanese followed another visitor, in the shape of the mammoth ship, the Great Eastern, which had been recently built in England, and which still carries off the palm from all rivals in magnitude. The huge vessel was moored for some weeks in the North River, where it was thrown open to the public, and was visited by thousands.

During the same summer, Prince de Joinville visited New York, as well as Lady Franklin, who came to thank the New Yorkers for the interest and sympathy which they had evinced for her unhappy husband, and the generosity with which they had endeavored to learn his fate. The most important guest of the year, however, was the Prince of Wales, who reached Newfoundland in July, and after making an extended tour through British America and the Western and Southern States, reached New York on the 11th of October, 1860. The visit to the American republic of the heir-apparent to the British throne was regarded as a peculiar mark of respect to the country, and did much to extinguish the feud that had been smoldering among Americans since the Wars of the Revolution and 1812. This feud had come to be a thing of tradition, well-nigh obliterated by time; and the popular manners of the young prince, who travelled under the title of Baron Renfrew, as well as the universal esteem felt for his mother, insured him a hearty welcome. He was met at Castle Garden by the First Division of the New York State Militia, numbering over seven thousand; after reviewing the troops, he was conducted to the City Hall, where he was received

by the mayor and Common Council, and was thence escorted to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, through streets lined with spectators, and gayly decorated with the united British and American flags. It is estimated that over two hundred thousand people participated in the ovation, yet such was the admirable order preserved that not a single disturbance occurred in this immense crowd. The next morning he breakfasted with the mayor, after which he visited several of the public institutions, together with the Central Park, where he planted an oak. On the same night a grand reception and ball were given him at the Academy of Music. On the next night he was entertained by a firemen's torch-light parade, one of the finest displays of the kind ever witnessed in the city. On Sunday he attended Trinity Church. The next morning, he quitted New York, on his way to Boston, where similar demonstrations awaited him. The friendly feeling awakened by the presence of this distinguished guest was hailed as an omen of future cordiality between America and England; this cordiality, however, was soon doomed to be overshadowed by the attitude of the latter in our great national struggle.

The festivities were soon forgotten in the turmoil of the presidential election. New York became the scene of the wildest excitement. Mass meetings of the four parties in the field were held in the public halls, and torch-light processions paraded the streets, with numerous banners and devices. Foremost among the transient associations was the Wide-Awakes, a republican organization, which sprang into existence for the occasion, and which attracted much attention by its originality



The tide of excitement ran high. The democrats were stronger in numbers, and the republicans in wealth and influence. The other two parties, the "Douglas" and "Bell and Everett," were too small to weigh heavily in the scale. Secession was loudly discussed; but was regarded by most as an idle threat, designed for political effect. The Southern students in the Medical College met, indeed, just before the election, and resolved, if the republican party were successful, to withdraw in a body and return to their homes; but they were restrained, and the affair passed over. The election of Mr. Lincoln decided the contest.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

1860—1867.

Accession of Mr. Lincoln—Breaking out of the Insurrection—Peace Measures—Union Square Meeting—March of the New York Regiments—Union Defence Committee—Relief Association—Death of Colonel Ellsworth—War Meetings—Volunteering—Union League Club—Sanitary Commission—Loyal Publication Society—The Draft—The Great Riot—The Sanitary Fair—The Presidential Election in New York—Hotel Burnell—Goldwin Smith—Fall of Richmond—Assassination of President Lincoln—His Obsequies in New York—Paid Fire Department—Death of Preston King—Academy of Design—Burning of Barnum's Museum—Atlantic Telegraph—Board of Health—Cholera in New York—Demolition of St. John's Park and Tammany Hall—Burning of Winter Garden—Conclusion.

WE are not presumptuous enough to undertake to give, in these few pages, a history of New York City during the great civil war. To do justice to this subject would require a volume double the size of the present one; moreover, this epoch is still too near our own to belong to the domain of history. Not till the smoke of battle is cleared away, and the passions and prejudices aroused by this period of bitter contention effaced, can the story of this eventful era be fairly written. He would be cold and unimpassioned indeed that could be an actor in this intense drama and remain sufficiently unmoved thereby to narrate it without laying himself open to the charge of special pleading. The most that we can hope to do, in the brief space allowed us, is to chronicle

some of the prominent events that transpired in our city during this time, and to aid in storing up materials for the future historian.\*

New York City occupied a peculiar position at the outset of the conflict. It cannot be denied that her most fervent wish was peace. By her commercial position, as the great centre of the United States, she had been brought into constant intercourse with the people of the insurgent section, and entertained the most friendly feeling for them as individuals, much as she deprecated their public action. Again, she foresaw that in case of war she would not only lose heavily, but would also be obliged to bear the brunt of battle, and to furnish the money, without which it would be impossible to prosecute the conflict. It was natural, therefore, that her citizens should be unanimous in exhausting their resources to preserve peace, from different motives, it is true. We speak of New York collectively, but it must not be forgotten that there are two New Yorks: Political New York, by which the city is usually judged, and which comprises its so-called rulers; and Civil New York, made up of its native-born citizens, who, outnumbered by a foreign majority, honor the law of majorities, obedience to which they demand from others, pay the taxes that are imposed on them, and hold the wealth which enables the city to sustain its position as the western metropolis. Of these, the

\* In preparing this sketch the author has consulted, besides the journals of the day, Greeley's *American Conflict*, Moore's *Rebellion Record*, Harper's *Pictorial History of the Rebellion*, Lossing's *Civil War in America*, and the *American Annual Cyclopædia*, Mayor Opdyke's official documents, Pollard's *Lost Cause*, and various other current publications.



dominant party, headed by Mayor Wood, desired peace at any price ; another large class, composed chiefly of the men of wealth, were willing to make all possible concessions to avoid the war, of which they knew that they must pay the cost ; and a third party believed that compromises enough had been made, and that the country should brave the issue. Yet all met on the common ground of the preservation of the Union. Scarcely the shadow of a disposition was anywhere manifested to interfere with the existing institutions of the South, which many deplored, but which most regarded as a painful necessity, beyond the reach of outside interference. Therefore, when, after Mr. Lincoln's election, menacing events followed thick and fast, New York at first put forth her efforts to avert the tempest. Floyd's huge robbery, the withdrawal of the South Carolina senators, the secession of their state, followed by that of others, and the seizure of the public property, caused universal consternation ; yet men still clung to the belief that the difficulty would be settled. The attempted secession of the states, indeed, had drawn in a few of the ultra members of the democratic party, among whom was the mayor, who, on the 7th of January, 1861, sent a message to the Common Council setting forth the advantages that would accrue to New York should she also secede from the Union and become a free city. It is just to say, however, that he did not formally recommend secession. The suggestion was scouted with indignation ; why, it was asked, should not Manhattanville, Yorkville, and Harlem secede in turn, and where would be the end ? Four days after, on the 11th of January, the State Legislature passed a

series of resolutions, tendering to the President "whatever aid in men and money might be required to enable him to enforce the laws and uphold the authority of the Federal Government," and on the 15th inst. Major-General Sandford offered the services of the whole First Division of the Militia of New York in support of the United States authority.

New York City, nevertheless, determined to make one more effort to avert the horrors of war. A memorial in favor of compromise measures was circulated. On the 18th of January a large meeting of merchants was held at the Chamber of Commerce, where a similar memorial was adopted, which was sent to Washington in February, with forty thousand names appended. On the 28th of January an immense Union meeting was held at the Cooper Institute, when it was resolved to send three commissioners to the conventions of the people of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, to confer with the delegates of these states, assembled in convention, in regard to the measures best calculated to restore the peace and integrity of the Union. The Crittenden Compromise was suggested in these meetings as a basis of pacification.

On the 22d of January the chief of the Metropolitan Police, John A. Kennedy, seized thirty-eight cases of muskets which were about to be shipped for Georgia, and deposited them in the State Arsenal of the city. Information of the seizure was at once sent to the consignees, who appealed to Governor Brown, of Georgia. Mr. Toombs, who was at Milledgeville, at once dispatched a menacing telegram to Mayor Wood, demand-

ing the cause of this act. The mayor apologized in reply, protesting that he had no authority over the police. Governor Brown retaliated by seizing two brigs, two barks, and a schooner, which were lying in the harbor, and sent word that they would be held till the arms were released. Governor Morgan referred the owners to the United States Courts for redress. They were soon informed, however, that the arms had been surrendered to their agent, G. B. Lamar, whereupon Governor Brown released the vessels, which quickly left the harbor. Some delay, nevertheless, having arisen in the release of the arms, the governor seized three other vessels, all owned in New York, and held them till the arms were actually in the possession of the claimants. These arms were said to belong in part to private individuals, and in part to the State of Alabama, and were supposed to be designed for the use of the insurgent government.

The end of this phase of the contest soon came. State after state seceded, fortress after fortress was seized, armies were formed throughout the South, and a Provisional Government was organized at Montgomery, which, February 8th, adopted a Constitution for the Confederate States of America, and elected Jefferson Davis, President, and Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President. Meanwhile Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States, at Washington, March 4, 1861. At length the blow fell. Fort Sumter, where Major Anderson and his little band had been for months beleaguered by the Confederate forces under General Beauregard, was evacuated on the 14th of April. It was owing to the gallantry of a sergeant of



the New York police force, Peter Hart, who had formerly served with Major Anderson in Mexico, that the American flag remained unfurled to the end over the fort. When, in the thickest of the fight, the flag was finally shot down, after having been hit nine times, Hart volunteered to raise it again, and, climbing a temporary staff amidst a blinding hail of shot and shell, nailed the torn banner fast, and descended in safety. Sergeant Jasper had immortalized himself of old by a similar act of daring, close by, at Fort Moultrie. Among the historic memories of the time, it is worthy of record that a New Yorker saved the Stars and Stripes from falling in the first historic battle of the great war, as a New Yorker, Lieutenant De Peyster, was the first to raise them anew over the Confederate Capital.

The uprising that followed the fall of Fort Sumter was unparalleled. The peaceful attitude of New York had led it to be supposed that she would cast her fortunes with the South, or at all events stand aloof from the contest. Never was there a greater mistake. The crisis come, she nerved her energies to meet it, and from that hour to the close of the struggle, her citizens never faltered or withheld their blood and treasure. Those who had been most anxious for peace now vied with each other in asserting their determination to preserve the Union, and the mayor, who just before had urged the advantages of secession, issued a proclamation calling on all the citizens to unite in defence of the country. On the day after the evacuation of Fort Sumter, President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand men, to serve for three months, the quota for New York being thirteen thousand. The

New York Legislature instantly responded by passing an act authorizing the enlistment of thirty thousand men, for two years instead of three months, and appropriating three million dollars for the war. The State, nevertheless, like the country, was almost defenceless; its arms had rusted in the half a century of peace that had gone by, and of its twenty thousand regular militia, only eight thousand had muskets or rifles fit for service, while its whole supply of field-pieces amounted to but one hundred and fifty. Steps were taken to supply the deficiency; the regiments prepared to march; the recruiting offices that were everywhere opened were seen thronged with thousands eager to enlist, and those were envied who were first accepted. And these volunteers did not come from the dregs of the people; the majority were young men of family and fortune, who held it an honor to serve as private soldiers in their country's cause. The Seventh Regiment, which was foremost in the field, is well-known as being composed of the best citizens of New York, and many other of the militia regiments claimed to be its rivals. Besides the regular militia, numerous volunteer organizations were formed under different names. The national flag was everywhere displayed, on public buildings and private residences, steamboats and railroad cars. The veteran General, Winfield Scott, was Commander-in-chief of the United States Army.

The enthusiasm was general throughout the Northern States, which vied with each other in sending troops to the defense of the menaced National Capitol. Five Pennsylvania companies, which had been hurried forward by Governor Curtin from the interior of the State

without waiting to organize them into a regiment, were the first to reach the spot. On the 18th of April the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment marched through New York on its way to Washington, and received a most enthusiastic welcome. "Through New York the march was triumphal," wrote Governor Andrew. Yet it had been predicted that the regiment would be attacked on its way through the city.

On the next day, the 19th, New York's favorite regiment, the Seventh, under the command of Colonel Marshall Lefferts, which had been drilling night and day, was to set out for Washington. At an early hour the sidewalks were densely thronged, and the streets seemed literally lined with banners. The moment was a thrilling one; the city, that had known nought but peace within the memory of the present generation, was on the brink of a terrible war with those whom she had held as brethren, and was about to send forth her cherished sons to encounter its nameless perils. It was the first plunge; and never, perhaps, did the emotions of the ensuing terrible years equal the intensity of that moment. The regiment formed in Lafayette Place in front of the Astor Library, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The surrounding windows, housetops, and even trees, were thronged with enthusiastic spectators. Just before they were ready to move, intelligence was received that three of their guests of the day before had been massacred on their way through Baltimore. An electric thrill ran through the crowd and steeled all hearts with a determination to avenge their deaths. Forty-eight rounds of ball cartridge were served out to the members of the regiment, and having formed in line.



they marched through Fourth street to Broadway, down this great thoroughfare to Cortlandt street, and thence to Jersey City Ferry, and crossing the river, commenced their journey to Washington. Never had New York seemed gayer than on this sunny day, with hundreds of thousands of bright colored flags floating in the breeze, and hundreds of thousands of people assembled to take farewell of their departing brethren. The brilliant display that had lately greeted the Japanese Embassy and the Prince of Wales paled before this demonstration; but the holiday garb was only external, and all hearts were filled with sadness at the fratricidal war, the first scene of which was passing before them. Here we leave the gallant Seventh, the story of whose six days' march to the National Capitol has been so graphically described by one who speedily gave his life in defense of his country.

On the same day a meeting of the merchants of New York was held at the Chamber of Commerce, at which resolutions indorsing the action of the Government, and urging a blockade of all the Southern ports, were unanimously adopted, and a large committee of prominent capitalists was appointed to make arrangements for placing the nine million dollars still untaken of the Government loan. The announcement having been made that several of the regiments preparing to leave were embarrassed for want of funds, a collection was instantly taken up, and twenty-one thousand dollars were raised in ten minutes.

On the evening of the day that President Lincoln had issued his call for troops, several gentlemen had met at the house of R. H. McCurdy, and resolved on

measures for the support of the government. They determined to call a public meeting of all parties to aid in sustaining the government in this crisis, and appointed a committee, consisting of a large number of influential citizens, to make the necessary arrangements. The members of this committee were notified of their appointment the next day, by a circular, and requested to meet at the Chamber of Commerce, on the corner of William and Cedar streets. A call was at once issued for a great mass meeting at Union Square, to be composed of men of all parties who were desirous of preserving the Union.

The great Union Square meeting will long be remembered. For the time, as complete unanimity of sentiment prevailed as could ever be achieved among a million of people. All differences of opinion seemed hushed for the time, and the only thought was the common safety. The largest concourse of people that had ever been witnessed in New York assembled on the afternoon of the 20th of April, in Union Square. All the places of business in the city were closed. Four stands had been erected for the speakers; but these proved insufficient, and those who were unable to obtain a place within hearing of the principal speakers, were addressed from the balconies, and even from the roofs of the houses. More than a hundred thousand persons were supposed to have been present. Major Anderson and his officers were there, with the tattered flag of Sumter. The leaders of all parties joined in the demonstration; democrats and republicans, conservatives and radicals, all were united in the first flush of excitement. The four

presidents of the meeting were, John A. Dix, Ex-Governor Fish, Ex-Mayor Havemeyer, and Moses H. Grinnell. Among the numerous speakers were Daniel S. Dickinson, Robert J. Walker, David S. Coddington, Professor Mitchell and Colonel Baker, both of whom were doomed to die in defence of their principles, and Mayor Wood, who, on his own responsibility, pledged the corporation of New York to fit out the brigade which Colonel Baker had offered to raise. The speeches were of the most stirring character, a list of patriotic resolutions was adopted, and a Committee of Safety was appointed, composed of some of the most distinguished men of New York, without reference to party, and charged to represent the citizens in the collection of funds and the transaction of such other business in aid of the movements of the government as the public interest might require. The Committee organized that evening under the name of the Union Defence Committee. It was composed of the following citizens:— John A. Dix, chairman; Simeon Draper, vice-chairman; William M. Evarts, secretary; Theodore Dehon, treasurer; Moses Taylor, Richard M. Blatchford, Edwards Pierrepont, Alexander T. Stewart, Samuel Sloane, John Jacob Astor, Jr., John J. Cisco, James S. Wadsworth, Isaac Bell, James Boorman, Charles H. Marshall, Robert H. McCurdy, Moses H. Grinnell, Royal Phelps, William E. Dodge, Greene C. Bronson, Hamilton Fish, William F. Havemeyer, Charles H. Russell, James T. Brady, Rudolph A. Witthaus, Abiel A. Low, Prosper M. Wetmore, A. C. Richards, and the mayor, comptroller and presidents of the two Boards of the Common Council of the City of New York. The Committee had



rooms at No. 30 Pine street, open during the day, and at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, open in the evening.

It was not enough to provide men ; money also was needed. On the 22d of April the Common Council, by the recommendation of the mayor, passed an ordinance authorizing a loan of one million of dollars for the defence of the Union, in pursuance of which Union Defence Fund Bonds, payable May 1, 1862, were issued. On the same day a meeting of the whole New York Bar was held, at which twenty-five thousand dollars were contributed for the same purpose. A loan of five hundred thousand dollars in aid of the families of volunteers, payable July 1, 1862, was subsequently made by the Common Council. This was but a beginning. It is estimated that in the course of three months, New York furnished one hundred and fifty millions to the government ; and at the close of the year the secretary of the treasury reported that, out of the two hundred and sixty million dollars borrowed by the government, New York had furnished two hundred and ten millions. Boston had reduced the quota of her advance from thirty to twenty per cent, while New York took not only her own, but what Boston rejected. Without this aid, the government would have been forced, through lack of means, to consent to the dissolution of the Union.

New York now presented the aspect of a military city. The City Hall Park was filled with barracks for the accommodation of the Northern and Eastern troops that passed through the city on their way to the seat of war. Sunday was destined to be marked by great events throughout the conflict, but of all the

memorable Sundays during these four years, none perhaps was more impressive than the day after the great Union Square meeting. Sermons appropriate to the occasion were preached everywhere, and contributions were taken up to aid in fitting out regiments. In many of the churches, the flag was displayed, and the *Star-Spangled Banner* sung by the congregation after the service. The streets were thronged with an immense crowd assembled to witness the departure of the three regiments—the Sixth, Colonel Pinckney, the Twelfth, Colonel Butterfield, and the Seventy-first, Colonel Vosburgh, that were to set out for Washington that afternoon. Bells were rung, cannon fired, and flags displayed on all the shipping and public buildings. The popular enthusiasm seemed unbounded. During the few remaining days of the memorable month of April, the troops already mentioned were followed by the Eighth Regiment, Colonel Lyons; the Thirteenth, Colonel Smith; the Fifth, Colonel Schwarzwaelder; the Second, Colonel Tompkins; the Sixty-ninth, Colonel Corcoran; the Ninth, Colonel Stiles; and the Twenty-fifth, Colonel Bryan.\*

On the 22d of April General Wool, the commander

\* The New York City militia regiments which served for three months, at the expiration of which time they returned and were discharged, were as follows:

Regiments.	Commanders.	Left New York.	No. of Men.
Second . . . . .	Col. Geo. W. Tompkins . .	April 28	500
Fifth . . . . .	" C. Schwarzwaelder . .	" 27	600
Sixth . . . . .	" Jos. C. Pinckney . .	" 21	550
Seventh . . . . .	" Marshall Lefferts . .	" 19	1,050
Eighth . . . . .	" George Lyons . .	" 23	900
Ninth . . . . .	" John W. Stiles . .	" 30	800
Twelfth . . . . .	" Daniel Butterfield . .	" 21	900
Sixty-ninth . . . . .	" Michael Corcoran . .	" 29	1,050
Seventy-first . . . . .	" A. S. Vosburgh . .	" 21	950

of the Eastern Department, which comprised all the country north of the Potomac and east of the Mississippi River, arrived in New York and fixed his quarters at the St. Nicholas Hotel. He had been preceded by Governor Morgan, who, having received orders from Washington to send on troops as fast as possible, had accepted the offer of Colonel Ellsworth's regiment of Zouaves, and commanded that rations and transportation should be furnished to all soldiers ordered to Washington. A complication arose between these officials in relation to the Zouave regiment, which was full, and which the governor wished to reduce to seventy-seven men per company. None would go without the whole, and General Wool took the responsibility of ordering them forward at once. By way of reproof for his somewhat irregular promptness, he was ordered to "try to recover his health," which never was better; but the action was subsequently reconsidered, and he was restored to active service. The Union Defence Committee aided him in hastening troops to the seat of war. The twenty-one regiments offered by the State over and above its quota had been accepted, and on the 24th of April Geo. Schuyler left for Europe with five hundred thousand dollars wherewith to purchase arms.

In the meantime, the women of the city set to work with one accord to prepare means for softening the labors of the soldiers in the field, and alleviating the sufferings of the sick and wounded. On the 25th of April a number of ladies met at a private house and formed the plan of a Central Relief Association. A committee was appointed, with instructions to call a meeting of the women of New York at Cooper Institute, on the



morning of the 29th inst., to concert measures for the relief of the sick and wounded. The largest gathering of women ever seen in the city responded to the appeal. David Dudley Field was chosen president, and the meeting was addressed by the Rev. Henry W. Bellows, Hannibal Hamlin, the Vice-President of the United States, and others. An organization was effected, with Dr. Valentine Mott as president; Dr. Bellows, vice-president; G. F. Allen, secretary; and Howard Potter, treasurer; and the corner-stone was thus laid of that noble institution, the United States Sanitary Commission, which followed the army everywhere, and assuaged the sufferings caused by war. Thousands of women, and even children, devoted themselves to scraping lint, knitting socks, making garments, and preparing delicacies for the sick and wounded whom they saw in perspective; and scores of the most tenderly reared and delicate young ladies volunteered their services as hospital nurses, and went into training under the directions of the city physicians. The month of April, 1861, was a sublime era in the annals of New York, as in those of the whole country. Minor differences were forgotten, and, for the moment, all hearts in the great city seemed to beat in unison.

The work of forwarding troops went on, and by the 25th of May the authorized thirty thousand men had been raised by the State, and by the 12th of July they had been organized into thirty-eight regiments, officered, and despatched to the seat of war. Ten regiments were accepted in addition from the Union Defence Committee, in response to a call made by the President on the 4th of May for volunteers, and by the 1st of July the State

of New York had nearly forty-seven thousand troops in the field ; consisting of three months' militia, three years' militia, two years' volunteers, and three years' volunteers. Of these, the Eleventh, New York Zouaves, Colonel Ellsworth, the first volunteer regiment in the field ; the Twenty-Eighth, Colonel Bennett ; and the Fourteenth, Colonel Wood, left New York City in May, followed in June by the Eighth, Colonel Blenker ; the Tenth, Colonel McChesney ; the Garibaldi Guard, Colonel D'Utassy ; the Twelfth, Colonel Quincy ; the Thirteenth, Colonel Walrath ; the Ninth, Colonel Hawkins ; the Sixth, Colonel Wilson ; the Fourteenth, Colonel McQuade ; the Thirty-Eighth, Colonel Hobart ; the Eighteenth, Colonel Jackson ; the Seventeenth, Colonel Lansing ; the Thirty-seventh, Colonel McCunn ; and the Thirty-first, Colonel Pratt, of the volunteers ; and the Seventy-ninth, Colonel Cameron ; the Nineteenth, Colonel Clark ; Company K., Ninth New York, Captain Bunting ; the Twenty-first, Colonel Rogers ; the Twenty-sixth, Colonel Christin ; the Twenty-ninth, Colonel Von Steinwehr ; the Twenty-eighth, Colonel Donnelly ; the First, Colonel Montgomery ; the Sixteenth, Colonel Davies ; and the Thirtieth, Colonel Matheson, of the New York State troops. Money was poured out with a lavish hand ; churches, associations, and individuals liberally contributing everywhere to the outfit of the troops.

On the 8th of May General John A. Dix was appointed Major-General of New York, and on the 15th of May, the other Major-Generalship was bestowed on James S. Wadsworth, who afterwards fell in the battle of the Wilderness.

Time forbids us to follow the soldiers through their wanderings; it suffices to say that there was not a land engagement in 1861, east of the Alleghanies and south of Washington, in which the brave New York soldiers did not participate. The first flag taken from the insurgents was the trophy of two New Yorkers, William McSpedon, of New York City, and Samuel Smith, of Queens County, Long Island, who, spying from Washington a Confederate flag flying in Alexandria, went over and captured it. On the next day, another New Yorker, Colonel Ellsworth, the commander of the first volunteer regiment that marched from New York, fell while attempting to haul down the stars and bars. He was the first officer that had fallen in the struggle, and the first man, in fact, in the campaign. His death caused an intense excitement in New York, where he was well known, and where his ability and gallant bearing had inspired great admiration. His body was taken to Washington, where the funeral services were performed at the White House, President Lincoln officiating as chief mourner; it was then brought to New York, where it lay in state for two days at the City Hall, after which it was escorted through the streets by an immense procession to the railroad depot, whence it was taken to Colonel Ellsworth's native place, Mechanicsville, N. Y., for interment. Under the influence of the popular excitement, a regiment was immediately formed, under the name of the Ellsworth Avengers.

His fate but presaged that of thousands of others. To chronicle the sons of New York who fell in the sanguinary conflict would far transcend the limits of this brief sketch. The disastrous battle of Bull Run was



especially fatal to the New York troops, many of whom were killed or made prisoners, among others, Colonels Corcoran and Wood, who were held as hostages for the crew of a privateer imprisoned by the United States government on a charge of piracy. Immediately after this disaster, without waiting for additional authority from the Legislature, Governor Morgan issued a proclamation calling for twenty-five thousand troops to serve for three years. On the 1st of October the quota of the State was raised to one hundred thousand, and on the 1st of November to one hundred and twenty thousand men.

In the December election of 1861 George Opdyke, a New York merchant of earnest patriotism and untiring energy, was chosen mayor. This was a fortunate choice, which secured to the city, during the two most critical years of the war, the services of a loyal and efficient chief magistrate. Time forbids us to dilate on the events of the year farther than to say that, in spite of the Bull Run disaster, the result had been favorable to the Federal forces; the Border States having been secured to the Union, the insurgents driven out of Western Virginia, the blockade maintained, and many important naval advantages won. During the year 1861 New York City had put into the field over sixty thousand volunteers, exclusive of militia; and heavily as she had suffered from the loss of her Southern debts, had loaned to the general government more than one hundred million dollars.

The campaign of 1862 opened brilliantly. Signal victories followed each other for month after month: in the West the fall of Forts Donelson and Henry, Nash-

ville, Memphis and Corinth, and the battle of Pittsburg Landing ; on the coast, the successful expedition of Burnside ; and at the South, the capture of New Orleans, inspired the public with a belief that the war was fast advancing to a happy termination. Under the lead of her patriotic mayor, New York continued her contributions of men and money without stint, and by repeated demonstrations manifested her fidelity to the Union cause. On the 14th of February, 1862, Mayor Opdyke issued a proclamation of congratulation on General Burnside's victory at Roanoke Island, and the other triumphs of the Union arms, and recommended that on the following day a hundred guns should be fired from the Battery and Madison Square, and the national flag displayed on the public and private buildings. In accordance with the spirit of the times, the 22d of February was celebrated with unusual solemnity, and a mass meeting was held at the Cooper Institute.

On the 11th of April the mayor also issued a proclamation of thanksgiving for the victory at Pittsburg Landing. Meanwhile the city exerted itself to aid the sick and wounded, and to provide for the families of the volunteers. An appropriation was made for a company of loyal refugees from Florida, who had been driven from their homes and reduced to utter destitution. On the 2d of May, 1862, a Home for Sick and Wounded Soldiers, capable of accommodating four or five hundred patients, was opened by an association of ladies, headed by Mrs. Valentine Mott, in the building on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Fifty-first street, erected a few years before for an Infants' Home. Other similar institutions were opened ; among others

Mount St. Vincent, in the Central Park. On the 18th of June the Common Council passed an ordinance appropriating five hundred thousand dollars for the relief of the families of volunteers.

After half a year of uninterrupted victory, the season of reverses began. General McClellan's campaign against Richmond, at the head of the Grand Army of the Potomac, from which so much had been expected, proved a failure, and the country was overshadowed with gloom. At this juncture, the Chamber of Commerce met on the 7th of July, and passed an unanimous resolution that a committee of five should be appointed, to meet similar committees from the Union Defence Committee and other loyal organizations, for the purpose of devising measures to sustain the National Government. This resolution was transmitted to the Common Council by Mayor Opdyke, with the recommendation that it should also pledge the people of the metropolis to the support of the government in the prosecution of the war and the maintenance of the national honor, and that a public meeting should be called, without distinction of party, to express the undiminished confidence of the citizens in the justice of their cause, and their inflexible purpose to maintain it to the end, and to proffer to the government all the aid it might need, to the extent of their resources.

In August, General Corcoran was released from his thirteen months' imprisonment by the Richmond authorities, and was received with great enthusiasm, on the 22d of August, at Castle Garden, where he was met by the municipal authorities and addressed by the mayor. The rank of brigadier-general had been con-



ferred on him by President Lincoln, in appreciation of his valor and sufferings. On the 27th inst. a great war-meeting was held in the City Hall Park, which was thronged to overflowing. Speeches were made by Mayor Opdyke, General Corcoran, and others, and it was resolved, as far as practicable, to close all places of business at 3 P. M. until the 13th of the ensuing September, in order to enable loyal citizens to carry forward volunteering, and to perfect themselves in military drill. To further this work, the Common Council passed an ordinance, which was approved by the mayor, offering fifty dollars bounty to each volunteer.\*

This was an exciting epoch of the war. General Pope had concentrated a large force about Washington, and a decisive engagement was hourly expected. The crisis came; and on the 30th of August the second disastrous battle of Bull Run was fought, followed shortly after by the Confederate advance into Maryland. The battles of South Mountain and Antietam repelled the invaders, and another campaign against Richmond was undertaken, again without success. The battle of Fredericksburg closed the year disastrously. Yet, if less had been gained than the public had hoped,

\* The following New York City Militia Regiments served for three months in 1862. See Report of County Volunteer Committee.

Regiments.	Commanders.	Left New York	No. of Men.
Seventh . . . . .	Col. Marshall Lefferts . . .	May 26	700
Eighth . . . . .	" J. M. Varian . . . . .	" 29	820
Eleventh . . . . .	" Joachim Maidhoff . . . .	" 28	630
Twelfth . . . . .	" Wm. G. Ward . . . . .	June 6	805
Thirty-seventh . . . .	" Chas. Roome . . . . .	May 29	600
Sixty-ninth . . . . .	" James Bagley . . . . .	" 30	1,000
Seventy-first . . . . .	" Henry P. Martin . . . .	" 28	830
			5,385

little had been lost. The whole coast, from Cape Henry to the Rio Grande, was occupied by the Union forces, with the exception of Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, and Wilmington, and a few unimportant places; and the Northern Army was closing in upon the insurgent territory. During the year, New York City appropriated a million and a half of dollars for the relief of the families of volunteers. It was estimated that during the first two years of the war the people of the city had contributed to its support, in taxes, gratuities and loans to the government, not less than three hundred millions of dollars, and had furnished over eighty thousand volunteers.\*

Yet the great metropolis did not flag beneath this heavy burden, but bore the load cheerfully and without complaint; and on viewing the sacrifices which she readily imposed on herself—heavier, far, than were endured by any other city in the Union—we marvel that any one should dare to impugn her loyalty, or to judge her by the irresponsible masses that too often rule her elections.

The year 1863 was the turning-point of the conflict. and also the most eventful, if we except the brilliant succession of victories which marked its termination. The season opened gloomily; although the area of the rebellion had been reduced, its spirit seemed more defiant than ever. The first great event of the year was the emancipation proclamation, which took effect on the 1st of January, and virtually blotted slavery from the soil of the republic. Some believed, and others doubted, in the efficacy of this act, which was not

\* See Mayor Opdyke's Annual Message, January 1, 1863.

at first followed by any brilliant results. The unanimity which had characterized the conflict in the beginning no longer prevailed ; a large party had been formed in the North which was anxious for peace at any price. This party exerted a powerful influence in New York City, which had become the centre of Southern immigration. It was confidently predicted that this city, the political complexion of which was so strongly democratic, would refuse to assist longer in prosecuting the war, and would openly declare in favor of peace. As the season waned, even the most stout-hearted lost courage, and wavered in their faith of ultimate success. The last State election had resulted in a triumph of the democratic party, and the governor was notoriously opposed to the war. Under these influences, a great mass meeting was held in New York, on the 3d of June, consisting of deputies from all parts of the State, where resolutions were passed denouncing the administration, and counselling compromises in order to obtain peace. This was not, however, the prevailing spirit among the citizens, who, in contradistinction, held war meetings, formed patriotic organizations, and left nothing undone to support the administration. Foremost among these was the Union League Club, which was formed on the broad basis of unqualified loyalty to the government of the country, and unswerving support of its efforts for the suppression of the rebellion, and which embraced in its ranks almost every prominent loyalist in the city. The history of the Union League Club is the history of New York patriotism. We shall have occasion to recur again to this great institution ; it suffices to say here that from its organization in 1863,



to the present time, it has been untiring in its efforts to secure the triumph of the right, and to uproot the causes of strife.

One of the most remarkable outgrowths of the Union League Club was the Loyal Publication Society, which played so important a part in the great struggle, that a sketch of its rise and progress will not be inappropriate in this connection.

As we have already said, the year 1863 opened gloomy and beset with difficulties. It is now an admitted historical fact, that a vast conspiracy—"The "Knights of the Golden Circle"—was laboring in the West to carry the people of that mighty region into the rebellion of the South. In the East a powerful faction poisoned the public mind, not only by the regular action of the press, but also by the working of a society, organized at New York, which, under the euphonious name of "The Society for the Diffusion of Political "Knowledge," preached disloyalty and hostility to all the measures of the government.

It was under these circumstances that William T. Blodgett, one of the most zealous patriots of New York, met at Washington, in the beginning of February, the secretaries of war and of the navy, the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton and the Hon. Gideon Welles, as well as the speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon. Schuyler Colfax. These gentlemen consulted about the means of counteracting the efforts made by the Northern allies of the Southern government. Immediately after his return to New York, Mr. Blodgett invited a number of loyal and devoted citizens to a consultation about the organization of a society such as

had been suggested in the interview which had taken place at Washington. This initiatory step speedily led to the wished-for result. On the evening of the 14th of February, 1863, at a meeting held at the house of Charles Butler, the *Loyal Publication Society* was organized.

Charles King was unanimously elected permanent president, and John Austin Stevens, Jr., permanent secretary.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted as the fundamental law :

“ *Resolved*, That the object of this organization is  
“ and shall be confined to the distribution of journals and  
“ documents of unquestionable and unconditional loyalty  
“ throughout the United States, and particularly in the  
“ armies now engaged in the suppression of the rebellion,  
“ and to counteract, as far as practicable, the efforts now  
“ being made by the enemies of the government and the  
“ advocates of a disgraceful *Peace*, to circulate journals  
“ and documents of a disloyal character.”

Eighty prominent citizens subscribed for the necessary funds, and the Society at once began its patriotic work. The number of subscribers rapidly increased to 171, and the money contributed in the second year amounted to \$11,620.94.

The Society held its first anniversary meeting on February 13, 1864. Mr. King resigned as president on account of continued ill-health, and Dr. Francis Lieber was unanimously elected in his place. Mr. John Austin Stevens had tendered his resignation as permanent secretary, but was unanimously re-elected. Both these gentlemen were continued in their functions until the

final dissolution of the Society. Among the most active members of the Society are to be mentioned Messrs. Morris Ketchum, Charles Butler, George Griswold, Charles H. Marshall, James McKaye, Jackson S. Schultz, C. G. Detmold, T. B. Coddington, LeGrand B. Cannon, George P. Putnam, Wm. P. Blodgett, Sinclair Tousey, George Cabot Ward, T. Butler Wright, Grosvenor Lowrey, Fred. Schutz, W. C. Church and Charles Astor Bristed.

The Society published in the first year 43 pamphlets, containing 720 pages of printed matter. The total number of the documents was 400,000, at a cost of \$10,211.46. The pamphlets published by the Society were distributed in every accessible State. Between the 23d of February and the 4th of April, 1863, there were sent to Washington, for distribution to the Army of the Rappahannock, 36,000 journals and publications. Mr. Robert Dale Owen's "Future of the Northwest" was the powerful and effective reply to the insidious efforts of the conspirators of the "Golden Circle."

In April, 1863, a plan was submitted to the Society to aid in the establishment of an "Army and Navy Journal" on principles of unconditional loyalty. Under the auspices of the Loyal Publication Society of New York, aided by that of New England, and the Union League Club of Philadelphia, this well-known and deserving journal was established in New York, under the direction of Captain W. C. Church. Soon there came from many parts of the country the warmest expressions of thanks to the Loyal Publication Society for the great service rendered to the cause of the Union and Liberty.



During the second year the Society published 33 pamphlets, containing 637 pages of printed matter, and distributed them all over the country and to the armies, in 470,000 copies. A great number of them was sent to England, France, and other European countries, where they helped the noble friends of our cause to dispel the clouds of errors, prejudices and evil passions raised by the emissaries of the Confederate government and its aiders and abettors.

On the second anniversary meeting of the Society the following addition was made to the declaration of the object of the Loyal Publication Society :

“By the dissemination, North and South, of well-considered information and principles, to aid the national government in the suppression and final extinction of slavery, by amendment to the Constitution of the United States, to reconcile the master and slave to their new and changed conditions, and so to adjust their interests that peace and harmony may soon prevail, and the nation, repairing the ravages of war, enter upon a new, unbroken career of liberty, justice and prosperity.”

During the third year of its operation the Loyal Publication Society issued only ten pamphlets, but these formed a substantial volume of 526 pages.

The complete overthrow of the rebellion led several of the most active and influential members of the Society to think the mission of that organization fulfilled. Hence at the third anniversary meeting, held on February 27, 1866, at the rooms of the Society, the following motion was made and unanimously adopted :

“In the opinion of this Society, the condition of the

"country no longer calls for the active labors of this  
"Society as an independent organization."

The president, Dr. Francis Lieber, addressed some deeply felt and impressive remarks to the members present, and adjourned the Society *sine die*, with the words: God save the Great Republic! God protect our Country!

The property, stereotype plates and effects of the Loyal Publication Society were transferred to the Union League Club of New York.

The Loyal Publication Society of New York has been the worthy twin-sister of the Sanitary Commission; the latter took care of the bodies of our patriotic soldiers, the former administered salutary remedies to many an infected mind.

The documents published by that patriotic Society are now eagerly sought for by historians and public libraries.\*

\* The following list of the publications issued by the Loyal Publication Society during its existence will indicate its scope and spirit, and is a valuable historical record:

No. 1. Future of the Northwest. By *Robert Dale Owen*.

2. Echo from the Army. Extracts from Letters of Soldiers.

3. Union Mass Meeting, Cooper Institute, March 6, 1863. Speeches of *Brady, Van Buren, &c.*

4. Three Voices: the Soldier, Farmer and Poet.

5. Voices from the Army. Letters and Resolutions of Soldiers.

6. Northern True Men. Addresses of Connecticut Soldiers—Extracts from Richmond Journals.

7. Speech of Major-General Butler. Academy of Music, New York, April 2, 1863.

8. Separation; War without End. *Ed. Laboulaye*.

9. The Venom and the Antidote. Copperhead Declarations. Soldiers' Letters.

10. A few Words in Behalf of the Loyal Women of the United States. By *One of Themselves*. *Mrs. C. M. Kirkland*.

11. No Failure for the North. *Atlantic Monthly*.

12. Address to King Cotton. *Eugene Pelletan*.

Most of the great national benevolent organizations, indeed, had their rise in New York City. The United States Sanitary Commission, that noble instrument of good, was in some sort an outgrowth, as we have already stated, of the Woman's Central Relief Association, formed in New York in April, 1861, and was first sug-

- No. 13. How a Free People conduct a long War. *Stillé.*
14. The Preservation of the Union a National Economic Necessity.
15. Elements of Discord in Secessia. By *William Alexander, Esq., of Texas.*
16. No Party now, but all for our Country. *Francis Lieber.*
17. The Cause of the War. *Col. Charles Anderson.*
18. Opinions of the early Presidents and of the Fathers of the Republic upon Slavery, and upon Negroes as Men and Soldiers.
19. *Einheit und Freiheit, von Hermann Raster.*
20. Military Despotism! Suspension of the Habeas Corpus! &c.
21. Letter addressed to the Opera-House Meeting, Cincinnati. By *Col. Charles Anderson.*
22. Emancipation is Peace. By *Robert Dale Owen.*
23. Letter of Peter Cooper on Slave Emancipation.
24. Patriotism. Sermon by the *Rev. Jos. Fransiola, of St. Peter's (Catholic) Church, Brooklyn.*
25. The Conditions of Reconstruction. By *Robert Dale Owen.*
26. Letter to the President. By *Gen. A. J. Hamilton, of Texas.*
27. Nullification and Compromise: a Retrospective View. By *John Mason Williams.*
28. The Death of Slavery. Letter from Peter Cooper to Gov. Seymour.
29. Slavery Plantations and the Yeomanry. *Francis Lieber.*
30. Rebel Conditions of Peace. Extracts from Richmond Journals.
31. Address of the Loyal Leagues, Utica, October 20, 1863.
32. War Power of the President—Summary Imprisonment. By *J. Heermans.*
33. The Two Ways of Treason.
34. The Monroe Doctrine. By *Edward Everett, &c.*
35. The Arguments of Secessionists. *Francis Lieber.*
36. Prophecy and Fulfilment. Letter of A. H. Stephens—Address of E. W. Gantt.
37. How the South Rejected Compromise, &c. Speech of Mr. Chase in Peace Conference of 1861.
38. Letters on our National Struggle. By *Brigadier-General Thomas Francis Meagher.*
39. Bible View of Slavery, by John H. Hopkins, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. Examined by *Henry Drisler.*



gested by Henry W. Bellows, D.D., W. H. Van Buren, M.D., and Jacob Harsen, M.D., all representatives of this and kindred associations of New York, who, on the 18th of May, 1861, addressed the secretary of war, recommending the formation of an organization of this kind. The Commission was duly authorized on the 9th

- No. 40. The Conscription Act: a Series of Articles. By *Geo. B. Butler*, N. Y.
41. Réponse de MM. De Gasparin, Laboulaye, &c.
42. Reply of Messrs. Gasparin, Laboulaye, and others.
43. Antwort der Herren De Gasparin, Laboulaye, Martin, Cöchin, an die Loyal National League.
44. Proceedings of First Anniversary Meeting of the Loyal Publication Society February 13, 1864.
45. Finances and Resources of the United States. By *H. G. Stebbins*.
46. How the War Commenced. From Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*.
47. Result of Serf Emancipation in Russia.
48. Resources of the United States. By *S. B. Ruggles*.
49. Patriotic Songs. A collection by *G. P. Putnam*.
50. The Constitution Vindicated. *James A. Hamilton*.
51. No Property in Man. *Charles Sumner*.
52. Rebellion, Slavery and Peace. *N. G. Upham*.
53. How the War Commenced. (German Translation for the South.) By *Dr. F. Schutz*.
54. Our Burden and Our Strength. *David A. Wells*.
55. Emancipated Slave and His Master. (German Translation.) By *Dr. F. Schutz*, for the Society.
56. The Assertions of a Secessionist. *Alex. H. Stephens*.
57. Growler's Income Tax. By *T. S. Arthur*, Philadelphia.
58. Emancipated Slave and his Master. *James McKaye*, L. P. S.
59. Lincoln or McClellan. (German.) By *Francis Lieber*.
60. Peace through Victory. (Sermon.) By *Rev. J. P. Thompson*.
61. Sherman vs. Hood. *Broadside*. By the Secretary.
62. The War for the Union. By *William Swinton*.
63. Letter on McClellan's Nomination. *Hon. Gerrit Smith*.
64. Letters of Loyal Soldiers. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4. By the Secretary.
65. Submissionists and their Record. Parts 1 and 2. By the Secretary.
66. Coercion Completed, or Treason Triumphant. By *John C. Hamilton*.
67. Lincoln or McClellan. (English.) By *Francis Lieber*.
68. The Cowards' Convention. By *Charles Astor Bristed*.
69. Whom do the English wish Elected? By *Frederick Milne Edge*.
70. Collection of Letters from Europe. By *G. P. Putnam*, L. P. S.

of June, 1861, with the Rev. Dr. Bellows as president. It speedily extended its ramifications over the whole country, and proved an indescribable blessing to the soldiers.

The United States Christian Commission was also organized in New York, at a Convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations, held on the 16th November, 1861. This association, which was designed to promote the physical comfort and spiritual welfare of the soldiers, was an instrument of great usefulness during the war. Another most important organization was the United States Union Commission, which was organized in 1864, under the auspices of the Rev. Dr. Joseph P. Thompson, of New York, for the purpose of relieving the necessities of the destitute refugees from the South, and which has since united with the Freedmen's Commission. Besides these great national organiza-

No. 71. Lincoln or McClellan. (Dutch Translation.)

72. Address of Dr. Schutz, at Philadelphia, October 5, 1865.

73. Address of N. G. Taylor on Loyalty and Sufferings of East Tennessee.

74. The Slave Power. By *J. C. Hamilton*.

75. The Great Issue. Address by *John Jay*.

76. Narrative of Sufferings of U. S. Prisoners of War in the hands of Rebel Authorities. By U. S. Sanitary Commission.

77. Address on Secession. Delivered by *Dr. Lieber* in South Carolina in 1851.

78. Report of the Society.

79. Letter on Amendments of the Constitution. By *Francis Lieber*.

80. America for Free Working Men. By *C. Nordhoff*.

81. General McClellan's Campaign. By *F. M. Edge*.

82. Speech on Reconstruction. By *Hon. Wm. D. Kelley*.

83. Amendments of the Constitution. By *Francis Lieber*.

84. Crimes of the South. By *W. W. Broom*.

85. Lincoln's Life and its Lessons. By *Rev. J. P. Thompson, D. D.*

86. National System of Education. By *Rev. Charles Brooks*.

87. Gasparin's Letter to President Johnson. Translated by *Mary L. Booth*.

88. Memorial Service for Three Hundred Thousand Union Soldiers, with a Commemorative Discourse. By *Jos. P. Thompson, D. D.*

tions, numberless minor associations were formed for the relief of the soldiers. In July, 1863, a State Soldiers' Depot was established in Howard street, which was endowed by the State, and which combined a soldiers' home, hospital, and reading-room. This institution had agents on all the railroad trains, whose duty it was to protect the soldiers from wrong, and to look after the sick and wounded. A Soldiers' Rest was established in Fourth Avenue, near the railroad depots on the corner of Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh streets, under the auspices of the Union League Club, where soldiers arriving in and leaving the city were provided for during their temporary stay. At No. 194 Broadway were the rooms of the New England Soldiers' Relief Association, which was organized in 1862 for the especial benefit of the soldiers from New England, but which opened its doors to all without distinction. But even to catalogue all the noble associations that sprung up in New York City through public and private enterprise, would fill a volume; and as we have before remarked, we cannot in this brief sketch undertake to do justice to the patriotism of New York City, but only to chronicle some of the most striking examples thereof. We should not omit mention, however, of a movement which was set on foot about the same time to discourage the importation of goods during the war, and thus prevent specie from leaving the country. For this end, a large meeting of the women of New York was held at the Cooper Institute, where great numbers pledged themselves to purchase no articles except those of home manufacture, save in cases of absolute necessity, until peace should be declared.



In the mean time, the army was rapidly being depleted by the expiration of the terms of enlistment of the two years', twelve months', and nine months' regiments. Some sixty-five thousand men would leave the service in the spring and summer of 1863, and there was little probability that their places would be supplied by volunteers, even under the temptation of the enormous bounties offered. To meet this exigency, on the 3d of March, 1863, Congress passed an enrolment and conscription act, authorizing the President to recruit the army when necessary, by drafting from the able-bodied citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five. The drafted men were allowed to furnish substitutes, or to pay \$300, in consideration of which the government undertook to procure them.

Although conscription had been practised from the very beginning by the South, this measure was denounced by a large class in the North, as violent and unconstitutional, and a virulent spirit of opposition was manifested, especially among those opposed to the war. A general enrolment nevertheless was made, and early in May a draft of three hundred thousand men was ordered to take place in each district, as soon as the enrolment therein was completed, and the quota assigned. Just at this juncture General Lee invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania, with the hope of transferring the seat of war to the north of the Potomac, and relieving the Shenandoah Valley of the Federal troops. The Confederates ravaged Southern Pennsylvania, and advanced to within a few miles of Harrisburg, and their commander issued manifestoes from that place and York. The greatest consternation prevailed. The

governor of Pennsylvania called the troops of the State to arms, and entreated assistance from the neighboring States. President Lincoln made a requisition on Governor Seymour for twenty thousand militia, to aid in repelling the invasion; to which the latter responded by directing General Sandford, the commander of the New York City militia, to send every available regiment at his disposal to the seat of war for thirty days' service, and giving similar orders to the militia of the neighboring cities. The troops were immediately directed to hold themselves in readiness, and on the following day, the 16th of June, General Sandford issued a general order directing the regiments of the First Division of the New York State Militia, comprising all those belonging in New York City, to repair forthwith to Harrisburg. The Seventh Regiment at once led the way, followed within a few days by nearly all the rest of the city militia, as well as those of Brooklyn.\* The result is well known: the tide of invasion was driven back, and the national holiday was gladdened by the news of the victory of Gettysburg and the capture of Vicksburg.

* Regiments.	Commanders.	Left New York.	No. of Men.
Fourth . . . . .	Col. Daniel W. Teller . . .	June 20	500
Fifth . . . . .	" Louis Burger . . . . .	" 19	828
Sixth . . . . .	" Joel W. Mason . . . . .	" 22	656
Seventh . . . . .	" Marshall Lefferts . . . .	" 16	850
Eighth . . . . .	" J. M. Varian . . . . .	" 18	371
Eleventh . . . . .	" J. Maidhoff . . . . .	" 18	762
Twelfth . . . . .	" Wm. G. Ward . . . . .	" 19	684
Twenty-second . . . .	" Lloyd Aspinwall . . . . .	" 19	568
Thirty-seventh . . . .	" Chas. Roope . . . . .	" 19	693
Fifty-fifth . . . . .	" Eugene Le Gal . . . . .	" 24	350
Sixty-ninth . . . . .	" James Bagley . . . . .	" 22	600
Seventy-first . . . . .	" B. L. Trafford . . . . .	" 18	737
Eighty-fourth . . . .	" F. A. Conkling . . . . .	July 3	480
			8,079

This joy was soon overshadowed by the most humiliating event ever recorded in the annals of New York. The victories which rejoiced the hearts of the loyal citizens exasperated the disloyal part of the population, and urged them to desperate measures. The draft was to commence on the 11th of July, and the opportunity was seized to instigate an outbreak which might turn the scale anew. New York was in a most defenceless condition, being stripped of troops and devoid of any means of protection. Mayor Opdyke had remonstrated with Governor Seymour against thus draining the city of the militia on the eve of the draft, but the governor had replied that the orders of his superiors left him no discretion in the matter; and, moreover, that he was confident that the city would be safe under the protection of the police. Not sharing this security, the mayor ineffectually urged the governor to authorize the raising of twenty or thirty new regiments, in order to strengthen the militia force. Failing in this, he next asked the government to postpone the draft until the return of the troops from their thirty days' service; but this was not deemed advisable, and the draft was commenced under the direction of Colonel Nugent, the provost-marshal, on Saturday, the 11th of July, on the corner of Forty-sixth street and Third Avenue, in the ninth congressional district. A large crowd assembled, but the drafting proceeded quietly, amidst the apparent good-humor of the spectators, and it was generally supposed that the apprehended danger had passed by.

The next day secret meetings were held, and measures were concerted to resist the draft by force. Early on Monday morning an organized band went from shop



to shop, persuading or coercing the men to quit their work and join the procession that was on its way to the provost-marshal's office in Third Avenue. Captain Jenkins and his assistants had just commenced drafting, when the report of a pistol was heard in the street, and at the signal a volley of paving-stones crashed through the windows, overturning the inkstands, and felling two or three of the officials to the ground. In an instant after the infuriated mob, suddenly fired with rage, burst open the doors, broke the furniture, destroyed the records, and beat and dispersed the officials. Deputy Provost-Marshal Vanderpoel was carried out for dead ; the rest escaped uninjured. Not content with wreaking their vengeance on the drafting machinery, the rioters proceeded to fire the building, after pouring camphene on the floor, and the whole block between Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth streets was speedily reduced to ashes. Chief-Engineer Decker, of the Fire Department, hastened to the spot, but the rioters had gained possession of the hydrants, and would not suffer the firemen to have access to them till the flames were beyond control. The police were driven off, and Superintendent Kennedy was knocked down and nearly beaten to death. In this emergency the mayor made a requisition on General Sandford and General Wool to call out the troops under their command, and telegraphed to Governor Seymour urging him to send militia from the adjoining counties. He also telegraphed to the governors of the neighboring States, and requested the co-operation of Mr. Acton, the president of the police board. General Wool immediately ordered all the garrisons of the various fortifications in the neighborhood to repair to the city,

and requested Admiral Paulding to send the marines from the Brooklyn Navy Yard. General Harvey Brown was placed in immediate command of the forces in New York, and was stationed at the police headquarters, whence expeditions of the military and the police were sent in various directions to quell the riot wherever it was reported to be most formidable. General Sandford, with the handful of the militia that remained in the city, took up his headquarters at the Seventh Avenue Arsenal, which he defended from attack, dispersing several mobs in the vicinity, and General Wool and the mayor established themselves at the St. Nicholas. The Tenth New York Regiment, happily, had not yet left. It was ordered to remain, and was stationed, part in the City Arsenal and part in the arsenal at the Central Park. The entire force assembled in the city up to twelve o'clock at night did not amount to one thousand men.

A detachment of the Invalid Corps of about fifty in number, under the command of Lieutenant Reed, was sent in a Third Avenue car to the scene of the riot at Forty-sixth street. The crowd, which by this time had swelled to an army of men, women and children, received notice of their coming, and tearing up the railroad tracks and breaking the telegraph wires, armed themselves therewith, and awaited them at Forty-third street. The soldiers left the car, and Lieutenant Reed, after vainly directing the mob to disperse, committed the fatal mistake of ordering his men to fire blank cartridges. The farcical discharge exasperated the rioters, who sprang on the troops, wrenched their muskets from their hands, and beat and maltreated them. The unfortunate soldiers fled in every direction, pursued

by the rioters ; many were killed and nearly all severely injured. The police attempted to interfere, but were driven off with the loss of one of their number. The sight of blood intoxicated the mob, who lost sight of the draft to enter upon a crusade of murder and plunder. After sacking and burning two private residences in Lexington Avenue, one of which they wrongly supposed to belong to a deputy provost-marshal, they proceeded to the office of Provost-Marshal Manierre, in Broadway, near Twenty-eighth street, where the draft had also been commenced in the morning, but had been since suspended. A part of the crowd passed down Fifth Avenue. On their way they perceived the American flag displayed in honor of the late victories, over the residence of Judge White, in Fifth Avenue, near Thirty-fifth street. They halted and cried, "Haul down that d—d rag!" The order remaining unheeded, they flung stones through the windows and were about to set fire to the house, when some one proposed that they should first burn the provost-marshal's office, whereupon they left, promising to return and complete their work. In a short time the whole block in Broadway between Twenty-eighth and Twenty-ninth streets was in flames. The lower part was used for stores filled with costly articles, and the upper part was occupied as a fashionable boarding-house. The wildest confusion prevailed. The rioters rifled the buildings of their contents, and the surrounding streets, usually the resort of fashionable promenaders, were soon filled with squalid men, women and children, laden with rich furniture, silver, and articles of wearing apparel. The neighborhood rang with the shouts and yells of the lawless mob.



From this place the mob proceeded to the Colored Orphan Asylum in Fifth Avenue, between Forty-third and Forty-fourth streets, the home of seven or eight hundred colored children, and proceeded to demolish the building in order to gratify their spite against the negroes, whom they regarded as the prime cause of the draft. This feeling rapidly developed, and became one of the most prominent features of the riot. The unfortunate negroes were everywhere hunted down; the hotels and private houses where they were employed were attacked, and all who gave them shelter were threatened with violence. It is supposed that a dozen at least were brutally murdered during the course of the day. Some were driven into the river, and others beaten to death or suspended from the lamp-posts. One was thrown into a barrel of blazing whiskey; another, after having been beaten till he was senseless, was hung to a tree over a fire, where he remained until midnight, when he was taken down by the police. The thieves of the city boldly joined the mob, which now thought only of plunder. The Bull's Head Tavern, on Forty-fourth street, was burned to the ground because the proprietor refused to supply the rioters with liquor. The residence of Mayor Opdyke was attacked, and Postmaster Wakeman's house at Yorkville was burned to the ground, together with the Twenty-Third Precinct station-house in the vicinity.

In the afternoon Mayor Opdyke issued a proclamation warning the rioters to desist from their proceedings and return to their homes. At the same time he authorized loyal citizens to organize defences on their own premises, and to shoot down any one who should

attempt to break in. A detachment of the police was sent to the Armory in Second Avenue, where a quantity of fire-arms was stored, and the superintendent was directed to arm his men, and to defend the building to the last extremity. The rioters made a furious onslaught on the premises, and were at first repulsed. They returned to the attack, and after a sharp conflict overpowered the defenders and fired the building, which fell, burying some of their number beneath the ruins.

General Wool issued a proclamation to the veteran volunteers, requesting them to report the next morning at the police headquarters, at 300 Mulberry street, to aid in suppressing the riot. Meanwhile the work of devastation went on. The mob stopped the omnibuses, cars and carriages, broke the telegraph wires, and attacked and murdered the passers without provocation. No man of respectable appearance was safe. Toward evening an immense crowd assembled in Printing-House Square, in front of the *Tribune* office, and, after threatening demonstrations, attacked the building. They forced the doors, broke the counters and furniture, and had already kindled a fire, when a detachment of the police charged upon them and put them to flight. This was an unusual circumstance ; in most of the collisions of the first day the police were overpowered. The most extravagant rumors were circulated ; it was reported that the rioters had seized the gas-works and the reservoir, and were about to cut off the water and light. The inhabitants were panic-stricken ; they were generally unarmed, flight was impossible, and the city lay at the mercy of a brute crowd. It was a true reign of terror. None who passed through that terrible night will ever

forget its horrors. Mobs sprang up in all parts of the city, the horizon was illumined with the flames of blazing houses in every direction, and the air rung with the yells of the rioters. Late in the evening a heavy shower extinguished the smouldering fires and cooled the fury of the crowd.

The sun rose the next morning on a lugubrious scene. The usual street cries were hushed, and an appalling silence prevailed everywhere. No one ventured abroad, the tradesmen missed their daily rounds, and the breakfast-tables were left unsupplied. The stores were closed and the streets deserted, save by ruffianly men and fiendish women, who were seen prowling here and there, or occasionally a frightened negro crouching in a corner and wildly looking about for some means of escape. This day was even more fearful than the preceding one. The mob early recommenced its fiendish work, burning houses, shooting men, and, above all, persecuting the negroes. How many of this unfortunate race perished on that fearful day will never be truly known. Their houses were burned over their heads, and those who escaped from the flames were hunted down and put to death relentlessly. Negroes were seen hanging all day from the lamp-posts, without any one having the courage to cut them down. Age or sex was no protection from these fiends, who for a few hours held the whole city at their feet.

In obedience to the call of General Wool, the ex-officers of the returned regiments had met the evening before at the armory of the Seventh Regiment, and concerted measures for rallying their men on the next day, which was accordingly done. Several encounters



took place between the military and the rioters; and whenever ball-cartridges were promptly used, the latter fled. Lieutenant Wood, at the head of a hundred and fifty soldiers from Fort Lafayette, attempted to disperse a mob of two thousand men, near the corner of Grand and Pitt streets, by ordering his troops to fire over their heads; this unfortunate proceeding only exasperated the crowd, who answered with stones and other missiles. The troops at length aimed and fired at the rioters, who instantly dispersed, with a loss of twelve of their number, two of whom were children.

Early in the morning news was received that a large mob had gathered in Thirty-fourth street for the purpose of plundering and burning the houses in that region. A squad of three hundred policemen, under Inspector Carpenter, was sent to the spot, and with some difficulty succeeded in dispersing the rioters. As they quitted the spot, they were met by Colonel H. T. O'Brien, of the Eleventh New York State Volunteers, with a detachment of soldiers and two field-pieces. Perceiving that the mob was rallying again, they retraced their steps, and were met with a volley of paving-stones and other missiles; without hesitation, they fired on the crowd, killing several, among others, a woman and two children. The rioters fled, uttering threats of vengeance against O'Brien.

At noon a fierce battle was fought at the Union Steam Works, on the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-second street, for the possession of the arms from the Armory, which had been secreted there the day before. After a protracted contest, the police and military succeeded in dispersing the rioters and taking from them a large quantity of arms.

Meanwhile, a bloody scene was being enacted close by. On returning to his head-quarters, Colonel O'Brien had learned that his house was attacked by the mob ; he instantly proceeded thither, and found it sacked from top to bottom. Anxious to learn the fate of his family, he quitted the place and entered a drug-store on the corner of Thirty-fourth street, which was indirectly assailed with sticks and stones by the rioters. The proprietor entreated O'Brien to escape ; but fearing no danger, he boldly stepped on the sidewalk to expostulate with the crowd, whereupon he was felled to the earth and stunned, after which his body was dragged for hours through the streets and exposed to the most brutal outrages. Two priests, who had been permitted to read the last prayers over the dying man, secretly carried his corpse by night in a cart to the dead-house at Bellevue. The mayor subsequently offered a special reward of five hundred dollars for the conviction of the perpetrators of this outrage, which was never avenged.

At noon Governor Seymour arrived in the city and addressed a mild speech to the rioters from the steps of the City Hall, informing them that he had urged the government to consent to a suspension of the draft, and had been informed that it would be postponed. During the day the Common Council held a special meeting, and unanimously adopted an ordinance appropriating \$2,500,000 to pay the commutation of drafted men. The mayor was urged to approve this ordinance at once, but firmly refused to do so till he had given the subject mature consideration ; feeling, he said, that it would be purchasing the peace of the city too dearly thus to bow

to the dictation of the mob, and to nullify the draft by the expenditure of honor and the sacrifice of so much treasure. He afterwards vetoed the ordinance.

At two in the afternoon the merchants and bankers assembled in force at the Merchants' Exchange, No. 111 Broadway, and on motion of John Austin Stevens, Jr., the secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, unanimously resolved to close their places of business, and to meet on the south side of Wall street for immediate organization in companies of hundreds, pursuant to the call of the mayor, to aid in suppressing the riot. Meanwhile the mayor telegraphed to the secretary of war, requesting him to send a military force to the city. At the same time he issued a proclamation, requesting loyal citizens to report at the police headquarters, No. 300 Mulberry street, for the purpose of being sworn in as special policemen for the preservation of law and order. The venders of arms and ammunition were ordered to close their stores at once, and to cease selling to private persons ; while those citizens whose houses were threatened by the rioters were furnished with arms for their defence. An attack on the gas-works being apprehended, the mayor directed a manufacturer of calcium lights to have a sufficient number of these lights in readiness to facilitate the movements of the forces in case of need. The gas-works, however, were not molested.

In the mean time the work of arson and pillage went on. Mr. Gibbons's house, in Lamartine Place, was sacked by the rioters, under the belief that it was the residence of Mr. Greeley, who chanced to be staying at the house of one of the editors of the *Tribune* on the same block.



Allerton's Hotel, the Weehawken Ferry-house, and the negro quarters in various parts of the city were burned during the day. At evening, the sky was illumined with the flames of the Eighteenth Precinct station-house, in East Twenty-second street, together with the fire-alarm bell-tower, No. 51 Engine House, and a number of private dwellings, among others, the residence of Port Warden Peck, in East Thirty-third street. By this time, many of the citizens had armed their houses with muskets and hand-grenades, and in Printing-House Square two formidable rifled batteries, in front of the *Times* office, overawed the mob, and prevented a recurrence of the scenes of the preceding night.

On Wednesday, the 15th, it was evident that the riot had reached its climax, and was on the wane, formidable as it still continued. The persecution of the negroes raged even worse than ever. The colored population were subjected to the most frightful atrocities; all day long the bodies of negroes hung suspended from trees and lamp-posts in various parts of the city, after their houses had been burned over their heads. The principal fires on this day were a lumber-yard in Fourteenth street, and two large grain elevators in the Atlantic Dock Basin. The citizens, by this time, began to recover from their panic, and to take active measures for their protection.

The secretary of war ordered home the regiments that were doing duty in Pennsylvania, while the police and military steadily gained the advantage in their collisions with the mob. On the afternoon of the 15th the mayor issued a proclamation, announcing that the

riot was in a great measure subdued, with the exception of the bands that were organized for the purpose of plunder, and requesting the citizens to form voluntary associations to patrol and guard their respective districts. He also declared that the lines of omnibuses, railroads and telegraphs, all of which had been suspended, must be put into full operation immediately, and promised them adequate military protection. On the evening of the 15th the Tenth and Fifty-sixth New York Regiments arrived from the seat of war, followed soon after by the Seventh, Eighth, Seventy-fourth and One Hundred and Sixty-second New York, and Twenty-sixth Michigan regiments. The news of the riot had fired the militia with indignation, and they were eager to reach the city to strike a blow at the dastardly enemy. At midnight on the 15th General Kilpatrick, who had obtained leave of absence from the Army of the Potomac for the express purpose of coming to New York to subdue the riot, arrived, and was placed in command of all the cavalry in the city. The presence of these troops overawed the mob, and the disturbance practically ceased on the 16th, though turbulent manifestations continued for some days after. It is just to say, however, that before the arrival of the militia, the combined action of the police and the citizens, together with the slender military force at the disposal of the authorities, had really sufficed to quell, in the short space of three days, one of the most formidable riots ever known.

On the 16th Archbishop Hughes invited the rioters to assemble the next day, Friday, in front of his residence on the corner of Madison Avenue and Thirty-sixth

street, where he would address them. Some five or six thousand persons gathered on the spot. The archbishop appeared on the balcony in his pontifical robes, and exhorted his hearers to return to their homes, and to offer no further resistance to the government. The command was obeyed ; the crowd dispersed quietly, and no disturbance ensued. A large cavalry force patrolled the disaffected district during the night without opposition. The next morning seventy stands of arms and several casks of paving-stones, which had been secreted by the rioters, were found and captured. On the 17th the mayor issued a proclamation declaring that order was restored. A few days after a reward was offered for the conviction of those who had been guilty of murder or arson in the late riot. Many of the ringleaders were arrested and brought to trial ; some were convicted and punished, but none in a degree commensurate with their crime. A man by the name of Andrews was accused of having been the most active of the rioters.

In all probability the secret history of this terrible affair and its real instigators still remains unwritten. The number that perished therein is unknown. The killed and wounded were estimated by the police at one thousand. The mob and the colored population suffered most severely, the loss of the military forces and the police being comparatively slight. The city subsequently paid about \$1,500,000 in indemnification for the losses sustained through the riot.

Had the militia been in New York, it is not probable that the riot would have lasted a single day. As it was, it is doubtful whether any outbreak of such magnitude was ever subdued in so short a time, with such slender



forces and so little loss. The draft met with like opposition everywhere ; in Boston a formidable riot broke out, which was suppressed by a strong military organization, and similar disturbances occurred in several of the Eastern and Western States. The Common Council subsequently passed a relief bill to pay \$300 commutation to every drafted man in indigent circumstances. The draft was resumed in the autumn, and was peacefully concluded.

New auxiliaries soon strengthened the army and lessened the necessity of conscription. On the 3d of December the Committee on Volunteering of the Union League Club obtained permission from the war department to raise a colored regiment, to be known as the Twentieth Regiment of Colored Troops, to whom no bounties would be paid, and who would receive ten dollars per month. In spite of these hard conditions, in fourteen days the work was so far advanced that the committee felt justified in applying for leave to raise another regiment, which was granted on the 5th of January, 1864. On the 27th of January this regiment, the Twenty-sixth, was likewise full, and authority was asked and received to raise a third, the Thirty-first. On account of delay in obtaining arms, the Twentieth Regiment did not leave for New Orleans until the 5th of March, when, after a presentation of colors from the ladies of New York in front of the Club House, where they were addressed by Charles King, the president of Columbia College, they marched down Broadway a thousand strong, escorted by the Club, amidst a brilliant ovation, which exhibited a striking contrast to the scene of a few months before, when their race had been hunted through the streets.

In December, 1863, C. Godfrey Gunther, a New York merchant, was elected mayor by the democratic party, who thus regained the ascendancy in the executive department of the city government.

The spring of 1864 was rendered noticeable by a series of fairs, held in all the large cities through the North, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission. Chief among these was the great Metropolitan Fair in New York City, which was opened on the 5th of April, and which netted \$1,100,000, for the relief of the soldiers, a sum exceeding that produced by any other fair in the country. Two large buildings were erected for the purpose, one in Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, and the other in Seventeenth street, on Union Square, both of which were filled with stalls loaded with articles for sale, and presided over by the most beautiful and fashionable women of the city. This fair was the ruling sensation of the day, and no pains were spared to render it attractive. The most striking feature in the Seventeenth street building was the Knickerbocker Kitchen, which was fitted up in the style of the old Dutch Colony times, with genuine relics furnished by the descendants of Stuyvesant and his contemporaries, who, arrayed in the fashion of those ancient times, served doughnuts and waffles to the curious spectators. The larger building in Fourteenth street contained several departments apart from the fair proper; among others, a fine picture-gallery, rich in works of art, loaned or donated by the owners, a hall of arms and trophies, a curiosity-shop, which was a veritable bazaar of quaint relics, and a Sunny Side pavilion, wherein were assembled a choice collection

of mementoes of Washington Irving, that kingly author to whom New York claims the honor of having given birth, and whose early home, now swept away by the tide of business, might long have been seen in William, between John and Fulton streets. The fair was in every respect a success, and remains one of the pleasantest reminiscences of the times. A sanitary fair had been held in Brooklyn, in February, from which over five hundred thousand dollars were realized.

The opening of the campaign was gloomy. The Union forces met with reverse after reverse in Florida, Louisiana and North Carolina, and the bloody massacre at Fort Pillow filled the public mind with grief and indignation. Repeated calls were made for troops, and New York continued her inexhaustible supplies of men and money. According to the official report of the Committee on Volunteering, the total number of men furnished by New York City from the beginning of the war to the 1st of October, 1864, was one hundred and twenty-six thousand three hundred and ten.

In March, Ulysses S. Grant was appointed Lieutenant-General, and placed in command of the armies of the United States. He immediately made preparations for an advance upon Richmond, and early in May the final struggle commenced, and with it the most sanguinary season of the war. This bloody May will long be remembered; the battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court House, favorable as was their result, appalled the public by the terrible loss of life which they involved. The whole summer was one of combat; but the era of decided success began with Farragut's victory in Mobile Bay; the fall of Atlanta followed;



then came Sheridan's famous ride through the Shenandoah Valley, Stoneman's raid and Sherman's triumphal march along the seaboard; and the year ended with the capture of Savannah and the fall of Fort Fisher.

The presidential election was the great event of the autumn. A recurrence of the riots was apprehended in New York, and vigilant measures were taken by the authorities to provide against this emergency. A report having been spread that rebel agents in Canada designed to send large bodies of men into the United States, with a view to vote at the approaching election. General Dix, who was then in command of the Department of the East, issued an order requiring all persons from the insurrectionary States to report themselves for registry. In pursuance with this order, several hundred Southerners appeared at the head-quarters of General Peck, No. 37 Bleecker street, and were duly registered.

On the 2d of November the mayor received a telegram from the secretary of war, informing him that there was a conspiracy on foot to fire the principal Northern cities on the day of the election. The mayor answered, expressing his disbelief in such an attempt, but promising to take precautions against it, and to invoke the Federal assistance if necessary. The government deemed it advisable, however, without interfering with the election, to procure ample means of protection, and for this purpose, despatched General Butler from Fortress Monroe to New York, to take command of the troops in the city, where he arrived on the 4th of November. On the ensuing Monday seven thousand troops landed at Fort Hamilton and Governor's Island. The next morning these troops were

embarked on steamers and stationed off the Battery, and in the North and East Rivers, where they remained for the next three days, within call in case of need. The day passed off quietly, and Abraham Lincoln was the second time elected President of the United States.

The alarm had not been groundless ; scarcely were the troops removed from the city, when on the night of the 25th of November the St. James, St. Nicholas and Metropolitan Hotels, Lafarge House, Barnum's Museum, United States Hotel, Astor House, Lovejoy's Hotel, Tammany Hotel, New England House, Howard House, Belmont House, Fifth Avenue Hotel, Hartford Hotel, and some shipping and a lumber yard on the North River, were one after the other discovered to be in flames. The incendiaries, furnished with small travelling bags containing the materials for destruction, had taken rooms at the divers hotels like ordinary lodgers, and closing the shutters of their apartments, had torn up the bedding, saturated it and the furniture with phosphorus and turpentine, and, after lighting a slow match, locked the doors and left the houses to burn with their inmates. The precautions which they had taken to avert a premature discovery foiled the attempt ; the flames were smothered in the tightly closed rooms, and were speedily extinguished. One of the participators in this horrible crime, Robert Kennedy, was subsequently arrested and hung, having first confessed that he had formed one of a party of eight, organized for the purpose of firing the principal buildings in New York City, in retaliation for Sheridan's raid in the Shenandoah Valley.

In the autumn of 1864 Professor Goldwin Smith

visited the United States to witness the presidential election, and was received with enthusiasm, as the representative of the band that had nobly upheld the cause of the Union in Europe from the beginning of the struggle. Prominent among these were Cobden, Bright, Mill, Cairnes and Smith, in England; and De Gasparin, Laboulaye, Cochin and Martin in France. Count De Gasparin was the earliest champion of the North in Europe; his book, *The Uprising of a Great People*, which was published in Paris almost simultaneously with the breaking out of the conflict, appeared in New York about the time of the disaster of Bull Run, and flashed like inspiration from Maine to California, reviving the drooping spirits of the nation. Augustin Cochin's great work on the abolition of slavery appeared just before the emancipation proclamation, and equalled a whole phalanx in support of that beneficent measure; Edouard Laboulaye, by his brilliant lectures before the College of France and his successful extravaganza, *Paris in America*, did more than almost any other man to mould French public opinion in favor of the Union; and Henri Martin, the celebrated historian, never failed in all his writings to express his cordial sympathy with the American Republic. Across the Channel, John Bright, Richard Cobden, John Stuart Mill and Professors Cairnes and Smith, labored with equal zeal to defend the North against the bias of their government, which so nearly involved us in foreign war. This brilliant galaxy of names will rank side by side with that of Lafayette and Beaumarchais in the eyes of posterity. Goldwin Smith met a cordial welcome in New York. On the 12th of November a public recep-



tion was given him by the Union League Club, at their rooms in Union Square, where a magnificent banquet was served, presided over by Charles Butler, of New York, at which a large number of the most distinguished men of the country were present, together with Auguste Laugel, the able advocate of the Union in the columns of *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

At the risk of some repetition, we recur to the Union League Club, in order to give in this place a brief sketch of its rise and progress, without which a chronicle of the times would be signally incomplete, and which must remain a matter of historic interest in the annals of New York.

The part borne through the war by the club, which the Hon. Schuyler Colfax, speaker of the House of Representatives, fitly characterized as that "noble organization on which the government leaned in the darkest hours of trial and peril," forms so illustrious a feature in the recent history of New York, that some sketch of its organization, progress and results becomes a necessary appendage to a complete history of the national metropolis. The proposition of Mayor Fernando Wood in January, 1861, that the City of New York should withdraw, not simply from the Union, but from the State, and become a free city, afforded a striking proof of the absence of national American sentiment in the democratic masses, to whose sympathies the mayor appealed; and the subsequent efforts of leading democrats to secure, through Lord Lyons, British intervention in our domestic affairs, indicated the strength of their feeling in behalf of the rebellion, and the grounds upon which its leaders had confidently counted

upon the effective sympathy of New York. Subsequent exhibitions of that same un-American sentiment were afforded by Mayor Gunther's attempt to arrest the foreign emigration, which flowed in as life-blood to invigorate the republic in the struggle, and to check the joy of our citizens at the victories of our soldiers and the triumph of the American flag.

In January, 1863, the Union League Club was formed by gentlemen who had already, for some two years, been associated in the effort to encourage and sustain the government in the struggle with the rebellion, and who now found it essential to present an united front in behalf of the true spirit of the nation against the insidious treason which lurked all around them, and against "the dwarfed and pinched ideas of a nationality which, unable to embrace the expanse of a continent, or the dignity and welfare of a nation, was restricted to the interest of a faction, the confines of a state, even the suburbs of a city." They felt that the purifying of the social circles of the national metropolis would tend more than anything else to brighten everywhere the national atmosphere.

The call issued was for the formation of a club, to be known as "The National Club," the object of which should be to cultivate a profound national devotion, as distinguished from state or sectional feeling, to strengthen a love and respect for the Union and discourage whatever tended to give undue prominence to purely local interests, to discuss and urge upon public attention large and noble schemes of national advancement, to elevate and uphold the popular faith in republican government, to dignify politics as a pursuit and a study,

to awaken a practical interest in public affairs in those who had become discouraged, to enforce a sense of the sacred obligations inherent in citizenship, and finally to bring to bear upon the national life all that a body of earnest and patriotic men could accomplish by united effort.

The call was promptly responded to by the influential gentlemen to whom it was addressed, and on the 6th of February the articles of association were adopted under the name of "The Union League Club."

The articles were brief and simple, and appealed to loyal citizens of all parties. They read as follows:

"1. The condition of membership shall be absolute and unqualified loyalty to the government of the United States, and unwavering support of its efforts for the suppression of the rebellion.

"2. The primary object of the association shall be to discountenance and rebuke by moral and social influences all disloyalty to the Federal Government, and to that end the members will use every proper means in public and private.

"3. We pledge ourselves by every means in our power, collectively and individually, to resist to the uttermost every attempt against the territorial integrity of the nation."

The five hundred members who were presently enrolled largely represented the olden respectability and the substantial worth of New York. Among the great commercial names were those of Astor, Bininger, Benkard, Brooks, Brown, Chittenden, Constable, Delano, Drew, Forbes, Grinnell, Greene, Griswold, Haggerty, Hall, Jones, Lorillard, Le Roy, Marshall, Minturn, Nye,



Parish, Pell, Prime, Roosevelt, Sherman, Schultz, Spofford, Stewart, Schieffelin, Sturges, Vermilye and Wolfe. Descendants of the Dutch, English and Huguenots prominent in our colonial and revolutionary history, appear in the names of Beekman, De Forest, De Peyster, Fish, Gerry, Hamilton, Jay, King, Murray, Putnam, Stuyvesant, Suydam, Van Duzen, Van Nostrand, Van Rensselaer, Van Wart, Van Winkle and Winthrop. Names of note in American literature, law, science and art: Bancroft, Bristed, Bryant, Butler, Irving, Sedgwick, Webster, Tuckerman; Bonney, Evarts, Bowne, Cutting, Emmet, Murray, Hoffman, Noyes, Stoughton, Strong and Swan; LeGrand Cannon, Cyrus Field, Cisco, Bacon, Delafield, Doremus and Joy; Blodgett, Cropsey, Hunt, Johnston, Kensett; with such representation of modern Europe as Iselin from France, Detmold and Lieber from Germany, and Botta from Italy.

In March a committee of five were appointed to confer with similar committees of the Union League Clubs in Philadelphia and Baltimore, with reference to the establishment of a common basis of action, and in April a committee of one hundred gentlemen from the Philadelphia Club, embracing names equally eminent in law, literature, science, and commerce, came to New York, were welcomed by the Union League in their new Club House, entertained at Delmonico's, and assisted at the grand Sumter celebration in Union Square.

On the Fourth of July the Clubs had arranged for a joint celebration of the day, and a further conference at Philadelphia; but the rebel invasion of Pennsylvania gave to the national anniversary new memories on the

field of Gettysburg, and soon afterwards in New York, where the leaders of the rebellion were prepared in case Lee had been victorious to inaugurate "the Fourth" by a revolutionary *coup d' état*, the rebel element, disappointed by the great victory of Meade, broke out in riots, robbery, arson, and murder, in which a brutality that might have shocked the Jacobins of Paris, was inaugurated against the negroes, until the military and metropolitan police, with a slender force, but a most gallant spirit, met and checked the rioters with so firm a hand that with their dispersion and defeat perished the last hope of the rebels of inaugurating a successful Northern insurrection against nationality, liberty and law.

The Club resolved to exert its already large influence in the approaching presidential election for the success of the Union cause, and on the evening of the 8th of November, 1863, they had the satisfaction of knowing that the State of New York was again arrayed on the side of nationality and freedom, and that the re-election of Mr. Lincoln ensured the life of the republic.

The same month the Committee on Volunteering, consisting of Messrs. Van Rensselaer, Carman, Roosevelt, Cowdin, Kirkland, Bacon, Bliss, Schultz and Cromwell, after a vain effort to procure any authority or sanction from Governor Seymour, was authorized by the War Department to raise the Twentieth United States Regiment of colored troops, and the work proceeded so rapidly under the direction of Mr. Vincent Collyer, that, as we have already mentioned, in fourteen days the committee applied for authority to raise a second regiment, the Twenty-sixth United States colored troops, and this again was succeeded by a third.

The Twentieth Regiment, as before described, on the 5th of March, was reviewed in front of the Club House in Union Square, where it was presented with a banner prepared by the mothers, wives and sisters of the members of the Club, accompanied by an address written by the poet, Henry J. Tuckerman, and signed by the donors.\* The regiment, after an address by Mr. Charles King, and a response by the commanding officer, Colonel Bartram, marched down Broadway escorted by the Club, and from that day, when in our streets, colored men were welcomed with an ovation instead of a massacre, it was clear that thenceforth in New York black men had rights which white men were bound to respect.

On the morning of Easter Sunday, the 27th of March, the Twenty-sixth Regiment embarked for Annapolis, attended by a few ladies and gentlemen on board the steamer, where the colors prepared for them were pre-

\* These names are worthy of record as indicating to future generations the part borne, in one of the most significant events of the war—for the action of New York in the case influenced the sentiment of the whole country—by the women who so prominently represented the national sentiment as well as the culture and refinement of the republic.

Mrs. J. J. Astor,	Mrs. J. W. Bigelow,	Mrs. J. McKaye,
" G. W. Blunt,	" M. O. Roberts,	" W. L. Felt,
" J. W. Beekman,	" H. K. Bogart,	" F. Haskell,
" S. Wetmore,	" E. C. Hall,	" Isaac Ames,
" S. B. Chittenden,	" J. Le Roy,	" L. F. Warner,
" G. Bliss, Jr.,	" J. Brown,	" A. G. Phelps,
" S. J. Bacon,	" M. Clarkson,	" N. Chandler,
" R. B. Minturn,	" J. O. Stone,	" H. Potter,
" Charles King,	" J. G. King, Jr.,	" P. S. Van Rensselaer,
" S. W. Bridgham,	" H. Van Rensselaer.	" Walter,
" W. E. Dodge,	" J. A. King, Jr.,	" H. Baldwin,
" R. Stebbins,	" J. C. Cassegee,	" H. G. Thomson,
" S. B. Schieffelin,	" J. L. Kennedy,	" F. C. Pendexter,
Miss King,	" F. Prime,	" H. C. Chapman,
Mrs. J. B. Johnson,	" Barnwell,	" G. Bancroft,
" N. D. Smith,	" Wheelwright,	" M. K. Jessup,
" T. M. Cheesman,	" E. Collins,	" J. C. B. Davis,
" H. A. Colt,	" Bradish,	" W. H. Schieffelin,
" A. P. Mann,	" Bruce,	" C. C. Dodge,



sented by Mr. John Jay, whose address was earnestly responded to by Colonel Silliman, who soon after fell in defence of the flag to which he touchingly declared the devotion of his soldiers and himself. These two regiments and the Thirty-first, which was next filled up by the Club, exhibited in their career during the war, combined with an admirable drill and discipline, a spirit of earnest patriotism and fearless bravery. A second Committee on Volunteering, consisting of Messrs. Bliss, Roosevelt, Handy, Hyatt, Hoyt, Swift, Schultz, Williams, Fogg, Murdock, Fellows, Fuller, Halstead, Satterlee, Churchill and Grinnell, was appointed at the request of General Hancock to recruit for the Second Corps. They raised some \$230,000 and upwards of three thousand men, making the total of troops placed in the field by the Club within the year six thousand men.

Mrs. J. J. Phelps,  
 " G. B. De Forest,  
 " Le G. B. Cannon  
 " W. A. Butler,  
 " U. A. Murdock,  
 " A. Dunlap,  
 " T. E. Howe,  
 " W. H. Lee,  
 " W. E. Dodge, Jr.,  
 " David Hoadly,  
 " C. Luddington,  
 " G. Lemist,  
 " E. C. Cowdin,  
 " J. A. Roosevelt,  
 " J. Sampson,  
 " R. B. Minturn, Jr.,  
 " Alfred Pell, Jr.,  
 " W. Hutchins,  
 " Geo. Opdyke,  
 " G. C. Ward,  
 " C. G. Judson,  
 " S. W. Roosevelt,  
 " E. D. Smith,  
 " S. Gandy,  
 " R. L. Stuart,  
 " E. W. Stoughton,

Mrs. Tuckerman,  
 " Shaw,  
 " Williams,  
 " P. Richards,  
 " R. Winthrop,  
 " Weeks,  
 " Jaques,  
 " A. Brooks,  
 " W. Felt,  
 " J. W. Goddard,  
 " F. G. Shaw,  
 " R. G. Shaw,  
 " G. W. Curtis,  
 " R. C. Lovell,  
 " C. M. Kirkland,  
 " B. De Forest,  
 " Boerum,  
 " Hamilton Fish,  
 " Alfred Pell,  
 " Kennedy,  
 " J. Johnston,  
 " T. L. Beekman,  
 " J. F. Gray,  
 " J. Tuckerman,  
 " F. A. Whittaker,  
 " J. H. Macy,

Mrs. John Jay,  
 " E. M. Young,  
 " J. T. Schultz,  
 " J. E. Brenly,  
 " H. Chauncy,  
 " R. M. Hunt,  
 " Jones,  
 Miss J. Schieffelin.  
 " Fish,  
 " Jay,  
 " Anna Jay,  
 " Young,  
 " Schultz,  
 " Russel,  
 " J. M. King,  
 " Cochrane,  
 Mrs. Vincent Colyer,  
 " C. C. Hunt,  
 " C. Williams,  
 " E. H. Chauncy,  
 " E. W. Cruger,  
 " W. C. Bryant,  
 " F. B. Goodwin,  
 " Emily Boerum,  
 Miss Norsworthy.  
 " F. H. Macy,

Another was the "Protective War-Claim Association "and Employment Bureau for Discharged and Disabled "Soldiers," under the direction of Messrs. Howard Potter, Wm. E. Dodge and Theo. Roosevelt.

A happy thought happily executed in November, was that of providing a thanksgiving dinner for our soldiers and sailors. Gen. Grant afforded every assistance for the distribution of the gifts to the Army of the Shenandoah, to the Atlantic Squadron, to the Armies of the Potomac and the James, and to some fifteen forts and hospitals, remarking that "it was not the bit of turkey "that the soldiers would care for, but the thought that "they were kindly remembered at the North."

In January, 1865, the before-mentioned Soldiers' Rest was established in New York for the comfort of soldiers passing through the city, under the care of Messrs. Dale, Hayes, Schultz, Lawrence, Bliss and Howe; and the same month the Club despatched a committee to Washington to urge the adoption of the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. The committee remained at the capital until that great work was accomplished, and in their report sketched the memorable scene in the House on the adoption of the amendment.

After the murder of President Lincoln, the Club was represented at his funeral at Washington, and the committee the next day waited upon President Johnson, the secretaries of the departments and the chief justice, giving assurance that the Club on that momentous occasion renewed its engagements of loyalty and service towards the government and the country. In reply to an address made him by Mr. Jay, on behalf of the Club,

President Johnson, after thanking the Club for their encouragement as "especially appropriate," assured them that "the idea that justice should be observed" "was one that had strongly impressed him," that "all" "crimes were submerged in treason, and that we must" "look to it in this light in the carrying out of stern," "inflexible justice."

In July the Club took effective measures for the suitable care and reception of regiments returning from the war, and Gov. Fenton, in returning thanks to the Club on behalf of the State and of the soldiers, whose welfare it had largely promoted, said :

"It is a source of grateful feeling and pride that the" "wise and humane provisions of the State have been" "encouraged and advanced by your body. An associ-" "ation which had its origin in the patriotic impulse" "stimulated by the war and the necessity of systematized" "effort, may properly receive the thanks of an apprecia-" "tive people, and be proud of a record which declares" "it faithful in the beginning, hopeful, watchful and" "unwearied during the period of greatest despondency" "and gloom, and devoted, sympathizing and humane to" "the brave defenders of our Union in the end."

In the work of reconstruction the Club spoke and acted with the same distinctness and promptitude as it had done during the war.

In June, 1865, with but one dissenting voice, it "in-" "voked the influence of the national authorities in the" "establishing of a system of suffrage in the late rebel-" "lions States, which shall be equal and just to all with-" "out distinction of color," and soon afterwards it appointed a committee to co-operate with the "New York



"National Freedmen's Relief Association," in securing among the negroes the general diffusion of education.

In March, 1865, it gave its approval to the action of Congress on the subject of reconstruction, in April it endorsed the passage of the Civil Rights Bill, and in September, 1866, the Club invited and entertained at New York the Convention of Southern Loyalists who had met at Philadelphia.

In January, 1866, the main object of the Club, the preservation of the country, having been accomplished, it adopted a new article making it "the duty of the Club to resist and expose corruption and promote reform in our national, state and municipal affairs, and to elevate the idea of American citizenship."

The influence of the Club has already secured for New York a Paid Fire Department and a Board of Health, and it has spoken with great effect upon the subject of legislative corruption, rousing the attention of the State and the nation to the fatal consequences of permitting government to be converted by lawless politicians into a machine for plundering and oppressing the people. In pursuance of the latter object, a committee of eleven was appointed by it to suggest changes in the government of the city to the Constitutional Convention.

Among the duties early assumed, and always gracefully performed by the Club, has been that of extending a cordial welcome to all entitled to such an honor. It thus received, during and since the war, Lieutenant-General Grant and his most eminent commanders; Admiral Farragut, Dupont, Rogers, Winslow, after destroying the Kearsarge, and Cushing, after sinking the

Albemarle ; the governors of States ; Fessenden, Sherman and others of the Senate ; and Speaker Colfax and prominent members of the House. Among the honors paid at the Club House to foreigners, the breakfast to Professor Goldwin Smith was perhaps the most memorable, from the brilliancy of the circle then assembled. Some of the ablest of the statesmen and publicists of Europe are occasional correspondents of the Club, and among the portraits that adorn its walls are those of Cobden and Bright, Laboulaye and Gasparin. The artists of New York, than whom there was no more loyal class during the war, are prominently represented, and an Art Committee, composed of Messrs. Putnam, Kensett, Cropsey, Colyer, Butler, Stone and Holbrook, adorn the club room at the monthly meetings with works of art from the studios of the city, which are left open for inspection by the wives and daughters of the members. The Club has recently resolved, on the suggestion of Mr. Alexander T. Stewart, to raise half a million dollars for the erection of a new Club House, and the work is entrusted to a committee of which Mr. Stewart is the chairman. The presidents of the Club have been Robert B. Minturn, Jonathan Sturges, Charles H. Marshall and John Jay. Of these Messrs. Minturn and Marshall are deceased.

It has been well said that the community, with pride and affection, recognizes in the Club "a great power employed with generous and earnest zeal in the promotion of patriotism, humanity and justice. . . . Ever foremost in duty, it has never broken ranks. . . . The Club has no long history to point back to, but it has lived long enough to see every principle and every

"measure which it has vindicated honorably successful."

The year 1865 opened brilliantly with the fall of Fort Fisher. Victories crowded upon each other; the capture of Columbia and Savannah, the brilliant raid of Sheridan, the successful advance of the Army of the Potomac, and, last of all, the fall of Richmond on the 3d of April, dazzled the public mind. A New Yorker, Lieutenant De Peyster, a member of one of the most distinguished of the Knickerbocker families, was the first to raise the National flag anew over the Confederate Capitol. The news of the fall of Richmond was received in New York with unbounded rejoicing. The whole city seemed intoxicated with delight. The streets were thronged with joyous crowds, flags were displayed everywhere, and the air rang with the booming of cannon and the chimes of bells in honor of the virtual termination of the great conflict. The surrender of Lee, on the 9th of April, left only a handful of insurgents in the field, who were subdued in the course of a few months.

The interval between joy and mourning was short. On the morning of the 15th of April the whole community was paralyzed by the announcement that the President of the United States had been stricken down, the night before, by the bullet of an assassin, and that the secretary of state and his son had been attacked and well nigh murdered. As if by a spontaneous impulse, scarcely was the news received at half-past seven, that the President had breathed his last, when the whole city, from the most sumptuous edifices to the numblest tenements, appeared draped in mourning.



Business was entirely suspended, the stores were closed, and the streets were thronged with crowds bewailing the loved head of the nation, and breathing forth vengeance on his murderers. Never before was such a scene beheld in busy New York, thus suddenly transformed into a city of mourners. At twelve o'clock, an immense meeting assembled at the Custom House. Simeon Draper, the collector of the port, was chosen president, Moses Taylor and Moses H. Grinnell, vice-presidents, and Henry M. Taber and S. B. Chittenden, secretaries. The meeting was addressed by Generals Wetmore, Garfield and Butler, Ex-Governor King, Daniel S. Dickinson, Judge Pierrepont, and several others, and a committee of thirteen citizens of New York was appointed to be sent to Washington to attend the funeral of the President, and to tender all needful aid and sympathy to the government. This committee consisted of Moses Taylor, Jonathan Sturges, William E. Dodge, Hamilton Fish, Moses H. Grinnell, William M. Evarts, Charles H. Russell, Edwards Pierrepont, Samuel Sloan, John J. Astor, Jr., F. B. Cutting, R. M. Blatchford, and Charles H. Marshall. It was also recommended that all places of business and of public amusement should remain closed until after the funeral of the President.

At one o'clock, a meeting was held at the Chamber of Commerce, at which Charles H. Marshall acted as chairman, and John Austin Stevens as secretary. The rooms of the Chamber were hung with mourning. Resolutions expressive of respect for the memory of Mr. Lincoln, and of condolence with his family, and that of Mr. Seward, were unanimously adopted, and

the meeting joined with that at the Custom House in recommending the closing of all places of business and amusement until after the obsequies of the President. The Boards of Stock Brokers and Gold Brokers adjourned at once, without transacting any business. In Nassau street, in front of the Post Office, a large concourse of citizens was addressed by General Burnside. The Courts and Boards of Aldermen, Councilmen and Supervisors adjourned, after passing resolutions of condolence with the nation in its affliction. The chief of the police acted on the recommendation of the merchants, and issued an order directing that all places of amusement should remain closed until after the burial of the President, a course which had been previously resolved upon by the Association of New York Managers. The pervading thought of the city was grief and indignation at this base assassination; and it is just to say that this indignation seemed universal, and with scarcely an exception, was shared by those who had sympathized with the South during the struggle.

The death of the martyred President was the general topic of discourse the next day in the Christian churches, as it had been the day before in the Jewish synagogues. From that time until the remains of President Lincoln passed through New York on their way to their final resting place in Illinois, the city was engrossed in preparations to do honor to the illustrious dead. The 19th of April, a date memorable in the annals of America, was observed as a day of mourning by the whole nation. On that day, funeral services were performed at the White House, and the body of

Mr. Lincoln was removed to the Capitol, where it lay in state until the morning of the 21st, when the funeral train set out for Illinois by nearly the same route as that taken by Mr. Lincoln on his way to Washington in 1861. His was a triumphal, though mournful return. The districts which had then been most hostile, now received him with reverence; Baltimore, through which he had passed secretly by night, and which had justified this precaution by shooting down the Union soldiers a few weeks after, greeted the mournful procession with the deepest respect, as did all other places on the route.

By night and day the funeral train passed through a crowd of mourners. Imposing as were the demonstrations everywhere else, they were surpassed by the City of New York. The City Hall had been prepared for the reception of the honored remains, which were escorted thither from the Cortlandt Street Ferry, upon their arrival on the 24th of April, by a sea of human beings; while minute guns were fired along the entire route, and the bells of all the churches tolled mournfully. The coffin was borne into the rotunda of the City Hall, amid the chanting of eight hundred singers, and placed on the magnificent catafalque which had been prepared for it, where it remained buried beneath flowers until the afternoon of the next day. An immense procession of people, miles in length, had already formed, and during the whole twenty-four hours this stream of men, women and children slowly filed through the City Hall, to look for the last time on the face of the dead President. A large military guard kept constant watch over the remains, and at midnight



the German musical societies performed a solemn chant in the rotunda of the City Hall. When the time arrived for departure, thousands who had waited in line for hours to pay their last respects to the dead, were obliged to turn away disappointed.

On the afternoon of the 25th of April New York City took its final leave of President Lincoln. The remains were escorted to the railroad depot by a procession nearly five miles in length, composed of a military force of more than fifteen thousand men, together with numerous civic officers and societies. Last in the procession marched two thousand colored citizens. Along the whole line the streets were thronged with mourners. Every window and balcony was filled, and every house was shrouded in funereal drapery. Even the denizens of the poorest quarters of the city, who could scarce buy bread, eked out the means to provide shreds of crape, by which to express their sorrow; while the most tasteful arches, inscriptions and mourning devices lined the streets through which the funeral train passed. A large assemblage met in the afternoon in Union Square to listen to a funeral oration from the Hon. George Bancroft, and an eulogy from William Cullen Bryant. On the 3d of May, after a journey of more than seventeen hundred miles, the funeral party reached Springfield, Illinois, and on the next day the remains of President Lincoln were laid to rest in Oak Ridge Cemetery, near by.

In the spring of 1865 an important change was effected in the municipal affairs by the substitution of a paid Fire Department for the volunteer Fire Department that had hitherto existed. On the 30th of March the



Lower Arsenal.

Legislature passed an act providing for the creation of a board of four fire commissioners, to be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, who were to have control of the new Fire Department. Charles C. Pinckney, James W. Booth, Philip W. Engs and Martin B. Brown were appointed commissioners, and on the 2d of May, the paid Fire Department was organized. A radical change was at once effected in the prevailing system: steam fire-engines were everywhere adopted within the limits of the city proper in lieu of the old hand-engines, the telegraph facilities were improved, and many important ameliorations were made. The innovation at first called forth the most violent opposition from the members of the former organization, who protested that the act was

unconstitutional. The case was carried before the Court of Appeals, which affirmed the constitutionality of the law. Fears were entertained lest the antagonism of the volunteer firemen, some of whom at first assumed a position of open hostility, and refused to surrender the property of the Fire Department, might endanger the city in case of conflagration ; the opposition, however, was peacefully subdued with no more agitation than might have been expected from so important a transformation.

One of the most strikingly beautiful buildings erected in New York during this year was the National Academy of Design, on the corner of Twenty-third street and Fourth Avenue, a tasteful structure of graywacke and white marble, which is one of the architectural ornaments of the city. The first organized effort to establish an art institution in the city was that of the "New York Academy of Fine Arts," in 1802, which was chartered in 1808, under the name of the Academy of Arts, with Robert R. Livingston as president, John Trumbull as vice-president, and De Witt Clinton as secretary, Trumbull being the only artist. The first exhibition was held in Greenwich street, near Morris, in a building formerly used as a circus. In 1825 an association was formed by the artists of the city under the name of the New York Drawing Association, which was afterwards organized under the name of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, with S. F. B. Morse as the first president. The first public exhibition of the new academy took place in May, 1826, in the house on the south-west corner of Broadway and Reade street. The room in which the exhibition was held was in the second



story, and was lighted with gas, six burners in all for the whole exhibition, which consisted of one hundred and seventy pictures. From this small beginning grew the present Academy of Design.

Perhaps the most noticeable fire of the year was that of Barnum's Museum, on the corner of Broadway and Ann street, which was burned on the 13th of July; an old landmark, which has since been replaced by the Herald building.

A tragic event that occurred in the autumn excited great attention. On the 12th of November, the Hon. Preston King, who had superseded Simeon Draper a short time before in the post of collector of the port of New York, stole from his hotel early in the morning, purchased a bag of shot of twenty-five pounds in weight, suspended it around his neck, proceeded to the Hoboken ferry-boat, and sprang from the deck while crossing the river. The cares of the office had unseated his reason. A diligent search was instituted for his body, which was discovered some time after. Henry A. Smythe, an eminent New York banker, was appointed in his stead.

In December John T. Hoffman, the democratic candidate, was elected mayor, and was inaugurated in office on the 1st of January, 1866.

After the excitement of the last five stirring years, the chronicle of the opening era of peace seems uneventful. The victories of 1866 were bloodless ones. Chief among them was that attained over the fetters of space by the successful laying of the Atlantic Telegraph Cable, the crowning event, not only of the year, but also of the century; and this gigantic project originated

in New York City, and was due solely to the energy and perseverance of a New York merchant, without whose untiring zeal and devotion it is scarcely likely that our generation would have seen the continents linked together by an electric bridge. This fact will warrant us in devoting some space to a brief sketch of this miracle of the age, which may in some sort be regarded as belonging peculiarly to New York.\*

Whatever visions may have been entertained of a remote possibility that Europe and America might some day be telegraphically united, the first idea of practically effecting this communication belongs indisputably to Cyrus W. Field, a New York merchant, who, after retiring from business to enjoy a life of leisure, entered the arena again for the purpose of securing the triumph of this great scheme to which he devoted twelve years of unheard-of disappointment and fatigue, seeing his hopes dashed to the ground again and again, giving up all the comforts of home and crossing the ocean more than forty times in this anxious interval. Such perseverance is rare indeed, and deserves the highest meed of praise.

In 1854 Mr. Field conceived the idea of spanning the ocean with the electric wire. Such an undertaking was too vast for the shoulders of a single individual,

\* For the accompanying facts, we are indebted to the excellent *History of the Atlantic Telegraph*, by Mr. Field's brother, Henry M. Field, D.D., the able editor of the *New York Evangelist*. Mr. Field's whole family is marked by unusual talent. His father was a distinguished clergyman of Stockbridge, Mass. Besides his brothers, David Dudley and Henry M., whom we have already mentioned, another brother, Stephen J., of California, is the youngest judge of the U. S. Supreme Court, and still another, Matthew, a skilful engineer, aided materially in the success of the cable.



Cooper Institute.

and he looked about him for coadjutors in the work. The first interested was his next door neighbor, the philanthropist, Peter Cooper, a native of New York. Moses Taylor, a wealthy New York capitalist, was next enlisted, and through him, Marshall O. Roberts; both of these gentlemen were natives of New York, and ranked among its most prominent citizens. Chandler White, another New York merchant, filled up the measure; and at six o'clock on the morning of the 8th of May, 1854, these five New York gentlemen met at the house of Mr. Field's brother, David Dudley Field, in Gramercy Park, and in half an hour organized a company and subscribed a million and a half of dollars



with which to begin one of the most herculean tasks ever undertaken within the memory of man.

The first thing to be done was to establish telegraphic communication from the mainland across the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Ray, and thence to Cape St. John's, in Newfoundland, the most easterly point of the American continent. From this point the cable was to be laid along the bed of the ocean to the coast of Ireland. This part of the work had been begun a few years before by a company organized by Frederick N. Gisborne, but which, after constructing a few miles, became bankrupt, and was obliged to abandon the undertaking. After two years of indefatigable labor the first step was accomplished, and a submarine cable laid across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and thence four hundred miles overland to St. John's. Thus far it had been purely an American, and, we may say, a New York enterprise, having been accomplished almost solely by Mr. Field and his associates, the original projectors of the scheme, with some slight co-operation from Professor Morse, Wilson G. Hunt, Robert W. Lowber and John W. Brett. Save the few shares held by the latter gentleman, the father of submarine telegraphy in Europe, not a dollar had been raised for the enterprise on the other side of the Atlantic. As the Atlantic Telegraph was an international undertaking, however, it was now fitting that Europe should bear her part in the burden. Mr. Field appealed to the British government for assistance, which was granted, and ships were placed at the service of the company. The American government rendered like assistance; and after much preliminary exploration and study, in

the summer of 1857 the first attempt was made, with the Niagara and the Susquehanna, the two finest ships in the American navy, and the Agamemnon and the Leopard on the part of the British government, to lay the great Atlantic Cable, which snapped when three hundred and thirty-five miles had been successfully laid, and sank to the bottom of the ocean. Nothing daunted, the persevering projector of the enterprise renewed the attempt the following year, and again the cable parted. This time public confidence, which had borne up under the first disappointment, gave way ; men sneered at the folly of casting money into the sea in pursuit of such an utopian aim, and the directors of the new company that had been formed in England became disheartened and were disposed to abandon the undertaking. A last trial was however resolved on ; and on the 17th of July, 1858, the cable expedition sailed for the last time, and landed the wire on the shore of Trinity Bay, August 5, 1858.

The excitement which followed the success of this gigantic scheme was intense everywhere, especially in New York, whose commercial interests were so deeply involved in the enterprise. On the 16th of August the Queen of England transmitted a message of congratulation to the President of the United States, who returned an answer. The next morning a hundred guns were fired in the Park at daybreak, in honor of the event, and the salute was repeated at noon. Flags were raised on all the public buildings, the bells were rung, and at night the city was brilliantly illuminated. The City Hall, indeed, was well nigh offered up as a holocaust on this occasion, for the cupola took fire from the lights

around it, and the building was saved with great difficulty. The 1st of September was set apart for a public ovation, by the municipal authorities, to Mr. Field and the officers of the expedition. The celebration surpassed everything of the kind ever witnessed in the city. A morning thanksgiving service was held at Trinity Church, at which two hundred clergy officiated. At noon Mr. Field and the officers of the ships landed at Castle Garden and were received with a national salute. A procession was formed, extending from the Battery to the Crystal Palace, where the mayor presented to Mr. Field the freedom of the city in a gold box, with the thanks of the community. At night the firemen paraded the streets in a torch-light procession to do honor to the hero who had achieved such a miracle, and whose fame was in every one's mouth. On that very day the voice of the cable was suddenly hushed. The revulsion that followed was excessive. The cable at once fell into contempt, and was publicly decried as a hoax or a stock speculation, many denying that any message had ever passed over it, though four hundred messages had been transmitted in the interval, and the papers of the day proved that events were published in the English journals forty-eight hours after their occurrence in America ; a thing impossible without the intervention of the telegraph. To give a single example of this fact, unknown to many, Mr. Eddy, a well-known telegraph operator, died suddenly at Burlington, Vt., on Monday, August 23d, and his death was telegraphed to England and published in the *London Times*, August 25th. Mr. Field fell, in the public estimation, from the rank of a successful hero



to that of a visionary schemer and perhaps adventurer ; his task was rendered tenfold more difficult by its momentary success, and for almost ten years he was doomed to struggle against the tide, stimulating the unwilling faith of his coadjutors, and raising the immense sums of money that were necessary to carry out his gigantic undertaking in the midst of an unheard-of season of financial depression and civil war. It is safe to say that not one man in a million would have persevered ; but his iron will carried him successfully to the end, as did that of Fulton before him. In the interval of waiting, important improvements were effected in the manufacture of telegraphic machinery, and a mammoth ship, the Great Eastern, was built, whose vast capacity and smooth motion gave increased facilities for the successful laying of the cable. The company was revived, and on the 23d of July, 1865, the Great Eastern set sail, trailing in her wake the precious wire. So many precautions had been taken that failure seemed almost impossible. In spite of all this care a fault occurred when twelve hundred miles at sea, and in attempting to recover it, the cable snapped and went down.

It was necessary to begin the work anew. The ship returned to England ; three millions of dollars were raised to prosecute the undertaking, a new cable was made, and on the 13th of July, 1866, the Great Eastern again sailed with the cable, and this time succeeded in carrying it safely across the Atlantic, after twelve years of almost superhuman effort. Nor was this all ; the huge vessel retraced its course, and, with the aid of its powerful grappling machinery, succeeded

in fishing up from the bottom of the sea, two miles deep, the cable that had been lost the year before ; and, having spliced it, established a second line of communication between the Old and New Worlds.

The final success of this enterprise was hailed with delight, and for the second time Mr. Field was regarded as the hero of the age. The Chamber of Commerce of New York gave a public banquet in honor of the Ocean Telegraph and its projectors, at the Metropolitan Hotel on the 15th of November, 1866, in which the most distinguished personages of the country participated, either in person or by letter, and the Thirty-ninth Congress presented a gold medal to Mr. Field, with the thanks of the nation.

An achievement so vast, accomplished in the face of such difficulties, and conferring such benefits on mankind, justifies the tribute of one of the greatest of Englishmen, John Bright, when, in a speech at a monster meeting at Leeds, addressing a hundred thousand of his countrymen, he said : " A friend of mine, Cyrus W. Field of New York, is the Columbus of our time ; for, " after not less than forty passages across the Atlantic " in pursuit of the great aim of his life, he has at length, " by his cable, moored the New World close alongside " of the Old."

A great step in advance was taken in New York during the same year, by the organization of a Metropolitan Board of Health, consisting of four commissioners, appointed by the governor by and with the consent of the Senate, the health officer and the Police Board, which was invested with extensive powers, and charged with the task of abating nuisances and watching



All Souls Church, corner of Fourth Avenue and Twentieth Street.





over the public health of New York and Brooklyn. The act to create a Metropolitan Sanitary District and Board of Health therein, for the preservation of life and health and to prevent the spread of disease, passed the Legislature on the 26th of February, 1866; and James Crane, M.D., Willard Parker, M.D., Jackson S. Schultz and John O. Stone, M.D., were appointed to constitute the said Board. This measure had been called forth by the dread of an impending visitation of the cholera, which had ravaged New York at different times, especially in 1832 and 1849, and which was raging violently in Europe. In the preceding November the steamship *Atlanta*, an emigrant vessel, had arrived at New York from Europe, having on board several passengers sick of Asiatic cholera. No hospital on land had been provided since the destruction of the Quarantine Buildings on Staten Island, and the sick were obliged to take refuge on a floating hulk in the bay, which had been used during the summer for the reception of yellow fever patients. In a few weeks the disease broke out at Ward's Island, where several deaths occurred. The severity of the weather checked its further progress; but the belief was general that it would break out with fresh violence in the spring. The Board of Health vigorously set to work to purify the city, the hygienic condition of which was deplorable. Under the energetic management of the Health Commissioners, the streets were swept, the tenement quarters disinfected, the fat and bone boiling establishments and slaughter-houses removed beyond the limits of the city, the markets cleaned, the practice of driving cattle through the streets during the day-time discontinued, and many sanitary measures effected.

In the spring the steamship *England* arrived at Halifax, with one hundred and sixty cases of cholera, exclusive of forty that had died on the voyage from Liverpool. Information was at the same time received that two vessels had stopped at Bermuda on their way to New York, and were quarantined there on suspicion of having cholera on board. The only quarantine hospital possessed by New York was a hulk that would accommodate about three hundred patients. In view of the danger, the Board of Health petitioned the governor for a grant of extraordinary powers to provide for the accommodation of the sick and the purification of the city. These powers were granted till the 15th of October. The Board made earnest efforts to establish a quarantine, but were thwarted on every hand; the inhabitants of Staten Island, Coney Island, Sandy Hook, and all other eligible spots in the vicinity of New York, strenuously opposed the establishment of a cholera hospital in their neighborhood; and though steps were taken to occupy Seguin's Point by force, nothing permanent was effected, and thus the matter remained.

Meanwhile, the expected visitant arrived. On the 18th of April the steamer *Virginia* reached New York from Liverpool, with a number of cholera cases of the most malignant type on board. The sick were transferred to a hospital ship, and those in health to a steamer fitted up for their accommodation. Twelve days after, on the 1st of May, the first case of cholera broke out in New York, in an old, ill-drained tenement-house on the corner of Third Avenue and Ninety-third street. The victim was a woman, who died in a few hours. The next day another case occurred at 115 Mulberry street,



five miles distant. From this time the disease slowly extended, until it reached its height in August. It was confined, however, almost wholly to the badly drained and insalubrious districts of the city, and to the public institutions on the islands round about. In Brooklyn it raged with great violence. The Board of Health kept vigilant watch over the pestilence, and succeeded in checking its ravages so far that the whole number of fatal cases in the city, including the shipping at the wharves and the vast floating population, was but four hundred and sixty ; while the whole number of deaths from cholera, comprising the hospitals and the penal institutions on the islands, was twelve hundred and twelve. In the Western cities, whither it extended with fearful rapidity, the victims were numbered by thousands. During the continuance of the pestilence the barracks on the Battery, which had been used during and since the war as a depot for troops passing through the city, were converted into a hospital, together with the United States Transit Hospital immediately adjacent. The barracks in front of the Five Points House of Industry were also used as a depot for disinfectants. A hospital was established in Second Avenue, and a corps of medical men and nurses was organized to serve during the plague, which finally disappeared in October.

A marked event in the dramatic world, during this year, was the visit of the celebrated Italian *tragedienne*, Adelaide Ristori, the former rival of Rachel, who arrived at New York in the autumn of 1866, and soon after made her *début* with great success. After a brilliant tour throughout the whole country, Madame Ristori, or rather

the Marchese del Grillo, revisited the city in the following spring, and took her final departure thence for Europe on the 18th of May, 1867.

The winter of 1866-1867 was marked by great severity. The East River was entirely frozen over, an event of rare occurrence, and in the space of a few hours hundreds of persons crossed from Brooklyn to New York on the ice. The interruption to ferry navigation was so great that the public was stimulated to undertake the long talked-of project of bridging the East River, and the Legislature granted permission to two companies to construct elevated bridges, one from the vicinity of Chatham Square, in New York, to Fulton street, in Brooklyn, and the other from the neighborhood of Yorkville to the opposite point. About the same time a novel undertaking was commenced in the form of an elevated bridge for pedestrians, known as the Loew Bridge, across the corner of Broadway and Fulton street, a passage which had become extremely perilous from the crowd of vehicles constantly accumulated at that point. During the same session, an act was passed by Congress authorizing the purchase, by the government, of the lower end of the City Hall Park, on which to erect a new Post-office.

Various land-marks passed away in the spring of 1867. St. John's Park, which, comparatively a few years since, was the centre of wealth and fashion, was sold to the Hudson River Railroad Company, and transformed into a depot. This park had formed a portion of the "Queen's Farm," granted to Trinity Church in 1705 by Lord Cornbury, and the title of which is still contested by the heirs of Aneke Jans, the widow of



In 1865.

Roelof Jans, and afterwards the wife of Domine Bogardus, who held the original patent.

On the 13th of February, 1867, the old Society Library, on the corner of Broadway and Leonard street, was destroyed by fire. This edifice had been built in 1839 by the New York Society Library Association, which occupied it until 1853. It was then sold to the publishers, D. Appleton & Co., who remodeled it, and used the ground-floor for their bookstore; the upper stories being occupied by numerous societies, editors and artists. In 1860 the publishing house of the Messrs. Appleton & Co. was removed to Broadway near Grand street, and the building was leased to the mercantile firm of S. B. Chittenden & Co., who were its occupants at the time of its destruction, and whose loss thereby amounted to nearly a million of dollars. The Grecian facade of the building remained for some time standing, almost unscathed



by the fire; the beautiful ruin is worthy of remembrance.

In March Tammany Hall, on the corner of Frankfort and Chatham streets, was sold to make way for a newspaper establishment, the Tammany Society having purchased the site of the Medical College in Fourteenth street, which had fallen a prey to the conflagration which destroyed the Academy of Music on the 26th of May, 1865, in order to erect a new hall thereon. Tammany Hall stood on the Leisler estate, near, or on the spot, where the unfortunate Leisler was buried. It was erected in 1811, and had long been conspicuous in the political annals of the city.

Another noticeable conflagration was that of the 23d of March, 1867, which swept away Winter Garden from the face of the earth, and seriously injured the adjoining Southern Hotel. This was a fatal spot, Tripler Hall, the Lafarge Hotel, and the Metropolitan Theatre, having been burned to the ground thereon in succession. The fire, however, only gave a fresh impetus to private enterprise, and scarcely was the building in ashes, when its successor was projected.

The close of 1867 and beginning of 1868 was a memorable epoch in the fortunes of New York. The era was one of great and general prosperity. Business, which had been gradually reviving since the end of the war, received a sudden impetus about this time; stock and petroleum speculations flourished, and trade of all kinds was thriving. This was especially true of real estate on New York Island, owing in part to the natural growth of the metropolis, and in part to the gigantic schemes for municipal improvements projected by the

famous Ring, who already more or less controlled the city government, and the rise and fall of which was doomed to form such a graphic episode in the history of the metropolis. John T. Hoffman had just been re-elected Mayor, William M. Tweed was President of the Board of Supervisors, Richard B. Connolly was Comptroller, and Peter B. Sweeny was City Chamberlain and Treasurer, all names destined to a bad eminence. As the readiest means of dazzling the citizens with brilliant visions of the public welfare, and thus blinding them to their nefarious designs on the treasury, this band of worthies planned a series of magnificent schemes for improving and beautifying the metropolis, many of which were broad and sagacious, but under cover of which they succeeded in perpetrating frauds almost unparalleled in municipal administration. As yet, most of these schemes existed only on paper, but they sufficed to inspire the people with a firm and not misplaced faith in the future grandeur and glory of New York.

Those who marvel at the rapid growth of the city in a somewhat remote past, often fail to note the equally wonderful changes that have taken place within their own memory. To illustrate this, let us rapidly sketch New York at so recent a date as 1868, contrasted with the New York of to-day, with its well-paved and well-sewered streets, lined with almost unbroken rows of brown stone and brick houses, with only here and there a vacant lot, already marked by some enterprising builder, stretching from the Battery to Harlem, and even beyond it, and threaded by long lines of elevated railroads that

almost annihilate space, and bring the residents of the outlying wards in close connection with Wall street and the Stock Exchange. At the epoch of which we speak, the whole upper part of the city, above Forty-second street, was a desolate expanse of piles of rocks and sunken lots, occupied chiefly with shanties, varied by an occasional row of lonely-looking brown-stone houses. The streets were mostly laid out, but few of them were paved or flagged, many not even graded. Madison Avenue, above Forty-second street, was a pile of débris, and the daily papers were clamoring for the speedy grading and paving of this important highway. Lexington Avenue was opened only to Sixty-fifth street. The steam cars of the Harlem and New Haven Railroads ran down Fourth Avenue, on the surface, to Forty-second street, whence the heavy cars were dragged by horses through the Park Avenue tunnel to the depot at Twenty-seventh street. At Thirty-second street and Fourth Avenue was the upper terminus of the Fourth Avenue horse-car line, although a branch ran to the Thirty-fourth street ferry. The Hudson River Railroad branched off at Spuytenduyvel Creek on the west side of the town, to the passenger depot at Thirtieth street and Tenth Avenue; the freight depot being at St. John's Park. The Grand Central Depot was as yet undreamed of; as was also the magnificent Fourth Avenue improvement, and the extension of city car lines that has since taken place. At this time the lumbering omnibuses were in their prime. Six stage lines were in existence: the Broadway and Fifth Avenue; the Broadway, Twenty-



third street and Ninth Avenue; the Broadway and Fourth Avenue; the Broadway and Eighth street; the Second street and Broadway; and the Madison Avenue. None of these found it worth while to go above Forty-seventh street.

The venerable New York Hospital still stood on Broadway at the head of Pearl street, in the midst of a beautiful plot of five acres, carpeted with a greensward rivaling the famous turf of the English parks, and shaded by a double avenue of superb elms, the finest on the island. The dark, dingy, and inconvenient Middle Dutch Church in Nassau street served as the post-office of the great city of New York. Noon-day prayer-meetings were held in the North Dutch Church in William street, and the stone-flagged aisles of St. George's Chapel in Beekman street echoed the tread of worshipers on the Sabbath.

The building up of the city progressed with marvelous rapidity. Property doubled, trebled, even quadrupled in value, not only in the improved and accessible part of the town, but in the remote districts, where everything was yet to be done, and with which there was hardly any means of communication. The Ring and their tools, all of whom were reckless speculators in real estate, stimulated private enterprise by the most lavish expenditure in public works. Believing in their power suddenly to transform the wild region west of the Central Park into the fashionable quarter of the metropolis, they laid out a magnificent boulevard, extending from the Grand Circle at Eighth Avenue and Fifty-ninth

street, in a northerly direction, nearly parallel with the old Bloomingdale Road, midway between the Park and the river, joining Eleventh Avenue at One Hundred and Sixth street, and following its line northward to Tubby Hook, making a continuous drive of eighteen miles. The broad Avenue St. Nicholas was also laid out, extending from the Central Park gate at Sixth Avenue and One Hundred and Tenth street, northward, along the east side of the grounds of the Convent of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville, and past the old Jumel mansion. Seventh Avenue was likewise made a fine and spacious drive. Broadway, too, was widened from Union Square to the Central Park.

With all these improvements, rapid transit from one end to the other of this long, narrow island became a vital necessity. Various means of aerial and underground steam railroads were devised. A three-tier or arcade road was warmly advocated, but was finally defeated in the Legislature. A charter was granted the central underground road in April, 1868; a bill for a pneumatic railroad was likewise passed by the Legislature in 1870. The only one of these projects destined to success was the Greenwich Street Elevated Railroad, the actual pioneer of all the others, which was begun July 2, 1867, with a subscription of a hundred thousand dollars. A section was first built from the Battery to Cortlandt street, and the trial trip thereon, July 3, 1868, proved so satisfactory that the State Commission made a favorable report, and the Governor authorized the completion of the work from the Battery to Spuytenduyvel.

Real-estate speculation reached its height in 1868 and 1869. In the reaction that followed it steadily declined; the downfall of the Ring crushed it outright, and an array of heavy taxes and assessments, followed by foreclosures, beggared a host of luckless investors. A panic ensued and property fell far below its value, until it reached the lowest point in the gloomy year 1878, when all business lay prostrate. Since that time it has gradually appreciated, and promises to verify the saying that, in similar fluctuations, this kind of property has always advanced, at each new flood tide, beyond the high-water mark of the last receding wave. Indeed, if such has been the growth of the upper part of the city during twelve years, with only the surface roads, what may be expected during the next decade, with the advantage of rapid transit?

Means were also devised for bridging and tunneling the rivers on each side of the island, and the Legislature of 1866-1867 passed three bills, authorizing bridges to be constructed across the East River at three different points. To facilitate the crossing of Broadway, an elevated causeway, called the Loew Bridge, from Alderman Charles E. Loew, was constructed across that thoroughfare at its intersection with Fulton street. This costly but unsightly structure was opened May 16, 1867; it was, however, found impracticable, and was abandoned the following year.

About this time English sparrows were domesticated in New York. The swarms of worms that infested the trees in the parks and streets had attained the propor-



tions of a positive nuisance. It had become impossible to walk abroad during the summer months without finding myriads of this repulsive vermin dangling into one's face or festooned about one's garments. In 1866, the happy thought was conceived of letting loose a few sparrows in the parks. The hardy and voracious little birds multiplied so fast, and exterminated the worms so effectually, that the city was soon rid of the pest. The grateful citizens hastened to build houses and provide drinking fountains for their useful little friends, never dreaming that a time might arise when the sparrows themselves would be assailed by an ungrateful generation.

The autumn of 1867 was marked by the advent of a number of notable persons, prominent among whom were Ristori, Fanny Kemble, Mazzoleni, and Janauschek. Charles Dickens paid his second visit to America at this epoch. He arrived at Boston, November 20, and gave his first reading in New York, December 9.

Among the notable buildings erected in 1867 was Pike's, afterwards the Grand Opera House, on the corner of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-third street, which was opened Jan. 9, 1868, by Madame La Grange and Signor Brignoli. The beautiful Renaissance edifice, Booth's Theatre, was built about the same time by the gifted tragedian, Edwin Booth, and opened early in 1869. On October 31, 1868, the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association Building was laid on the corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third street, opposite the Academy of Design. The structure was completed the following autumn.

In December, 1868, A. Oakey Hall was elected Mayor. He was a clever, eccentric, ambitious man, who co-operated with the Ring from love of power rather than greed.

1869 was signalized by the removal of some landmarks, notably of the New York Hospital, and the construction of a host of buildings, public and private, chief among which were the massive granite Post Office, at the lower end of the park, and the Grand Central Depot at Forty-second street, both of which were begun during this year. The latter was built for Commodore Vanderbilt, under the supervision of his son, William H. Vanderbilt, for the common use of the Harlem, New Haven, and Hudson River Roads, and is the largest depot in the United States, being 696 feet long, and 240 feet wide. Ground was broken November 15, 1869, and the depot was opened October 9, 1871. The old depot at Twenty-seventh street was fitted up as a place of amusement, and known first as Barnum's Hippodrome, and subsequently as "Gilmore's," and Madison Square Garden. The new structure, which extends from Forty-second to Forty-fifth streets, while promoting public convenience in some ways, materially injured the city by blocking up so important a thoroughfare as Fourth Avenue, and cutting off communication between the east and west sides of the town for the space of three squares.

The New York Post Office, the finest public edifice in the city, was designed by A. B. Mullett, the noted government architect, and was five years in building. On Saturday night, August 28, 1875, the Old Middle

Dutch Church in Nassau street, which had served the city as a post office for more than thirty years, was abandoned, and sixty-five loads of mail matter were conveyed to the new building under the direction of the Postmaster, Thomas L. James, and the Supervising Architect, William A. Potter. The next morning the regular business of the office was resumed as usual, without any of the confusion that had been anticipated from the important transfer.

On June 18, 1869, the youngest of the quartette of renowned New York journalists, Henry J. Raymond of the *Times*, died suddenly of apoplexy in his fiftieth year. He was followed, June 1, 1872, by the veteran James Gordon Bennett, of the *Herald*, aged seventy-seven. The next on the death roll was Horace Greeley, the founder of the *New York Tribune*, who expired November 29, 1872, at the age of sixty-two; and the list was closed, June 12, 1878, by the death of the eldest, the poet William Cullen Bryant, of the *Evening Post*, in his eighty-fourth year.

The great event of 1870 was the beginning of the Brooklyn Bridge. This enterprise was first commenced by a private stock corporation, which was incorporated April 16, 1867, under the name of the New York Bridge Company. The control was afterward assumed by the two cities, New York and Brooklyn, and the management was vested in a board of trustees. In May, 1867, plans for the bridge were submitted to the president and directors by Mr. John A. Roebling, the appointed engineer; these were accepted, and surveys were made



for the work in 1869. On January 2, 1870, the long-talked-of undertaking was actually begun by the sinking of the caisson on the Brooklyn side. In consequence of the engineer's death, the work was transferred in August, 1870, to his son, Colonel W. A. Roebling, who continued afterward in charge of the operations.

This magnificent engineering work, which extends from Printing-House Square to Sands street, Brooklyn, and which crosses the East River at its narrowest part, is the highest bridge ever built at such an elevation, being 119 feet above high water, and flanked by towers at the river side 277 feet in height. It is 1,600 feet wide, and a mile and one-seventh long, the distance from the Chatham street end to the New York tower being 1,500 feet, while the Brooklyn approach is 900 feet. The center span is about 1,600 feet, and the side spans 930 feet in length. Each of its four cables consists of over 5,000 steel wires, with an ultimate strength of 11,500 tons. The first estimate of the cost of the bridge was \$6,750,000. In June, 1878, about \$9,400,000 had been expended, and the estimate of the cost was increased to about \$13,000,000.

On the 8th of June, 1870, the corner-stone of the new Masonic Temple was laid on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third street. In the same year the statue of Lincoln, by H. K. Browne, was set up at the lower side of Union Square.

A notable event of the autumn of 1871 was the arrival of the Russian Grand Duke Alexis, on the 28th of November. He was received with great *éclat*, brilliant

balls being given at the New York Academy of Music and the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and a grand review of the troops held in Tompkins Square in his honor. Two years previous, in 1869, similar attentions had been paid to Prince Arthur, afterward the Duke of Connaught, on the occasion of his visit.

In the summer of 1870, the peace of the city was disturbed by a riot which had far-reaching consequences. On the 12th of July a party of Orangemen, while commemorating the battle of the Boyne by a picnic at Elm Park in Eighth Avenue in the vicinity of Ninety-second street, was attacked by a mob of Boulevard laborers who had been incensed, it is said, by the inflammatory tunes played by the band on its way. Stones were thrown and shots exchanged, three persons were killed and several wounded, some fatally; and the affray became so serious that Superintendent Jourdan dispatched a strong police force to the spot, that soon dispersed the rioters.

Great excitement ensued among the partisans of the rival factions, which assumed menacing proportions as the next anniversary approached. The Ribbonmen, joined with the dregs of the populace, such as had figured in the riots of 1863, made open threats of violence against the Orangemen, should they venture to parade, and the danger of bloodshed seemed so imminent that the city authorities weakly quailed before the peril, and, July 11, Superintendent Kelso, with Mayor Hall's approval, issued an order forbidding the procession. This act aroused the wildest indignation. It was everywhere

felt that a principle of liberty was at stake, and even those who most deplored the folly of keeping alive a foreign feud on American soil felt that the right of free assemblage must be protected at all hazards. Warned by the storm of public feeling, Governor Hoffman promptly revoked Kelso's order. Meanwhile most of the Orangemen had prepared to celebrate the day in New Jersey, and the members of Gideon Lodge alone, numbering some hundred and sixty men, availed themselves of the permission to parade. The little band set out on its march escorted by numerous policemen in front and rear, together with the Eighty-fourth, Twenty-second, Sixth, and Ninth Regiments of New York militia. They passed in ominous silence through streets lined with crowds of men, women, and children. On reaching Eighth Avenue, between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth streets, a shot fired from a tenement house gave the signal for a general onslaught. Volleys of paving stones rained on the procession, chimneys were torn down and flung at them, and shots were fired by the rioters without provoking a response until Private Page, of the Ninth Regiment, was shot from his horse. His comrades instantly shot down his assailant, and the troops opened fire upon the mob. The contest was short, sharp and decisive; the undisciplined crowd soon retreated before the soldiery, and the procession went on its way to the nearest point where it could disband with dignity. Great consternation prevailed throughout the city. The shops were everywhere closed, and business was suspended. Rumors were rife that the riot was to be renewed, and



a general attack made on the armories and public buildings. The police took possession of Hibernia Hall, the headquarters of the rioters, and Governor Hoffman and General Shaler established themselves at the Central Police Headquarters and summoned troops from Brooklyn. An unsuccessful attack was made by the mob on the Fenian armory in Avenue A. By degrees the excitement calmed, and tranquility was restored. In this bloody conflict two soldiers, Sergeant Samuel Wyatt, and Private Henry C. Page, of the Ninth Regiment, and one policeman, Henry Ford, were killed, and twenty-six policemen and soldiers were wounded. Of the rioters and others thirty-seven—among whom were a woman, a girl, and a boy—were killed, and sixty-seven wounded. The obsequies of the soldiers were celebrated the next Sunday with an imposing parade. It is only just to note that this riot was factious and political rather than religious; and that Archbishop McCloskey and the rest of the Catholic clergy had earnestly adjured their flocks, the Sunday before, not to interfere in any way with the Orange procession; they afterward formally disowned the rioters.

This exciting occurrence was speedily followed by one of the most memorable events in the annals of this city—the exposure of the Tammany Ring frauds.

For several years past, the great and wealthy metropolis had been absolutely controlled by the band of unscrupulous men familiarly known as the Tammany Ring, and which was itself ruled by the notorious William M. Tweed. The career of this Captain Kidd of the

nineteenth century is a drama of crime which needs no fiction to enhance the interest of its graphic reality. Beginning life as an humble chairmaker, in partnership with his brother Richard, he entered politics at an early age, and by adroit affiliation with the powerful body of firemen and the masses of ignorant voters that rule the elections in the lower wards, succeeded in working his way up, through various public offices, to the dignity of President of the Board of Supervisors, and Deputy Street Commissioner. The latter office, to which he was elected in 1863, and by which he stood virtually at the head of the public works, gave him almost unlimited control of the expenditures for public improvements, while the former enabled him to increase the city pay-roll at his pleasure, and to reward his supporters with sinecure positions. His election as Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society in 1863 endowed him with vast political power, through which he was thrice chosen State Senator, in 1867, '69, and '71. A host of corrupt officials rallied round him, moved by thirst for place or gold. Foremost among these were Richard B. Connolly, Peter B. Sweeny, and A. Oakey Hall, who, together with himself, formed the famous Ring, that made every department of the city government, from the highest to the lowest, their tool, and even suborned the judges on the bench. A wholesale system of plunder, comprising the streets, boulevards, parks, armories, and all public buildings and improvements, was inaugurated, in which the spoils were divided *pro rata*. The new County Court House, in the City Hall Park,

proved the richest mine. This was authorized by the Legislature in 1858, and was not to cost more than \$250,000; in 1871 more than \$8,000,000 had been ostensibly expended on it, and it was still unfinished. All the contractors were required to pay a commission of from 65 to 85 per cent. to the Ring, of which Tweed usually received one-fourth, and the rest was divided among his confederates. The mechanics' small share suffered still further abatement, since they were required besides to contribute largely to the political fund, and to fit up and furnish city and country houses for the Ring and their friends gratuitously, besides supplying them with anything which they chanced to fancy. Those who dared remonstrate were threatened, not only with the loss of the city patronage, but with non-payment for the work already done, which would have reduced them to bankruptcy. They were encouraged to increase their bills to inordinate sums, a million and a half being granted on one occasion for an account estimated at \$264,000. Of these bills, not ten per cent. of actual value was received by the city. A secret list of these fraudulent payments was kept in the Auditor's Office, under the seemingly inoffensive title of "County Liabilities."

To facilitate his nefarious schemes, April 5, 1870, Tweed secured the passage of a new city charter, by which the city government was withdrawn from all control of State authority, and the executive power was vested in a mayor and eleven departments—the heads of which were to be appointed by the mayor. The



offices of Street Commissioner and Croton Department were vacated, and their powers were vested in a Commissioner of Public Works, who was to hold office for four years. Mayor Hall immediately appointed Tweed to this important post, and placed Peter B. Sweeny at the head of the Park Commission. John J. Bradley was made Chamberlain, Richard B. Connolly was Comptroller. The power of auditing was taken from the Board of Supervisors and conferred on a board of audit, composed of the mayor, comptroller, and commissioner of Public Works—Hall, Connolly, and Tweed. This Board of Audit held but a single session, of five minutes' duration, wherein they directed all outstanding liabilities to be collected, and, as a means of evading joint responsibility, illegally delegated the auditing thereof to one of their tools, the County Auditor, James Watson, who thenceforth signed the fraudulent bills, and afterwards carried them to the different members of the Board for their signature, sometimes indeed dispensing with this formality. Within three and a half months, \$6,312,000 was paid from the city treasury, \$5,710,130 of which was for fitting up and furnishing the new Court House. It was estimated that the carpets purchased by the city for this purpose would have carpeted Union Square three times over.

For the next fifteen months the Ring ruled triumphant, and squandered the public funds with a lavish prodigality that rivaled that of Heliogabalus. The tax-payers murmured at the waste; the public journals clamored, especially the *Tribune*, *Times*, and *Harper's*

*Weekly*, reinforced by Nast's cartoons; to which Tweed jeeringly answered, "What are you going to do about it?" But "he laughs best who laughs last." The day of reckoning was at hand.

In January, 1870, a clerk named William S. Copeland had been placed in the auditor's office through the influence of Sheriff James O'Brien. While looking over some records, he stumbled upon the secret list of "County Liabilities." Fancying it suspicious, he made an exact transcript of it, which he carried to his patron, who at once discerned its importance, and attempted to use it to enforce upon the Ring the payment of a claim that he held against the city. By Sweeny's advice, the payment was refused, and he left, threatening to publish the list in the *Times*. In the afternoon, the confederates reconsidered their action, and sent Auditor Watson to negotiate with O'Brien at Bertholf's Hotel, a sporting tavern in Harlem Lane. O'Brien was accidentally detained, and on his return home Watson was thrown from his carriage, in a collision with another vehicle, and so severely injured that he died a few days after, from concussion of the brain. His death-bed was surrounded by the Ring and their agents, anxious to prevent a damaging confession, and to secure the transfer of the large amount of property belonging to them which Watson held in his name, and which devolved on his widow, as he never regained his consciousness.

O'Brien continued to press his claims, but they were disregarded. Weeks and months passed by; it gradually became whispered about that compromising docu-

ments were in existence, and at length, feeling that his time for vengeance had come, after vainly offering them to the *Sun*, O'Brien placed the fraudulent accounts in the hands of George Jones, the proprietor of the *Times*, telling him to use them as he pleased.

The publication of these portentous figures, which was continued in the *Times* from July 20 to July 29, plunged the city in a ferment of excitement. The confederates vainly tried to brave the storm of indignation which wholly overthrew their power in the November elections. Mass meetings were held; a committee of seventy was appointed to investigate the frauds; Andrew H. Green was made comptroller in the place of Connolly, who was forced to resign; and Charles O'Connor, Richard O'Gorman, and other prominent citizens took measures to bring the criminals to justice. Connolly, Sweeny, and many of their associates fled to Europe. Tweed remained and was arrested and lodged in Ludlow Street Jail. On February 10, 1872, he was indicted for forgery and grand larceny. The jury disagreed. November 5, 1873, he was brought to trial for the second time, and found guilty of all the fifty-one counts in the indictment. He was sentenced, November 22, to twelve years imprisonment in the penitentiary, and to pay a fine of \$12,300.18 for each of twelve counts of the indictment, and of \$250 for each of the other thirty-nine counts. For two years and a half there was witnessed the anomalous spectacle of a New York senator imprisoned in the penitentiary of his own State, wearing the convict garb, and employed in forced



labor. He remained on Blackwell's Island until June 13, 1875, when his friends obtained a decision from the Supreme Court, releasing him on the ground that the court had exhausted its power by sentencing him on the first indictment, and that the cumulative sentence was void. He was taken to court June 22, and gave bail for \$18,000 on the criminal indictments; then, when liberty seemed just within his grasp, and he felt himself once more a free man, he was again arrested on a civil suit for the recovery of over \$6,000,000 charged in the County Liabilities, and held to bail in the enormous sum of three million dollars. His boasted twenty millions had melted away in his numerous and costly suits, and he was forced to take up his quarters in Ludlow Street Jail, which, however, was luxurious in comparison with the penitentiary. Aided by his friends, he concocted a plan of escape; while taking an airing with Sheriff O'Brien, December 4, 1875, he persuaded his keepers to allow him to visit his wife at her house in Madison Avenue, and from there succeeded in effecting his flight. After a series of fatiguing and exhausting adventures, aggravated by his infirm health and excessive corpulence, he reached Vigo, Spain, where he remained in concealment until November of the following year, when he was apprehended and brought back to the jail from which he had escaped. Proceedings had been begun against him in the civil suit, January 13, 1876, which resulted, March 8, in a verdict by a struck jury, for damages amounting to \$6,537,117.38, principal and interest. Hopeless of securing freedom

by the restitution of his stolen millions, branded with infamy, without hope for the future or comfort in the present, broken in health and prematurely aged, he lingered out the rest of his wretched existence in Ludlow Street Jail, where he died, April 12, 1878, at the age of fifty-five.

In December, 1872, William F. Havemeyer was elected mayor. He did not live to complete his term, but died of apoplexy while sitting in his office, November 30, 1874.

One of the most important events of 1873 was the annexation to New York City of the contiguous part of Westchester County, comprising Morrisania, West Farms, and Kingsbridge. This accession nearly doubled the area of the city, increasing it 13,000 acres. The island contained 22 square miles, or 14,000 acres, divided by survey into 141,486 lots. The new territory formed the 23d and 24th Wards.

An amendment to the charter which was passed June 13, 1873, abolished the board of assistant aldermen, which had been substituted for the councilmen in 1869, constituted a new common council of twenty-one aldermen, and provided that the State and charter elections, which had hitherto been held at different times, should take place on the same day in November. The first election under this régime was held in November, 1874, when William H. Wickham was chosen mayor.

The year 1873 was one of financial disaster. All business was paralyzed, a general panic prevailed, mer-

cantile firms, corporations, and banks stopped payment, and the Stock Exchange, for the first time in its history, suspended operations. It was long before public confidence was restored, and the stagnation continued without much improvement until the signal revival of trade in 1879 and 1880.

The summer of 1875 was signalized by the completion of the great engineering work known as the Fourth Avenue improvement, which had been necessitated by the frequent loss of life from the surface trains of the three great arteries of travel, which had passed almost continually since the completion of the Grand Central Depot. To obviate this, the four tracks of the roads were sunk into a huge tunnel, extending from Forty-second to One Hundredth streets, whence they were carried by viaduct over the Harlem Flats to One Hundred and Sixteenth street, and thence through an open cut to Harlem Bridge. This gigantic undertaking cost \$6,000,000, half of which was to be paid by the city and half by the road, and was executed under the direction of Allan Campbell and Alfred W. Craven. The road was opened from Forty-second street to Harlem, June 20, 1875.

New York was visited, in 1876, by the genial and intelligent Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro II. and his wife, the first reigning sovereigns that had set foot in the Republic, with the exception of the dusky King Kalakaua of the Sandwich Islands, in the winter of 1874-'75. Unlike most royal personages, who expect entertainment, these princely visitors entertained them-



selves, seeking out public institutions, schools, manufacturing, and printing-offices, and impressing all with whom they came in contact with their good sense and excellent taste.

In the summer of 1876, the French government paid New York a graceful compliment by presenting to it a statue of La Fayette, by the eminent sculptor Bartholdi, in token of gratitude for the substantial sympathy extended to France during the disastrous Franco-Prussian war. The statue was set up at the lower end of Union Square, between those of Washington and Lincoln, and unveiled, September 6, with appropriate ceremonies.

The most noteworthy public work of the Centennial year was the Hell Gate explosion. In 1851, M. Maillefert had attempted to open this important channel by surface blasting, which only demolished the rocks above water, and left them even more dangerous than before. In 1866, General John Newton, of the U. S. Engineer Corps, surveyed the channel, and recommended a plan for removing the obstructions by submarine blasting, for which the first appropriation was made by Congress in 1868. The laborious work was prosecuted for eight years, under great difficulties; at length, September 24, 1876, the dangerous Hallett's Point Reef was blown to fragments by twenty-six tons of powerful explosives, ignited by electricity from the pressure of a button by the hand of General Newton's little daughter.

Great fears had been entertained lest this prodigious concussion would destroy half New York. Many peo-

ple left the city; and the public apprehended some dire disaster. The river was cleared of shipping for a considerable distance above and below the scene of operations; the dreaded explosion took place; for an instant a gigantic water-spout shot up in the air, filled with immense masses of rock, the next moment the commotion had subsided, the waters flowed deep and clear over the spot once occupied by the formidable reef, and a safe passage was obtained.

The result was hailed with delight, and General Newton was urged to prosecute the removal of other obstructions to navigation in Hell Gate channel.

At the November election of 1876, Smith Ely was chosen mayor.

In the autumn of 1877, the corner-stone was laid of the new Seventh Regiment Armory, on the block bounded by Park and Lexington Avenues, and Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh streets; the old armory at Tompkins Market having been found too small and inconvenient for regimental use. The favorite Seventh Regiment, the pride of the New York militia, had existed substantially as an organization since 1824, being an outgrowth of the 11th Regiment of State Artillery, which consisted of two battalions, one of artillery and one of infantry. On May 6, 1826, the infantry battalion was organized as a separate regiment, under the title of the 27th Regiment of Artillery; but was long known as the National Guards, a title which afterwards became common to all the militia. The name of the Seventh Regiment was bestowed on it, July 27, 1847,

by Governor Young. The new armory rapidly progressed, with the aid of the liberal subscriptions that poured in from all sides, and was externally finished in the autumn of 1879, when a brilliant and highly successful fair was held within its walls to raise funds to fit up the interior. It was occupied on April 1, 1880.

Another notable public institution opened in 1877 was the New York Hospital, in the old Thorne mansion, in Sixteenth street, between Fifth and Sixth Avenues. The Lenox Library, in Fifth Avenue, between Seventieth and Seventy-first streets, was opened the following year.

The desecration of A. T. Stewart's grave in St. Mark's churchyard, May 6, 1878, caused much excitement in New York. Mr. Stewart had died April 10, 1876, and his remains had been temporarily interred there, until the completion of the mausoleum in the Stewart Memorial Cathedral, at Garden City. The thieves escaped with the body, but were disappointed in gaining their expected reward.

In the autumn of 1878, Edward Cooper was elected mayor.\*

\* The following complete list of the mayors of New York city, from the first English Charter granted by Governor Nicholls, June 12, 1665, to 1890, will be found convenient for reference :

Thomas Willett.....	1665, 1667.
Thomas Delavall.....	1666, 1671, 1678.
Cornelius Steenwyck.....	1668, '69, '70, '82, '88.
Matthias Nicolls or Nicholas.....	1672.
John Lawrence.....	{ 1673. Deputy mayor, 1674. Mayor, 1691.
Matthias Nicolls, November 10.....	1674.



The year 1878 witnessed the successful issue of the most important work undertaken in New York since the introduction of the Croton water; namely, the Elevated Railroads. We have already noticed the various

William Dervall.....	1675.
Nicholas De Meyer.....	1676.
Stephanus Van Cortlandt.....	1677, 1686-'89.
François Rombout.....	1679.
William Dyre.....	1680, 1681.
Gabriel Minvielle.....	1684.
Nicholas Bayard.....	1685.
Pieter Delanoy (Leislerian).....	1689.
Abraham De Peyster.....	1691-1694.
Charles Lodowick.....	1694.
William Merritt.....	1695-1698.
Johannes De Peyster.....	1698.
David Provoost.....	1699.
Isaac De Riemer.....	1700.
Thomas Noell.....	1701.
Philip French.....	1702.
William Peartree.....	1703-1706.
Ebenezer Wilson.....	1707-1710.
Jacobus Van Cortlandt.....	1710, '19.
Caleb Heathcote.....	1711-1714.
John Johnston.....	1714-1718.
Robert Walters.....	1720-1724.
Johannes Jansen.....	1725.
Robert Lurting.....	1726-1734.
Paul Richard.....	1735-1739.
John Cruger.....	1739-1743.
Stephen Bayard.....	1744-1746.
Edward Holland.....	1747-1756.
John Cruger, jr.....	1757-1765.
Whitehead Hicks.....	1766-1776.
David Mathews (Tory).....	1776-1783.
James Duane.....	1783-1788.
Richard Varick.....	1789-1800.
Edward Livingston.....	1801, 1802.
De Witt Clinton.....	1803-1806, 1809-1814.

projects that had been set on foot for rapid transit, both aerial and underground, as well as the opening of the Greenwich Street and Ninth Avenue Elevated Road. On June 18, 1875, the Husted Act, providing for the appointment of a rapid transit commission, was passed by the Legislature, and on July 1, Mayor Wickham accordingly commissioned Joseph Seligman, Lewis B. Brown, C. H. Delamater, Jordan L. Mott, and Charles

Marinus Willett.....	1807.
Jacob Radcliff.....	1808, 1815-1818.
John Ferguson.....	March, 1815—June, 1815.
Cadwallader D. Colden.....	1818-1821.
Stephen Allen.....	1821, 1822.
William Paulding.....	1823, 1824, 1826, 1827.
Philip Hone.....	1825
Walter Bowne.....	1828-1831.
Gideon Lee.....	1833.
Cornelius W. Lawrence.....	1834-1837.
Aaron Clark.....	1837, 1838.
Isaac L. Varian.....	1839, 1840.
Robert H. Morris.....	1841-1844.
James Harper.....	1844.
William F. Havemeyer.....	1845, 1848, 1873, 1874
Andrew H. Mickle.....	1846.
William V. Brady.....	1847.
Caleb S. Woodhull.....	1849, 1850.
Ambrose C. Kingsland.....	1851, 1852.
Jacob A. Westervelt.....	1853, 1854.
Fernando Wood.....	1855-1857, 1860, 1861.
Daniel F. Tiemann.....	1858, 1859.
George Opdyke.....	1862, 1863.
C. Godfrey Gunther.....	1864, 1865.
John T. Hoffman.....	1866-1869.
A. Oakley Hall.....	1869-1872.
William H. Wickham.....	1875, 1876.
Smith Ely.....	1877, 1878.
Edward Cooper.....	1879, 1880.

J. Canda, to designate routes for elevated roads on both sides of the city. The commissioners selected Sixth, Third, and Second Avenues, with the streets continuing them to the lower termini, at the Battery and City Hall. Two companies undertook the work, the Gilbert, and the New York, already organized under the act of 1850, the first with Dr. Rufus H. Gilbert, the inventor of the road bearing his name, as president; the second under the presidency of Cyrus W. Field, who purchased a controlling interest in the Greenwich Street and Ninth Avenue Road in 1877, and infused new energy into that hitherto languid enterprise. The Gilbert Company obtained the right to construct on the Sixth and Second Avenue routes; while the New York Company secured the lucrative Third Avenue route, in addition to that already held by them.

The virulent opposition to rapid transit that had been manifested from its inception, in 1866, by the horse-car companies and interested property-owners, increased tenfold; suits were brought and injunctions laid at every step of the undertaking, the unconstitutionality of the charters was alleged, and the cases were carried from tribunal to tribunal, until, in September, 1877, the Court of Appeals unanimously declared the charters constitutional, and the companies at liberty to build their roads. The work was immediately prosecuted with the utmost vigor; armies of men were employed on the different roads, and June 5, 1878, the Sixth Avenue Elevated Road—the name of which was changed from the Gilbert to the Metropolitan—was



opened from Rector to Fifty-eighth streets. On the 26th of August, the first public train was run on the Third Avenue route, from the Battery through Pearl street to Forty-second street; on September 16th, the road was opened to Sixty-seventh street, and was soon after extended to Harlem. The Sixth Avenue Road was extended to One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street the following year. The Second Avenue Road was opened to Sixty-seventh street, March 1, 1880. In 1879, both companies came under one management, having leased their respective roads to a third corporation, by the name of the Manhattan Railway Company.

The success of the elevated roads was as brilliant as it was startling, and rewarded the enterprising projectors with a golden harvest. Few had foreseen the magnitude of the undertaking, or the influence it would have on the fortunes of the city. By bringing the Central Park within twenty minutes' distance from Wall street, and Harlem and the Battery only three quarters of an hour apart, it had removed the disadvantages of the long and narrow island, and rendered all parts of the town conveniently accessible to each other. In fact, it had vanquished the one formidable obstacle to the growth of the great metropolis, and opened the way to an incalculable progress.

In the winter of 1879-80, the Metropolitan Museum of Art was removed from the old Cruger Mansion in Fourteenth street, near Sixth Avenue, to the handsome structure erected for it on the east side of the Central Park, between the Lower Reservoir and Fifth Avenue,

and which was formally opened to the public, with appropriate ceremonies, March 30, 1880. This valuable museum was organized by a committee of a hundred and sixteen gentlemen, appointed at a public meeting, November 23, 1869, and was incorporated by the Legislature April 13, 1870, for the purpose of promoting the study of the fine arts, and diffusing popular knowledge on kindred subjects. Its first acquisition was a considerable collection of pictures, chiefly the works of old Dutch and Flemish masters, which were first exhibited at 681 Fifth Avenue, together with a loan collection of pictures and bric-a-brac. In April, 1871, the Legislature appropriated \$200,000 for the erection of a building for the museum in the Central Park or elsewhere. In 1872-'73, it was enriched by the unique Di Cesnola collection of Cypriote antiquities, which its public-spirited president, John Taylor Johnston, bought on his own account, through William T. Blodgett, while the British Museum was debating its purchase. In the spring of 1877, it also secured the rich treasures discovered by General di Cesnola at Curium.

To chronicle all the changes, however, that have occurred and are occurring, would far transcend the limits of our work. Far different, indeed, is the New York Island of the present day, with its forests of cities, its marble, iron, and free-stone palaces, and its million of bustling inhabitants, from the grassy hills which met the eye of Hudson little more than two centuries and a half ago. Then the island belonged to Nature, now it has become the property of Art. The marshes are drained, the forests levelled, and the fair, broad farms

laid out into building lots and traversed with large iron pipes, conveying fire and water side by side through the earth. Scarce a vestige remains of the primitive Manhattan. Under the impetus given it by the Central Park, the city is fast rushing northward, and, in all probability, comparatively few years will pass before the whole island will be covered with a compact mass of buildings.

Nor have the suburbs failed to keep pace with the city. Indeed, the whole country within a radius of thirty miles may be considered as a part of New York, a sleeping place for its citizens. Across the East River lies Brooklyn, the third city in the Union, somewhat overshadowed by the greatness of her mammoth neighbor, with the thriving villages of Green Point, Hunter's Point, Ravenswood and Astoria stretching to the northward along the Sound shore ; and on the west shore of the Hudson are Jersey City, the Paulus Hook of the Dutch settlers, Hoboken, and the picturesque heights of Weehawken. The lines of the Hudson River, Harlem and New Haven Railroads, are studded with thrifty towns, populated by the New Yorkers, who have also monopolized Staten Island and spread far back on the Jersey shore.

The islands in the East River are admirably adapted by their location to the penal institutions of which they are made the site. On Blackwell's Island, opposite Yorkville, are the Penitentiary, Lunatic Asylum, Alms Houses, Hospital and Workhouse. Above this are Ward's Island, where the Emigrant Hospital is situated, and Randall's Island, the site of the Pauper Nursery and the House of Refuge. In New York Bay, south-



west of the Battery, are Ellis and Bedloe's Islands, both strongly fortified for the protection of the harbor. A little to the south-east of the Battery is Governor's Island, the site of Fort Columbus and Castle William, and below this, in the heart of the Bay, is the beautiful Staten Island, the villa of the merchant princes of New York, commanding the Narrows by Forts Tompkins and Richmond, with numerous batteries. The opposite shore of the Narrows is protected by Fort Hamilton on Long Island and Fort Lafayette on Hendrick's Reef, about two hundred yards from the shore. On a mole, connected by a bridge with the Battery, is Castle Garden, the fortress of olden times, now used as the depot of the Commissioners of Emigration. The Sound entrance is defended by Fort Schuyler and other works.

Numerous ferries connect New York Island with the neighboring shores, and it is probable that ere long the broad rivers on both sides will be spanned with bridges. At Harlem River it is connected with the main land by the Harlem Turnpike and Harlem Railroad Bridges, McComb's Bridge and the High Bridge of the Croton Aqueduct, while Spuytenduyvel Creek, the northern boundary of the island, is crossed by the well-known Kingsbridge, first built of wood, by order of the Corporation, as early as 1691.

At the Dry Dock, on the north-east shore of the island, and also on the opposite shore, are the extensive ship-yards of the city; and at the United States Navy Yard, in the Wallabout, is the Naval Dry Dock, the largest in the world.

The public buildings of the city are numerous, and are mostly in keeping with its wealth and importance.



Sub-Treasury.

In the Park is the New Court House, the City Hall and various minor buildings, devoted to municipal purposes ; close by, in Centre street, is the City Prison, or "Tombs," a gloomy structure in the centre of the most squalid portion of the city.

In Wall, at the head of Broad street, on the site of the old City Hall and Custom House, erected in the beginning of the century, is the Sub-Treasury of New York, an edifice of Grecian architecture, built of Massachusetts marble, at the cost of nearly a million of dol-

lars. Adjoining this, in the building formerly occupied by the old Bank of the United States, is the Assay Office. On the corner of Wall and William streets, is the Custom House, a magnificent edifice of blue Quincy granite, built originally for the Merchants' Exchange, at the cost of over a million of dollars. The handsome granite Post-office occupies the triangle at the lower end of the City Hall Park, below Beekman street. The libraries of the city are numerous and worthy of notice. The chief free public Library is the Astor, in Lafayette Place, between Fourth street and Astor Place, which was erected by means of a bequest of \$400,000 made to it in 1848, by John Jacob Astor. The building was first opened to the public in 1854, with a collection of eighty thousand volumes, under the superintendence of Dr. Joseph G. Cogswell. It has since been trebled in size and the property increased to over a million dollars, by the liberality of the descendants of the founder.

The oldest library in the city is the Society Library in University Place, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets; the history of this we have already sketched. In a tasteful stone edifice on the corner of Second Avenue and Eleventh street, is the Historical Society, Library, founded in 1804. Here is found a choice collection of historical works, chiefly pertaining to American history, a rare assemblage of coins and relics, the Abbot collection of Egyptian curiosities, the Nineveh marbles, and many other valuable objects. In the Clinton Hall building, once the Astor Place Opera House, is the library and reading-room of the Mercantile Library Association, which was organized in 1836,





Custom House.



with seven hundred volumes, for the purpose of supplying the merchants' clerks with facilities for reading and study, and which is about to be removed to the corner of Broadway and Thirty-seventh street. A free reading-room has also been established in the Cooper Union, together with a picture gallery. Other libraries, too numerous to specify, and containing many thousands of volumes, are attached to the various professional and educational institutions of the city.

Our task is ended. Statistical lists we do not intend to give, nor shall we trespass upon the limits of that modern institution, the directory, by further mapping out the city, with its massive banking houses, its magnificent churches, and its marble-fronted palaces. all changing from hour to hour with such kaleidoscopic rapidity that the picture of to-day would scarcely be recognized to-morrow. It suffices to say that in palatial splendor, in gorgeous magnificence, and in lavish display of inexhaustible wealth, New York may well be regarded as bearing off the palm from all other cities in the Union. Yet were this all, did her claims to her proud title of the Empire City rest merely upon the power of riches, were she but the Golden City, the Venice of the Western Continent, then indeed we might tremble for her future, sure that the seeds of decay were lurking in her heart. But that she has played a far different part in the history of her country, her annals give sufficient proof. The first to practice that religious freedom which the Eastern colonists emigrated from the Old World to secure for themselves only to deny to others, and to throw open her doors to the poor and oppressed of her sister settlements; the first to



vindicate the freedom of the press ; the first to enter a practical protest against the arbitrary Stamp Act by dooming herself to commercial ruin ; the first to shed her blood on the battle-fields of the Revolution, and the chief in furnishing the sinews of war without which the late gigantic conflict could never have been conducted to a successful termination, New York has not falsified in maturer years the promises of her youth. Not only has she given an impetus to gigantic schemes of internal improvement that challenge the admiration of the whole world—the Ocean Telegraph, the Steamboat, the Erie Canal, the Croton Aqueduct, and the magnificent Central Park ; not only does she, by her open-handed liberality, attract to herself men of science, enterprise, and broad and earnest thought, ingenious mechanics, far-seeing merchants, talented artists, and brilliant literary men, but she has fostered within her own bosom statesmen, philosophers, inventors, and authors, who may compete advantageously with any in the world.

We have simply endeavored to chronicle the progress of the city, to select and briefly make mention of the most important facts from the mass of rich material which lies temptingly about us, looking longingly, meanwhile, at the accessory incidents which would so charmingly fill up the picture and relieve the dullness of mere details, yet forced to desist by the conviction that the task would swell the volume beyond the compass of an entire library. What we could do, we have done ; and if any of the facts which we have thus collected and woven together shall suggest to the future historian the desire to rescue the story of the past career of our city from the neglect with which it has hitherto been too

often treated, or shall inspire her citizens with love and pride of their native or adopted city, and urge them to perpetuate the memory of a glorious past by a still more glorious future, and to make their chosen home the Empire City in truth, not only of wealth, but of science, of learning, of art, of all that can elevate and beautify humanity, we shall feel that we have not labored in vain.

The future destiny of New York rests with the present generation ; their verdict must decide whether she will patiently bear the name of the Golden City, by some so tauntingly bestowed upon her, or vindicate herself not only by past proof but by present action. That it is in her power, through her immense resources, her boundless wealth, her buoyant elasticity, her composite population, the vast array of talent which lies at her disposal, and most of all, by the breadth, cosmopolitanism and geniality of the character of her people, to mould herself into what she will—to become the Athens of America, the centre of culture and of art—must be evident to all. Her fate is in her own hands ; whether her future fame is to rest on marble palaces or erudite universities—on well-filled warehouses or wealth of brain, she alone can decide. Let her but choose the latter position—let her out expend her wealth, regardless of outside display, in fostering talent, in encouraging art, in attracting to herself by liberal patronage the intellectual power of the whole country, in endowing universities, and in developing the mental resources of her own citizens, not by a lavish expenditure of money alone, but by an earnest appreciation of talent, and the time is not far distant when she will be cordially acknowledged, both by friends and foes, as the EMPIRE CITY, not only of the UNION but also of the WORLD !





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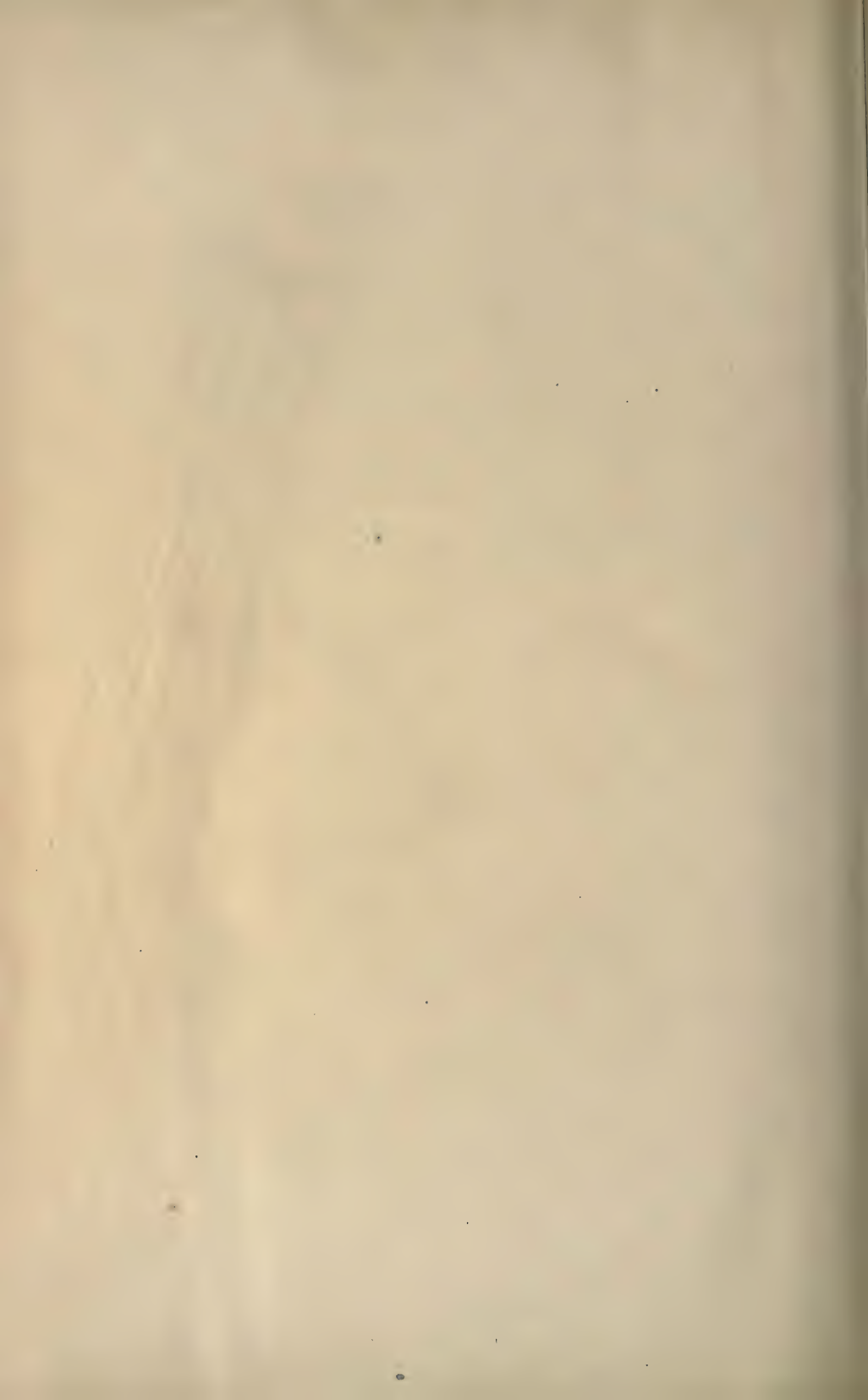
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